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AN
INGLORIOUS COLUMBUS.
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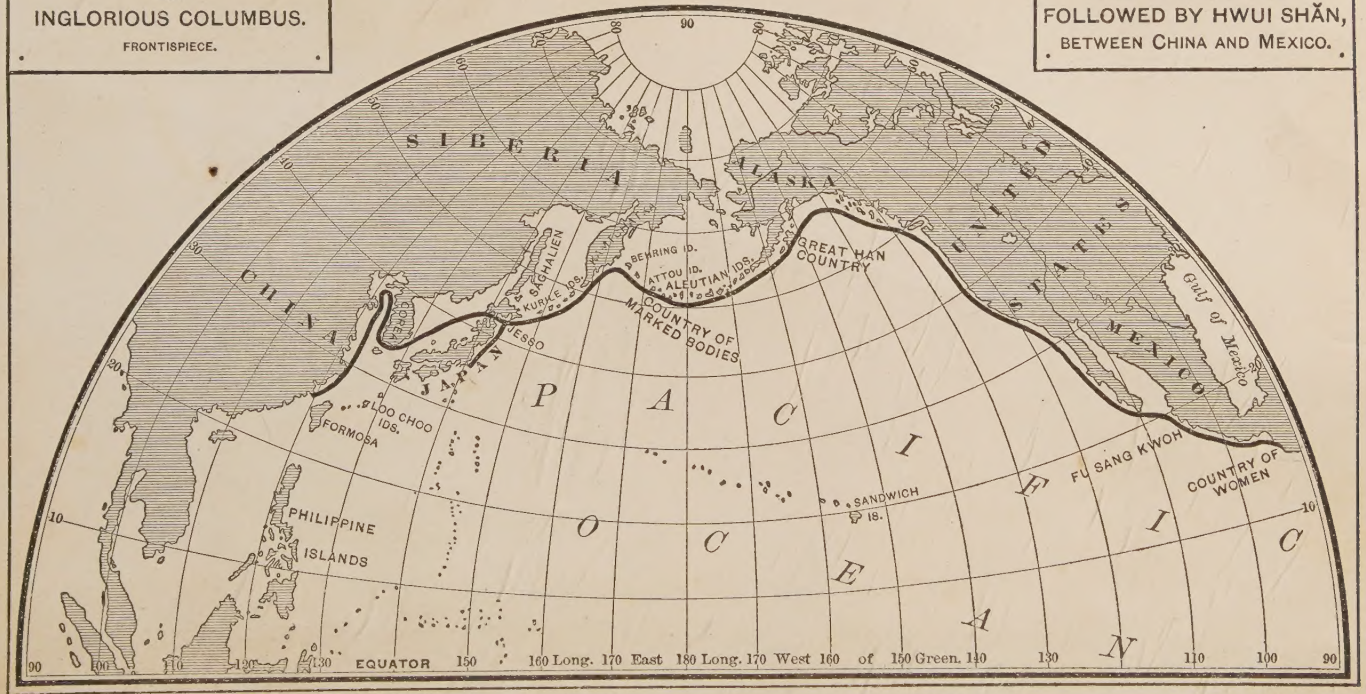
MAP OF THE ROUTE
FOLLOWED BY HWUI SHĂN,
BETWEEN CHINA AND MEXICO.



AN

INGLORIOUS COLUMBUS;

OR,

EVIDENCE THAT HWUI SHĂN

AND

A PARTY OF BUDDHIST MONKS FROM AFGHANISTAN

Discovered America

IN THE FIFTH CENTURY, A. D.

BY

EDWARD P. VINING.

1887

"If Buddhist priests were really the first men who, within the scope of written history and authentic annals, went from the Old World to the New, it will sooner or later be proved. Nothing can escape history that belongs to it."—LELAND.

D. APPLETON AND COMPANY,
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TO

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT,

AS A TOKEN OF APPRECIATION

OF

THE CONSCIENTIOUS LABOUR BESTOWED UPON HIS

"NATIVE RACES OF THE PACIFIC STATES,"

AND THE OTHER VOLUMES OF HIS

HISTORIES OF THE PACIFIC STATES OF NORTH AMERICA,

THIS WORK IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

That there are many who could have done much better than myself the work which I have undertaken to do, I am well aware; but, as those who are more competent have failed to give to the Chinese records of a distant eastern land that careful study which they seem to me to demand, I have thought it best to publish the results of my own examination of the subject.

It does not appear unjust to former writers upon the subject to call attention to the fact that, with the noteworthy exception of Mr. Leland, they have paid but little attention to the history or characteristics of the country lying in the direction and at the distance from China indicated by the Chinese as the location of the lands to which they gave the names of "Fu-sang" and the "Country of Women"; and yet a careful examination of the descriptions of this region of the world given by other authorities, and their comparison with the details of the Chinese account, and with the minutiæ of Asiatic civilization, are almost the only means by which the truth or falsity of the Chinese records can be established. The comparisons of this nature, made from such data as I have been able to obtain, reveal so many peculiar coincidences and remove so many difficulties over which earlier investigators have stumbled, that the hypothesis that the Chinese account was derived from a traveler who had visited Mexico is rendered almost infinitely more probable than any other conjecture that can be entertained upon the subject. It is true that some objections still remain, but the few statements that it seems difficult

to explain are far outweighed by the evidence presented by the numerous details of the account which are proved to be true. The explanations suggested as to some doubtful points might seem more plausible if they were confined to that elucidation of the difficulty which, upon the whole, appears to be its most probable solution. I have preferred, however, to note all possible explanations that have suggested themselves to me, believing that in some cases the truth which further investigation will reveal may possibly lie in some interpretation which now seems improbable.

Errors will undoubtedly be found in this work, but I have hoped to excite sufficient interest in the question under examination to induce more competent scholars to bring the truth to light regarding those points as to which I have failed. I am confident, however, that, after the elimination of all errors, it will be found that the great mass of evidence that is presented that America was discovered in the fifth century of the Christian era remains practically untouched; and that as a whole the work will be much easier to ignore than to answer by those who may differ from its conclusions.

All attempts to establish a truth which has not been generally received are met by the difficulty that it is almost impossible to interest in the subject those who have formerly paid no attention to it, and that those who have studied it are strongly tempted by a natural regard for their own self-complacency to deny that there is anything more in the subject than they have been able to perceive for themselves. I, therefore, can not hope that my views will immediately meet with general acceptance; but that their truth will ultimately be recognized, I can not doubt.

Some quotations have been made at second-hand, and from authorities which I would not have given if I had had easy access to a better library than my own; and some books which I desired to consult I have not been able to obtain. Due allowance should be made for these facts.

It is proper that I should express my thanks for the kind responses which I have received to my applications for assistance and information from many to whom I was unknown,

and who may have believed my convictions upon the subject under investigation to be but poorly founded.

Among those to whom I am indebted may be named Mr. H. H. Bancroft and his assistants, Messrs. Henry L. Oak, John H. Gilmour, and John Donovan. Mr. Addison Van Name, Librarian of Yale College, Mr. George Bullen, Keeper of the Printed Books of the British Museum, and Mr. I. A. Leonard, of the Astor Library, have assisted me to obtain information from a few works not found in my own library. Mr. Kwong Ki Chiu, formerly Secretary of the Chinese Board of Education, Mr. Saum Song Bo, a graduate of the Chicago University, and Mr. John E. Vrooman, Translator of Chinese at the United States Custom-House of San Francisco, have explained doubtful passages in the Chinese text to me. They should not be held responsible, however, for any errors that may be thought to exist in my translation. Mr. Charles G. Leland, M. the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, and the late Professor S. Wells Williams gave me permission to quote from their works.

Professors Spencer F. Baird, Asa Gray, William H. Brewer, O. C. Marsh, and Edward D. Cope, the Rev. Joseph Edkins, the Right Rev. Channing M. Williams, Dr. Felix L. Oswald, Dr. D. G. Brinton, Messrs. Edward L. Morse and J. H. Trumbull, the late W. R. Morley, Chief Engineer of the Sonora Railroad, Mr. W. H. Pratt, Secretary of the Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, Mr. A. Knoflach, formerly of San Francisco, Mr. W. W. Rhodes, formerly of the city of Mexico, and Messrs. Maisonneuve et Cie., of Paris, have all rendered me kind assistance, as have also the Hons. Lucius H. Foote, Minister to Corea, Percival Lowell, Secretary of the Corean Embassy, David H. Strother, Consul-General at the city of Mexico, Joseph D. Hoff, Consul at Coatzacoalcos, and John A. Sutter, Jr., Consul at Acapulco.

To all, my thanks are due.

EDWARD P. VINING.

CHICAGO, ILL., U. S. A., *March 3, 1885.*

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Some centuries before the Christian era, in the little village[1880]* of Kapilavastu,[1244] capital of a small kingdom of the same name,[1889] in the northern part of India,[1888] Suddhodana,[1244] its king, or rajah, was gladdened by the birth of a son. This event probably[1258] occurred in the fifth century B. C.,[1301] but some authorities fix the date in the sixth[1888] or seventh[1880] century,[2096] while others place it even as early as 1027 B. C.;[1243] and in the present state of science it seems impossible to determine the date with accuracy.[1192]

The child was named Siddharta, but he is more frequently

* For this and all other references, see the Appendix.

mentioned in history either under his family name of Gautama, or under the appellation of Buddha, "the Enlightened"; or, from the fact that he was of the race called Sakya, he is referred to as Sakya-muni, "the hermit of the Sakyas."

This prince, although handsome, strong, and heroic—surrounded by pleasures and tempted by the most brilliant worldly prospects[1273]—took little part in the sports of his mates, and used frequently to retire by himself into solitude, where he seemed lost in meditation.[1390] Educated in the belief that death was immediately followed by a new birth, and that all living creatures were chained to a never-ending series of transmigrations, he, as he grew in age, was more and more oppressed by the conviction that all is vanity, and that a man hath no profit of all his labour which he taketh under the sun. Possessed of wealth and power, and lacking no earthly good, but saddened by the knowledge that age must follow youth, and that death would soon put an end to all his possessions; and believing that he must then commence a new life which death would again end, and that so for all eternity he must struggle on, being able to retain for but a moment all that seemed good to his eyes, and then being compelled to abandon it—the prospect thus stretching out before him so appalled him that he finally determined to devote his life to the endeavour to find some escape from this eternal series of deaths.

It was not for himself alone that he desired to find this relief, but for his dearly loved wife and infant child as well: and, furthermore, his heart was filled with an anxious yearning to be the saviour of mankind, no matter what the cost to himself might be.

Born at a time when tyranny and the oppression of the law of castes had become as intolerable in the civil world of India as the dogma of eternal metempsychoses had become in its religion;[1879] when woman was looked upon, as she still is in Oriental countries, as but the plaything of the stronger sex; when throughout the world the citizens of each petty nation considered all other tribes as barbarians or wild beasts—he, being the first of the human race[1882] to rise above the accidents of fate, looked upon all mankind as his brothers and sisters, and would fain save them all from the woe of the innumerable deaths that awaited them. High and low, bond and free, rich and poor, male and female, old and young, countrymen and foreigners,

for all he felt the same tender pity, and no living creature was so mean as to be beneath his all-embracing love and sympathy.

Filled with this anxious devotion, he stole softly away from his home by night, and adopted the life of a Brahmanical hermit. For years he tortured himself, often fasting until life was almost extinct; striving, vainly, but with an inextinguishable desire, to find the path which led away from eternal misery. Finally, light, as he believed, dawned upon him. Misery was merely the result of unsatisfied desire. If all desire could be extinguished, unhappiness would perish with it.

By sitting in a state of inward contemplation, it was possible to arrive at a condition of mind when, for a time, all surrounding objects would fade away and be forgotten. In this state of ecstasy, neither hunger nor cold nor any bodily want could be the source of discomfort, for the mind would be so fixed upon its meditation that it would not know that these existed. Beyond this state, however, another condition could be reached, in which, after attaining to a forgetfulness of everything but self-existence, the abstraction would become so great that even the consciousness of self-existence would be lost. From this state of entire unconsciousness, a state neither of existence nor of non-existence, there would be no awakening forever. The dreary round of transmigrations would be forever over with; the dreamless sleep would never end.

It was only after continual striving through myriads of existences that this end could be reached, but he who set out upon the path to Nirvana would never turn back; and ultimately the extinction of consciousness, which was held to be the supreme good, would be attained.

There was only one thing of such importance that even the state of quiescence and meditation, which was the foretaste of the final beatitude, could be abandoned for it, and that was the desire to preach the glad tidings to others, that they too might set out upon the happy path. The love of one's neighbours was recognized as the most sacred law, and it was to be only by the exercise of this virtue that it should be possible to reach the rank of the perfect Buddha.[1885] As he himself had come for self-sacrifice, and only by surrendering himself had learned how the world might be saved, so all who desired to follow him must tread in these footprints. Charity and love must extinguish all

egotism in the heart, and so fill the possessor with a spirit of devotion that he would surrender himself utterly, and forget everything personal, his own existence even, in order to save others.[1586]

In the Chinese liturgy there is recorded a vow of the Bodhisattva Kwan Yin—the Great Compassionate Heart, or Mercy—which is characteristic of this religion :* "Never will I seek or receive private, individual salvation ; never enter final peace alone, but forever and everywhere will I live and strive for the universal redemption of every creature throughout all worlds. Until all are delivered, never will I leave the world of sin, sorrow, and struggle, but will remain where I am."[1584]

Buddha declared that the good news was for all the world ; and his disciples were commanded to hasten to preach it to every creature. "Let us part with each other," the legend reports him as saying, "and proceed in various and opposite directions. Go ye now and preach the most excellent law, expounding every point thereof, and unfolding it with care. Explain the beginning and middle and end of the law to *all men without exception.*"[1591] "Since the doctrine which I proclaim is altogether pure, it makes no distinction between high and low, rich and poor. Like water it is, which washes and purifies all alike. It is like the sky, for it has room for all ; men, women, boys, girls, rich and poor."[1589]

This command was faithfully obeyed by his disciples. Max Müller states[1580] that at a very early period a proselytizing spirit awoke among the disciples of the Indian reformer—an element entirely new in the history of ancient religions. No Jew, no Greek, no Roman, no Brahman, ever thought of converting people to his own national form of worship. Religion was looked upon as private or national property. It was to be guarded against strangers. Here lay the secret of Buddha's success. He addressed himself to castes and outcasts. He promised salvation to all ; and he commanded his disciples to preach his doctrine in all places and to all men. A sense of duty, extending from the narrow limits of the house, the village, and the country, to the widest circle of mankind, a feeling of sympathy and brotherhood toward all men—the idea, in fact, of humanity—were first pronounced by Buddha. In the

* See Bell's "Catena," pp. 405, 406, and 409.

third Buddhist council, the acts of which have been preserved to us in the "Mahavanso," we hear of missionaries being sent to the chief countries beyond India.

Some centuries after the days of Buddha, upon the death of Asoka, a powerful king of India, who had been an ardent devotee of the Buddhist faith, his immense empire was dismembered,[1654] and, profiting by this opportunity, the Brahmans raised their heads, stirred up the smouldering hatred in the hearts of the castes that were formerly privileged, and by such aid reconquered the land which they had lost, and commenced a war of bloody persecution against Buddhism, which resulted in the complete expulsion of that sect from Central India. Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, and Camboge gave them asylum. Some of the proscribed sect went even to the distant islands and founded a church in Java, which, judging from the ruins that still remain, must at one time have flourished. Others went to the north, were arrested by the deserts of Persia, and, after halting in Nepal, crossed the mountains, and carried their religion and their arts into China, whence they soon passed into Japan and Thibet.

This religion was introduced into China about A. D. 66,[1656] and reached Corea in the year 372.[1664] There is no part of Northern Asia to which it did not make its way. There is reason to believe that its missionaries penetrated into Europe. Mr. Leland mentions a Buddhistic image[1657] discovered in an excavation in London, at a depth of fifteen feet, nine feet of which consisted of loose soil or *débris* of a recent character, but the remaining six feet were hard, solid earth, of a character which indicated a probability that the image might have been left a thousand years or more ago where it was found. Professor Holmboe has written a work[1665] in which strong grounds are adduced for believing that Buddhist devotees reached Norway, or at least that part of Europe which was then occupied by the ancestors of the Norwegians of to-day. Professor Max Müller[1659] refers to the existence of Buddhism in Russia and Sweden, as well as in Siberia, and throughout the north of Asia, and says that a trace of the influence of Buddhism among the Kudic races, the Finns, Lapps, etc., is found in the name of their priests and sorcerers, the Shamans—"Shaman" being supposed to be a corruption of *Sramana*, the name of Buddha, and of

Buddhist priests in general. The suppression of the "r" is probably owing to the influence of the Pali, which shows a great delicacy,[851] or, if the term is preferred, an extreme poverty, in the combinations of two or more consonants, and which always drops the letter "r" when it follows an initial consonant of a Sanskrit word.[852] Thus, for instance,[1897] the Sanskrit words "prakrama" and "pratikrama" became in Pali "pakkama" and "patikkama."

It is a singular fact that this word "Shaman," applied to a priest or magician, is found, not only throughout nearly every part of Asia, but that it passed over into America so long ago as to become so thoroughly incorporated into the Yakut language of Alaska, that it and its derivatives were thought by Dall to have belonged originally to that language,[1167] and he claims that those authors who have thought it to be an (East) Indian word are mistaken. The religious ideas of some of the tribes of Alaska strongly point to an earlier knowledge of some more or less impure form of Asiatic Buddhism, and thus indicate that the word was really borrowed from the disciples of that faith, and is not a mere case of accidental resemblance in sound and meaning. Pinart[9045] says that the belief in metempsychosis is generally spread abroad among the Koloches; they believe that the individual never really dies, and that apparent death is but a momentary dissolution, the man being reborn in another form: sometimes in the body of a human being, and sometimes in that of certain animals, such as the bear, the otter, or the wolf; of certain birds, such as the crow or the goshawk; and of certain marine animals, but principally the cachalot. Veniaminoff, in his great work, commits an error in saying that the Koloches do not believe in any other form of metempsychosis than a change into the body of another human being. This purely human metempsychosis is not exclusive, although it predominates.

Pinart also states that[2042] the primitive religion of the Kaniagmioutes and the western Esquimaux in general appears to present an order of ideas much superior to those of the Koloches, or other American tribes. This religion, if the conjecture may be permitted, is the remains of a religious system now lost, but indicating a very elevated order of ideas. . . . They divided the heaven into five regions, superposed one upon another. . . . We find in these different heavens, as we rise from one to another,

successive transformations and purifications. Each individual, if he lives an honourable life and conforms to their religious ideas, can rise to the highest of these heavens by means of these different transformations. Every individual, in their belief, dies and returns to life five times, and it is only after having died for the fifth time that he quits the earth forever and passes into another existence.

It can not be denied that these dogmas are strikingly analogous to those of the Buddhist faith, and, when added to other reasons for believing that this religion may have been preached in Alaska, the existence of these religious ideas, and of the Buddhist designation for a priest, furnishes reasonable grounds for at least entertaining the question whether there was not some early communication of the Buddhists of Asia with America.

Even at the present day, the Buddhist priests, or lamas, of Central Asia, are divided into three classes, comprising not only [2093] the religious, who devote themselves to study and abstraction, and become teachers and eventually saints, and the domestic, who live in families or attach themselves to tribes and localities, but also the itinerant, who are always moving from convent to convent, and traveling for travel's sake, often without aim, not knowing at all where they are going. Prinsep says that there is no country that some of these have not visited, and that when they have a religious or partisan feeling they must be the best spies in the world.

Huc also speaks [1566] of those lamas who live neither in lamaseries nor at home with their families, but spend their time vagabondizing about like birds of passage, traveling all over their own and the adjacent countries, and subsisting upon the rude hospitality which, in lamasery and in tent, they are sure to receive, throughout their wandering way. They take their way, no matter whither, by this path or that, east or west, north or south, as their fancy or a smoother turf suggests, and lounge tranquilly on, sure at least, if no other shelter presents itself by-and-by, of the shelter of the cover, as they express it, of that great tent, the world ; and sure, moreover, having no destination before them, never to lose their way.

The wandering lamas visit all the countries readily accessible to them—China, Mantchooria, the Khalkhas, the various kingdoms of Southern Mongolia, the Ourianghai, the Koukou-

noor, the northern and southern slopes of the Celestial Mountains, Thibet, India, and sometimes even Turkestan. There is no stream which they have not crossed, no mountains they have not climbed.

It should be remembered that the journeys of these wandering priests have been going on for more than two thousand years, and that, so far as known, no records of them have been preserved, except those which have been kept in China, and which will be mentioned a little farther on. Hence it is impossible to define the limits which they may have reached ; but, if it is shown that the journey to America, from some of the regions (such as that at the mouth of the Amoor River), which it is well known that they did reach, is neither longer nor more difficult than many of the journeys that they undertook, this fact will give reasonable ground for the conjecture that they may, in some one or more instances, have even extended their wanderings as far as to the American Continent.

Mr. Leland, in his book, entitled "Fusang,"[1715] embodies a long letter from Colonel Barclay Kennon, formerly of the United States North Pacific Surveying Expedition, in which the ease of the voyage from Northern Asia to Northern America is fully described. It is hardly necessary to quote additional authorities, for the fact mentioned by Mr. Bancroft,[103] that on the shore of Behring's Strait the natives have constant commercial intercourse with Asia, crossing easily in their boats ; but the facts mentioned by Captain Cochrane,[1086] that two natives of a nation on the American Continent, called the Kargaules, were present at a fair held at Nishney Kolymsk, a town situated in Asia, on an island in the Kolyma River, and that large armies of mice[1087] occasionally migrate from Asia to America, or in the other direction, make it evident that there is no great difficulty in the passage.

Lewis H. Morgan calls attention to the fact that[1941] the Japanese Islands sustain a peculiar physical relation to the northwest coast of the United States. A chain of small islands—the Kurilian—breaks the distance which separates Japan from the peninsula of Kamtchatka ; and thence the Aleutian chain of islands stretches across to the peninsula of Alaska upon the American Continent, forming the boundary between the North Pacific and Behring's Sea. These islands, the peaks of a

submarine mountain-chain, are thickly studded together within a continuous belt, and are in substantial communication with each other, from the extreme point of Alaska to the Island of Kyska, by means of the ordinary native boat in use among the Aleutian islanders. From the latter to Attou Island the greatest distance from island to island is less than one hundred miles. Between Attou Island and the coast of Kamtchatka there are but two islands, Copper and Behring's, between which and Attou the greatest distance occurs, a distance of about two hundred miles ; while from Behring's Island to the mainland of Asia it is less than one hundred miles. These geographical features alone would seem to render possible a migration in the primitive and fishermen ages from one continent to the other. But, superadded to these, is the great thermal ocean-current, analogous to the Atlantic Gulf-Stream, which, commencing in the equatorial regions near the Asiatic Continent, flows northward along the Japan and Kurilian Islands, and then, bearing eastward, divides itself into two streams. One of these, following the main direction of the Asiatic coast, passes through the Straits of Behring and enters the Arctic Ocean ; while the other, and the principal current, flowing eastward, and skirting the southern shores of the Aleutian Islands, reaches the northwest coast of America, whence it flows southward along the shores of Oregon and California, where it finally disappears. This current, or thermal river in the midst of the ocean, would constantly tend, by the mere accidents of the sea, to throw Asiatics from Japan and Kamtchatka upon the Aleutian Islands, from which their gradual progress eastward to America would become assured. It is common at the present time to find trunks of camphor-wood trees, from the coasts of China and Japan, upon the shores of the Island of Unalaska, one of the easternmost of the Aleutian chain, carried thither by this ocean current. It also explains the agency by which a disabled Japanese junk with its crew was borne directly to the shores of California but a few years since. Another remarkable effect produced by this warm ocean-current is the temperate climate which it bestows upon this chain of islands and upon the northwest coast of America. These considerations assure us of a second possible route of communication, besides the Straits of Behring, between the Asiatic and American continents.

The "Histoire de Kamtchatka"[1638] mentions a report that a Japanese vessel was wrecked upon *Kituy*, one of the Kurile Islands; and M. Pinart[2038] states that a number of Japanese junks, borne by the currents, and probably by the great Japanese current, the *Kuro-siwo*, or "Black Stream," have been shipwrecked upon the Aleutian Islands—one such case having occurred in 1871: thus showing that if a boat were merely allowed to drift with the current along the eastern shore of Asia, it would pass by the way of the Kurile and Aleutian Islands, and, if not stopped by these, would soon drift to the American coast.

It has already been mentioned that records have been preserved in China of a number of journeys made by the devotees of the Buddhist religion. The "Encyclopædia Britannica"[1311] gives the following list of clerical travelers, the accounts of which are now known to us, and adds: "The importance of these writings, as throwing light on the geography and history of India and adjoining countries, during a very dark period, is great."

Shi Tao-'an (died A. D. 385) wrote a work on his travels to the "western lands" (an expression applying often to India), which is supposed to be lost.

Fa Hian traveled to India in 399, and returned by sea in 414.

Hwai Seng and *Sung Yun*, monks, traveled to India to collect books and relics, 518–521.

Hwen Tsang left China for India in 629, and returned in 645.

To which should be added:

"The Itinerary of Fifty-six Religious Travelers," compiled and published under imperial authority, 730; and

"The Itinerary of Khi Nie," who traveled (964–976) at the head of a large body of monks to collect books, etc. Neither of the last two has been translated.

The Rev. Mr. Edkins[1271] says that both Fa Hian and Hwen Tsang will be admitted by every candid reader to deserve the reputation for patience in observation, perseverance in travel, and earnestness in religious faith, which they have gained by the journals and translations they left behind them.

It should not be forgotten that these men were influenced by the same motives which actuate our Christian missionaries of recent times. They went, seeking not for glory or riches for

themselves, but either to preach their faith, in accordance with Buddha's command, in countries in which it was not known, or to meet their brethren in foreign lands, or that they themselves might obtain more complete information as to the details of the teachings of their master than they could find in their own country. Hence it may fairly be claimed that the accounts of these men, who braved all dangers from a devotion to their religious duty, are entitled to far more than the ordinary degree of credit, and that their statements should be very carefully weighed before we undertake to reject them or to brand their authors as romancers. We can well afford the same degree of charity toward them that was shown by Sir John Maundevile [1836] in darker days than our own :

"And alle be it that theyse folk han not the Articles of oure Fythe, as wee han, natheles for hire gode Feythe naturelle, and for hire gode entent, I trowe fulle, that God lovethe hem, and that God take hire Servyse to gree, right as he did of Job, that was a Paynem, and held him for his trewe Servaunt. And therefore alle be it that there ben many dyverse Lawes in the World, yit I trowe, that God lovethe alweys hem that loven him, and serven him mekely in trouthe ; and namely, hem that dispysen the veyn Glorie of this World ; as this folk don, and as Job did also : And therfore seye I of this folk, that ben so trewe and so feythefulle, that God lovethe hem."

With this prelude, as to the motives which have led the followers of Buddha to undertake numerous, difficult, and hazardous journeys to countries previously unknown, and as to the degree of credence to which their accounts are, as a rule, entitled, we come to the object of this book.

There is, among the records of China, an account of a Buddhist priest, who, in the year 499 A. D., reached China, and stated that he had returned from a trip to a country lying an immense distance east. In the case of the other travelers to whom we have referred, the accounts which we possess of their journeys were either written by themselves or their followers ; but, in the case of Hwui Shăn, the interest excited in his story was so great that the imperial historiographer, whose duty it was to record the principal events of the time [2417] (each dynasty having its official chronicle concerning the physical and political features of China and the neighbouring countries [1306]), entered upon his

official records a digest of the information obtained from this traveler as to the country which he had visited. It is this official record, or rather a copy of it, contained in the writings of Ma Twan-lin, one of the most celebrated scholars that the Chinese Empire ever knew, which is discussed in this work.

It is certainly no more than reasonable to start with the presumption that the account may be true, and that the story should not be rejected as false because of any slight difficulties, which further investigation might remove.

All the reasons which lead us to accept the accounts of other Buddhist missionaries apply with equal force to this record, and we have, in addition, the fact that Hwui Shăn succeeded in convincing the Chinese Emperor, and the scholars by whom he was surrounded, of the truth of his tale, and that he also obtained the belief of the people of China and of all Eastern Asia so thoroughly that even now, after the lapse of some fourteen centuries, there is scarcely a man in China, Japan, or Corea, who does not have at least some slight knowledge of the account of the marvelous land of Fusang that was visited by him. The fact that he obtained such universal credence is certainly one of some weight. An impostor would not be likely to be so successful. Among those whom Hwui Shăn convinced were many careful scholars and bright, intelligent men, who knew well how to weigh and sift evidence, and who would have found the flaw in his story if one had existed.

It is the object of this book to show that the land visited by Hwui Shăn was Mexico, and that his account, in nearly all its details, as to the route, the direction, the distance, the plants of the country, the people, their manners, customs, etc., is true of Mexico, and of no other country in the world; such a multitude of singular facts being named, that it is inconceivable that such a story could have been told in any other way than as the result of an actual visit to that country. It is true that there are a few difficulties to be surmounted; but the author believes that he has succeeded in removing a number upon which some of his predecessors have stumbled, and that the few that remain can not outweigh the immense volume of evidence that is presented as to the general truth of the account.

After giving translations of all that is known to have been written in French or German upon the subject, and also includ-

ing a full statement of substantially all that has been written about it in English (with the exception of Mr. Leland's book—which the reader is recommended to obtain, if he has failed so far to do so, and if he finds the subject at all interesting), the original Chinese account will be given, with copies of the several translations that have heretofore been made, and with a new translation by the present author. Each statement made by Hwui Shăn will then be carefully examined in connection with the histories of Mexico, to see whether the statement was or was not true of that country prior to the time of its conquest by the Spaniards.

After a full discussion of his account, the histories of Mexico and other parts of America will be examined to determine, if possible, whether any traditions as to his visit, or any results of his teachings, still lingered in the country at the time when the Spaniards, more than a thousand years later, entered it, and whether any such coincidences were found in the civilization of these two regions of the world, in their customs, religious beliefs, arts, architecture, etc., as to lead to a reasonable presumption that they may have had an early connection with each other. As it has been claimed that the country visited by Hwui Shăn may have been located in some part of Japan, its history will also be reviewed for the same purpose. The book will conclude with a consideration of the question as to whether the Chinese had any earlier knowledge of America, or any further information regarding it than that which was given them by Hwui Shăn.

The first detailed information which was given to European scholars, as to the existence of this account among the Chinese records, was afforded them in an article published by M. de Guignes, in the "Literary Memoirs extracted from the Registers of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres," Vol. XXVIII, published in Paris in 1761, and entitled "Investigation of the Navigations of the Chinese to the Coast of America, and as to Some Tribes situated at the Eastern Extremity of Asia";[1415] a translation of which article is given in the following chapter.

It would appear, however, that de Guignes must have given some earlier account of his discovery of this relation, among the Chinese books which he had read in preparing for his great work upon the "General History of the Huns, the Turks, the

Mongolians, and other Western Tartars," as (unless there is an error in the date) we find a letter written by the Père Gaubil[1409] to M. de l'Isle, dated at Pekin, August 28, 1752, in which he mentions M. de Guignes's discovery of this account, but states his disbelief of the reliability of the Chinese works from which his translations were made. An extract from this letter is given in Chapter X.

Philippe Buache,[1543] in a work entitled "Considérations Géographiques et Physiques sur les Nouvelles Descouvertes au Nord de la Grande Mer," published at Paris in 1753, in which he correctly advanced the opinion of the existence of the Strait of Anian (since called Behring's Strait), evidently borrowed from de Guignes, when he stated that in the year 458 a colony of Chinese was established on the coast of California, in a region called Fusang, which he placed at about 55° north latitude. Hervas,[1543] in commenting upon this statement, says that this colony has not been found, and that it is certain that none of the languages which are spoken along that coast, between the forty-ninth and sixty-fourth degrees (a number of the words of which are to be found in the account of Cook's third voyage), have any close connection with the Chinese language.

Alexander von Humboldt, in his "Views of the Cordilleras,"[1579–1602] mentions a number of surprising coincidences between the Asiatic and Mexican civilizations, of such a nature and of such importance as to lead him to the conclusion that there must have been an early communication between these two regions of the world; but he makes no reference in this work to the history brought to light by de Guignes; and in his "Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain" he says[1607] that, according to the learned researches of Father Gaubil, it appears doubtful whether the Chinese ever visited the western coast of America at the time stated by de Guignes.

No further attention seems to have been paid to the subject until the year 1831, when M. J. Klaproth published, in Vol. LI of the "New Annals of Voyages," an article entitled "Researches regarding the Country of Fusang, mentioned in Chinese Books, and erroneously supposed to be a Part of America,"[1647] in which he took the ground that the country mentioned in the Chinese account was probably located in some part of Japan. A translation of this article is given in Chapter III.

For some reason, which it seems difficult to explain, Klaproth's assertions and assumptions (for of argument there is but little, and that is partly based upon mistaken premises) seem to have been generally accepted as a settlement of the question.

This did not deter the Chevalier de Paravey, however, from publishing[2015] two pamphlets,[2017] one in 1844 and the other at a somewhat later date, in which he argued that the country of Fusang should be looked for in America, and not in Japan. Translations of these pamphlets are given in Chapters IV and V. De Paravey also published two other essays,[2011] in which he attempted to prove that the natives of Bogota must have derived from Asiatic sources such partial civilization as they possessed.[2012]

The next to discuss the subject was Professor Karl Friedrich Neumann, who published his views in the "Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde," Vol. XVI of the new series,[1966] under the title of "Eastern Asia and Western America, according to Chinese Authorities of the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Centuries." Mr. Leland published a translation of this opuscule in his book, entitled "Fusang," and a translation is also given in the present volume, Chapter VI.

Since that time, articles upon the subject have followed each other so thick and fast that it is difficult to give a complete list of them.

In 1850 Mr. Leland[1720] published a *résumé* of the arguments upon this subject, in the New York "Knickerbocker Magazine"; and in 1862 this was republished, with additions, in the New York "Continental Magazine." In 1875 Mr. Leland published a much fuller work, entitled "Fusang, or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century." This treats the subject at much greater length than any other work, and hence it is impossible for the present author to do more than refer to it; but it adduces much new and valuable evidence as to the true location of Fusang, and well merits careful perusal.

In 1862 M. José Perez[2026] published a "Memoir upon the Relations of the Americans in Former Times with the Nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa," one section of which related to the knowledge of America possessed by the Chinese.

In 1865[1277] M. Gustave d'Eichthal published a "Study concerning the Buddhistic Origin of American Civilization."

In the same year M. Vivien de Saint-Martin,[2458] in a chapter of his "Geographical Annual" for that year, entitled "An Old Story Set Afloat," combated the idea that the Chinese had any early knowledge of America.

In 1866 the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in the work entitled "Ancient Monuments of Mexico,"[763] argued against the views of the author of the "Geographical Annual."

In 1868 Dr. A. Godron, President of the Academy of Sciences at Nancy, published, in the "Annals of Voyages of Geography, History, and Archæology,"[1411] an article entitled "A Buddhist Mission to America in the Fifth Century of the Christian Era."

According to the "American Philological Magazine" for August, 1869, the Rev. N. W. Jones published in his "Indian Bulletin" an able argument to show that the Chinese Fusang was America.

In the same number of the "American Philological Magazine" there appeared an article[850] upon the subject, by the Rev. Nathan Brown, under the heading, "Where was Fusang?"

In May, 1869, a letter upon the subject from Mr. Theos. Simson[1719] was published in the "Notes and Queries for China and Japan"; and in October, 1870, a letter by E. Bretschneider, Esq., M. D.,[774] was published in the "Chinese Recorder and Missionary Journal." Both of these letters were copied by Mr. Leland in his work.

At the first session of the International Congress of Americanists, held at Nancy in 1875, M. Lucien Adam read an argument against the identification of Fusang with America.

These various articles, some of them more or less condensed, are, with the exception of the argument by the Rev. N. W. Jones (of which I have been unable to find a copy), given in Chapters VII to XI of this work.

In 1876 M. the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys published a "Memoir regarding the Country known to the Ancient Chinese by the Name of Fusang";[1544] but as his views, and the exceedingly valuable new material that he presents, are given more fully in his notes to his translation of Ma Twan-lin's work, entitled "Ethnography of Foreign Nations," and as, moreover, much of the "Memoir" is quoted by Professor Williams in his comments upon it, it has not seemed necessary to copy the "Me-

moir" in this work. The substance of the notes upon the "Ethnography" is, however, given in Chapters XII and XIII.

Mr. Bancroft, in his "Native Races of the Pacific States,"[404] gives Klaproth's translation of the story of Fusang, and comments briefly upon it.

Professor S. Wells Williams presented to the American Oriental Society, on October 25, 1880, an article entitled "Notices of Fusang and Other Countries lying East of China," in which he urges some new grounds for adopting the conclusion of Klaproth that Fusang should be decided to have been located in Japan. This article, slightly condensed, is copied in Chapter XIV.

The last article on the subject is contained in the "Magazine of American History," for April, 1883, in which there is given a letter from the Rt. Rev. Channing M. Williams, referring to the accounts of Fusang contained in the *Shan Hai King*, the Chinese classic of lands and seas. This will be found in Chapter X; and a translation of all that portion of the *Shan Hai King* which relates to Eastern regions will be found in Chapter XXXV.

An extract from the Introduction to the "Grammar of the Chinese Language," by the Rev. W. Lobscheid,[1759] in which many singular coincidences are mentioned between the civilizations of Mexico and China; and some extracts from Mr. Prescott's "History of the Conquest of Mexico," in which he expresses his conviction of a connection between the civilizations of the two countries, are also given (in Chapter IX), as having a bearing upon the subject.

CHAPTER II.

DE GUIGNES'S DISCOVERY.

Chinese voyages—Knowledge of foreign lands—Work of Li-yen, a Chinese historian—The country of Fu-sang—The length of the *li*—Wen-shin—Its identification with Jesso—Ta-han—Its identification with Kamtchatka—The route to Ta-han by land—The country of the Ko-li-han—The She-goei—The Yu-che—Description of Kamtchatka—The land of Lieu-kuci—The description of Fu-sang—No other knowledge of the country—The Pacific coast of North America—A Japanese map—The Kingdom of Women—Its description—Shipwreck of a Chinese vessel—American traditions—Civilization of American tribes on the Pacific coast—The Mexicans—Horses—Cattle—The fu-sang tree—Mexican writing—Manner in which America was peopled—Similarity of customs in Asia and America—Resemblances in the people—Charlevoix's story—Natives floated upon cakes of ice—The kingdom of Chang-jin—Voyages of other nations—The Arabs—Exploration of the Atlantic—The Canaries—Story of their king—The Cape Verd Islands—Conclusion.

Investigation of the Navigations of the Chinese to the Coast of America, and as to some Tribes situated at the Eastern Extremity of Asia—by M. de Guignes.[1415]

The Chinese have not always been confined within the boundaries which Nature appears to have established to the country in which they dwell; they have often crossed the deserts and the mountains which shut them in on their northern side, and sailed the Indian and Japanese seas which bound their kingdom on the east and the south. The principal object of these voyages has been, either commerce with foreign nations, or the intention to extend the limits of their empire. In these voyages observations have been made that are important, as well in regard to history as to geography. Several of their generals have rectified the maps of the countries which they reconnoitered, and their historians have reported some details as to routes, bearings, and distances, which can be made useful.

In the enumeration of all the different foreign nations that

the Chinese have known, it appears that some of them must have been situated easterly from Tartary and Japan, in a region which was included within the limits of the American Continent.

A knowledge of this region of the world could have been obtained only by means of a cruise that is very remarkable and unusually daring for the Chinese—who have always been considered as but mediocre sailors, hardly capable of undertaking long voyages, and whose vessels are constructed of so little strength as to be poorly adapted to resisting the hardships of a sail over a distance so great as that from China to Mexico. These voyages have appeared to me to be so important, and to have so intimate a relation with the history of the tribes of America, as to induce me to devote myself to collecting and placing in order all that could contribute to their elucidation.

I intend this memoir to establish the voyages of the Chinese to Jesso, to Kamtchatka, and to that part of America which is situated opposite the easternmost coast of Asia. I dare flatter myself that these researches will be the more favourably received, inasmuch as they are novel, and rest wholly upon authentic facts, and not upon conjectures, such as those which we find in the works of Grotius, Delaët, and other writers who have investigated the origin of the American tribes. It is surprising to see that Chinese vessels made the voyage to America many centuries before Christopher Columbus—that is to say, more than twelve hundred years ago. This date, anterior to the origin and the establishment of the Mexican Empire, leads us to inquire whence these nations, and some other nations of America, received that degree of civilization which distinguishes them from the barbarous tribes of the continent.

Li-yen, a Chinese historian, who lived at the commencement of the seventh century, speaks of a country called *Fu-sang*, more than forty thousand *li* distant from China, toward the east. He says that, in order to reach it, one should set forth from the coast of the province of *Leao-tong*, situated to the north of *Pe-kin*, and that, after having traveled twelve thousand *li*, one reaches Japan ; that from that country, toward the north, after a voyage of seven thousand *li*, the country of *Wen-shin* is attained ; that at a distance of five thousand *li* eastwardly from the last the country of *Tu-han* is found, from which *Fu-sang* may be reached, which is at a distance of twenty thousand *li* from *Ta-*

han. Of all these countries we know no others than *Leao-tong*, a northerly province of China, the point of embarkation, and Japan, which was the principal halting-place for the Chinese vessels. The three other places at which they arrived in succession are *Wen-shin*, *Tu-han*, and *Fu-sang*. I shall show that the first must be understood as Jesso, and the second as Kamtchatka, and that the third must be a country situated near California. But before examining this route particularly, I wish to give an idea of the *li* which the Chinese geographers employed as the standard for measuring the distance between these places. It is very difficult to determine the true length of this measure. To-day, two hundred and fifty *li* make a geographical degree, which gives ten *li* to each French league of about three English miles. But the length of the *li*, like that of the French league, has varied under the different imperial dynasties and in the different provinces of the empire. Père Gaubil, who has made able researches concerning the astronomy of the Chinese, does not dare to attempt to prove the true length of this measure. He informs us that the majority of the scholars of the reign of the *Han* dynasty maintained that a thousand *li*, measured from the south to the north, gave a difference of an inch in the length of the shadow of an eight-foot hand of a sun-dial, when measured at noon. The scholars of later days have believed this determination to be wrong, because they have been guided in their judgment by the measure of the *li* in use in the times in which they lived. If we cast our eyes upon the *li* adopted by the astronomers of the *Liang* dynasty, which flourished at the commencement of the sixth century, we find a material difference, since two hundred and fifty *li*, measured from the north to the south, give a similar difference in the length of the shadow. In order to judge of the distance of the countries by the statement as to the number of *li* between them, it is therefore necessary to know the length of the *li* at the time of the author. We may be assured that he has considered the length of this measure, and has given the distances with precision. The difficulty in determining the length of the *li* may be avoided by considering the report of the same author regarding two places that are well known. The distance which is reported from the shore of *Leao-tong* to the island of *Tsui-ma-tao* is seven thousand *li*. In conformity with the length of the *li* established by this distance,

the twelve thousand *li* from *Leao-tong* to Japan terminate at about the center of the island, near Meaco, which is the capital, and which then bore the name of *Shan-ching*, or the City of the Mountain. *Wen-shin*, which is found seven thousand *li* from Japan toward the northeast, can not be anything else than Jesso, situated to the northeast of Japan, and at which the seven thousand *li* terminate. A Chinese historian, who has given us a very curious memoir concerning Japan, has furnished us with additional proofs. In speaking of the limits of this empire, he says that to the northeast of the mountains which bound Japan is placed the kingdom of the *Mao-jin*, or of hairy men, and beyond them that of *Wen-shin*, or the country of *painted bodies*, about seven thousand *li* from Japan. The first are the inhabitants of Matsumai; the latter are their neighbours on the north, the people of Jesso, which, as a consequence, must be *Wen-shin*. This country, according to the Chinese historian, was made known about 510 or 520 A. D., its inhabitants having figures similar to those of animals. They traced different lines upon their faces, the form of which served to distinguish the chief men of the nation from the common people. They exposed their condemned criminals to wild beasts, and they deemed those innocent from whom the animals took flight. Their towns or villages were unwalled. The dwelling of the king was ornamented with precious things. They added, again, that a ditch might be seen there which appeared to be filled with quicksilver, and that this matter, esteemed in commerce, became liquid and flowing when it had imbibed water from the rain. It was, for the rest, a fertile country, where all that is necessary to sustain life might be found in abundance.

This description agrees with what we read in the accounts of those who have explored the island of Jesso. The Japanese, who were formerly sent there by an emperor of Japan, found hairy men there who wore their beards in the manner of the Chinese, but who were so rude and brutish that they would not receive any instruction. When the Hollanders discovered Jesso, in 1643, the same barbarians were living there that had been described by the Chinese and Japanese, and their country appeared to abound in mines of silver. But that which agrees the most remarkably with the account of the Chinese is, that the Hollanders found there a mineral earth which glistened in the sun as if it consisted

of silver. This earth, mixed with a very friable sand, they found where water had been placed. It is this which the Chinese had taken for quicksilver. These proofs, and the situation of *Wen-shin*, and its distance from Japan according to the Chinese writers, do not permit us to doubt that it must be the island of Jesso. At a distance of five thousand *li* from this country, toward the east, the ancient Chinese navigators found *Ta-han*. They declared that the inhabitants of this country had no military weapons ; that their customs were essentially the same as those of the people of *Wen-shin*, but that they had a different language.

At almost exactly the distance of five thousand *li*, indicated by the Chinese, we find upon our maps the southern coast of an island which Don Jean de Gama discovered when going from Mexico to China. Because of the agreement as to distance, I at first believed that this coast was that of *Ta-han ;* but the details of the route which was taken to reach that country by land, a route which can not be reconciled with the island of Gama, which is said to be separated from Asia, has compelled me to seek elsewhere for the true location of the country, and to place it in the easternmost part of Asia. The statements of our navigators who have sailed these seas have contributed not a little to confirm me in this opinion. They have remarked that, in the route from China to California, they usually took the wind carrying them to the north of Japan and into the sea of Jesso, from which they sailed to the east, but that at the Strait of Uries the current carried them rapidly toward the north. Thus the Chinese, for the purpose of keeping close to the coast, have entered into the Strait of Uries, beyond which they have found a number of islands which extend as far as the southernmost point of Kamtchatka, where the five thousand *li*, the distance between Jesso and *Ta-han*, also terminate ; that is to say, they have reached the port of Avatcha, at which the Russians recently embarked, to attempt the discovery of the western coast of America, and whence they have taken the route of Captain Spanberg, who was commissioned by the Russian empress, in 1739, to reconnoitre the coast of Japan. But, in order to leave no doubt as to this point, I believe that we should be able to show by the route indicated by the Chinese author that *Ta-han* is more to the north than the place discovered by Gama, and that it forms a part of Siberia.

I shall not examine in full detail all the Tartarian tribes mentioned by the Chinese historian, but shall confine myself to speaking only of those that are situated in the easternmost part of Asia, and shall devote myself to relating the customs of the inhabitants, so that they may be compared with those of the nations whom I place in America, and that it may be conclusively shown, by the differences which are found, that these last can not be placed in Kamtchatka. Moreover, this circumstantial account has seemed very interesting to me, because of the information that it gives in regard to the condition of Eastern Siberia.

The Chinese travelers, who desired to reach the country of *Ta-han*, set forth from a city situated to the north of the river *Hoang-ho* toward the country of the Tartar *Ortous*. This city, which the Chinese called *Chung-sheu-kiang-ching*, must be the same as that which now bears the name of *Piljotaihotun*. The great desert of *Shamo* was then passed, and *Caracorum* was reached, which was the principal encampment of the *Hoei-ke*, important Tartarian tribes, from which they came into the country of the *Ko-li-han* and of the *Tu-po*, situated to the south of a large lake, upon the frozen surface of which the travelers were obliged to cross. To the north of this lake, great mountains were found, and a country where the sun, says one, is not above the horizon longer *than the length of time that it takes to cook a breast of mutton.* This is the singular expression of which the Chinese author makes use to describe a country situated very far to the north. The *Tu-po*, neighbours of the *Ko-li-han*, have their dwelling-places upon the south of the same lake. These people, who do not distinguish the different seasons of the year, shut themselves up in cabins made of interlaced brush-wood, where they live upon fish and birds and other animals which are found in their country, and upon roots. They neglect to feed herds, and do not apply themselves at all to the cultivation of the earth. The richest among them clothe themselves in the skins of sables and of reindeers, others being clad in birds'-feathers. They attach their dead to the branches of trees. They thus leave them to be devoured by wild beasts, or to fall from putrefaction, which is a practice also found among the Tunguses who live in the same country.

Another Chinese historian informs us as to where we may look for the true abode of the *Ko-li-han*, which appears to us to

be the same as the country of the *Kerkis* or *Kergis*. He mentions the rivers Obi and Angara under the names of *O-pu* and *Gang-ko-la*. We must conclude from this that the lake placed to the north of the *Ko-li-han* is the famous Lake Baikal, which those who come from Russia, or from Siberia, to China, are obliged to cross upon the ice when they arrive there in winter. The Chinese employed eight days in crossing it. Less time is taken at present; but it is still as dangerous as ever, because of the force of the winds and the abundance of snow. It follows from this account that the country of *Ko-li-han* is that of the *Kerkis*, a warlike people, who lived among the mountains, and who have been regarded as the ancestors of the Circassians, who, among themselves, call themselves *Kirkez*, and who live to the north of Georgia, where they have finally penetrated. The ancient country of the *Kerkis* is situated in the provinces which we now call Selinginskoy and Irkutskoy, between the Obi and the Selinga. This is what it was necessary to determine in order to arrive at an exact knowledge of the route which led to *Ta-han*. Upon leaving the country of the *Ko-li-han*, one comes into that of the *She-goei*. These people are situated to the east of Lake Baikal and of the country of the *Kerkis*, upon the northern bank of the river Amoor. From the detailed description which has been preserved for us by the Chinese historians, it may be seen that these barbarians extended in the north of Siberia along the Lena River up to the neighbourhood of the sixtieth degree. This important tribe was divided into five principal hordes, which appeared as so many different nations. The first, called *Nan She-goei*, that is to say, *Southern She-goei*, were situated to the north of the Tartarian *Niu-che* and *Khi-tans*, in the vicinity of the river Amoor, in a country marshy, cold, and sterile, where no sheep were raised, and where but few horses were found, but which produced swine and cattle in great numbers, and even a greater number of wild beasts, from which the inhabitants protected themselves with difficulty. The barbarians were clothed in hog-skins, and at the summer solstice they retired into the midst of the mountains. They had wagons covered with felt, such as are used by the Turks, which were drawn by cattle. They built their cabins of wood, with some reeds. Their writing was by means of small pieces of wood, and the manner in which they disposed them expressed their different

ideas. He who wished to marry, commenced by carrying away the destined bride by force, and afterward sent a present of cattle or horses to her parents. After the death of her husband, the laws of the country compelled the woman to pass the remainder of her life in widowhood, and the family continued the mourning for three years, as is the custom among the Chinese. The corpses of the dead were placed upon piles of wood and abandoned. The other branches of the same nation consisted of the *She-goei* of the north (which were called *Po She-goei*) and the *Great She-goei.* They were clothed in fish-skins, and had no other industry than fishing and hunting sables, and during the winters they retired into caverns. At the north of the last there lived another nation, whose excursions carried them to the Arctic Ocean.

This is the account given by the Chinese historians of the ancient inhabitants of the north of Asia, across whose country those who wished to go to *Ta-han* were obliged to pass. In fact, after having left the country of the *She-goei* and traveling eastward for five days, the *Yu-che* are found, a people who derive their origin from the *She-goei;* from there, after ten days' journey toward the north, the country of *Ta-han* is reached, which is the terminus of the route which I have undertaken to examine. *Ta-han* may be reached by sea also, as I have shown above, and by setting sail from Jesso; from which we must necessarily conclude that the country of the *Yu-che,* which makes part of Siberia, is situated toward the river Ouda, which discharges itself into the Sea of *Kamtchatka,* and that *Ta-han,* placed to the north of the *Yu-che,* is the easternmost part of Siberia, and not the island of Gama, which is entirely detached from the continent, and is situated more to the south and nearer to Jesso.

This part of Siberia, called Kamtchatka, is the region which the Japanese call *Oku-jesso,* or Upper Jesso. They place it upon their maps to the north of Jesso, and represent it as being twice as large as China, and extending much farther to the east than the eastern shore of Japan. This is the country which the Chinese have named *Ta-han,* which may signify "as large as China," a name which corresponds with the extent of the country and to the idea which the Japanese have given us of it. But, according to the more detailed accounts given by the Russians, the country is a tongue of land which extends from north to

south, from the Cape of Suetoi-noss as far as to the north of Jesso, with which several writers have confounded it. It is a part of Siberia which is separated from the rest by a gulf of the Eastern Sea, which runs from the south to the north. Toward the northern extremity it is inhabited by very savage tribes. Those who live in the southern part are more civilized, and have much in common with the Japanese, which has occasioned the belief that they were originally colonists from that country. It is probable that their commerce with the Chinese and Japanese, who traded upon their coasts, has contributed to render them more friendly and affable than those of the north, to whom these two civilized nations penetrated but very rarely.

The southern part of Kamtchatka, or *Ta-han*, has also been known to the Chinese by the name of *Lieu-kuei*. Formerly, the Tartars who lived in the neighbourhood of the river Amoor reached the country after five days' navigation toward the north. The Chinese historian reports that this country is surrounded by the sea upon three sides, that the people dwell along the coast and in the neighbouring islands, and that they have their dwellings in deep caverns and woody thickets. They make a species of cloth from dog-hair. The skins of swine and reindeer serve for their clothing during the winter, and fish-skins during the summer. The weather of the country is cold, because of the fogs and snows which they have in abundance. The rivers are frozen over, and several lakes are found, supplying fish, which the people salt in order to preserve them. They have no knowledge of the division of the seasons. They love to dance, and wear their mourning-garments for three years. They have large bows, and arrows pointed with bone or stone. In the year 640 A. D. the king of this country sent his sons to China.

These long details have been necessary to arrive at an exact understanding of the situation of the country of *Fu-sang*, which is the utmost limit of the navigations of the Chinese. The following is the description of it which their historians have preserved for us. It was given by a priest who went to China in the year 499 A. D., in the reign of the *Ts'i* dynasty :

" The Kingdom of *Fu-sang* is situated twenty thousand *li* to the east of the country of *Ta-han*. It is also east of China. It produces a great number of a species of tree called *fu-sang*, from which has come the name borne by the country. The leaves of

the *fu-sang* are similar to those of the tree which the Chinese call *t'ung*. When they first appear, they resemble the shoots of the reeds called bamboos, and the people of the country eat them. The fruit has the form of a pear, and inclines toward red in colour; from its bark they make cloth and other stuffs, with which the people clothe themselves, and the boards which are made from it are employed in the construction of their houses. No walled cities are found there. The people have a species of writing, and they love peace. Two prisons, one placed in the south and the other in the north, are designed to confine their criminals, with this difference, that the most guilty are placed in the northern prison, and are afterward transferred into that of the south if they obtain their pardon; otherwise they are condemned to remain all their lives in the first. They are permitted to marry, but their children are made slaves. When criminals are found occupying one of the principal ranks in the nation, the other chiefs assemble around them; they place them in a ditch, and hold a great feast in their presence. They are then judged. Those who have merited death are buried alive in ashes, and their posterity is punished according to the magnitude of the crime.

"The king bears the title of noble *Y-chi;* the nobles of the nation after him are the great and petty *Tui-lu* and the *Na-to-sha.* The prince is preceded by drums and horns when he goes abroad. He changes the colour of his garments every year. The cattle of the country bear a considerable weight upon their horns. They are harnessed to wagons. Horses and deer are also employed for this purpose. The inhabitants feed hinds as in China, and from them they obtain butter. A species of red pear is found there, which is kept for a year without spoiling; also the iris, and peaches, and copper in great abundance. They have no iron, and gold and silver are not valued. He who wishes to marry, builds a house or cabin near that of the maid whom he desires to wed, and takes care to sprinkle a certain quantity of water upon the ground every day during the year; he finally marries the maid, if she wishes and consents; otherwise he goes to seek his fortune elsewhere. The marriage ceremonies, for the most part, are similar to those which are practiced in China. At the death of relatives, they fast a greater or less number of days, according to the degree of relationship, and

during their prayers they expose the image of the deceased person. They wear no mourning-garments, and the prince who succeeds to his father takes no care regarding the government for three years after his elevation. In former times the people had no knowledge of the religion of *Fo;* but in the year 458 A. D., in the *Sung* dynasty, five priests of Samarcand went preaching their doctrine in this country, and then the manners of the people were changed."

The historian from whom *Ma Twan-lin* has copied this relation adds that there was no knowledge of the country of *Fu-sang* before the year 458 A. D., and, up to the present time, I have not seen any other than these two writers who speak of it with full details. Some writers of dictionaries, who have also made mention of it, content themselves by saying that it is situated in the region where the sun rises.

This account informs us that *Fu-sang* is twenty thousand *li* from *Ta-han* or Kamtchatka, a distance almost as great as that from the shore of *Leao-tong* to Kamtchatka. So, in setting forth from one of the ports of this last-named country, as that of Avatcha, and sailing eastward for a distance of twenty thousand *li* (which presents to us a great expanse of sea), the route terminates upon the westernmost coast of America, not far from the spot where the Russians landed in 1741. In all this vast waste of waters we do not find any land, not even an island, to which the distance of twenty thousand *li* could be applied, and we can not suppose that the Chinese had followed the coast of Asia and landed upon its most easterly extremity, and there found the land of *Fu-sang*. The excessive coldness of the weather which exists in Kamtchatka and the neighbouring northern regions renders them almost uninhabitable. The distance is far from sufficient, and the unfortunate inhabitants appear to be given over to barbarism, when their customs are compared with those of the people of *Fu-sang*.

In vain we flatter ourselves that we know the western coast of America perfectly ; we know nothing of the country situated to the west and northwest of Canada. Our first geographers, from conjectures, as to the foundation of which we are ignorant, have prolonged the western shores of America so that they approach Asia, supposing that they are not separated, otherwise than by a strait to which they have given the name of Anian. Fran-

çois Gualle, who endeavours to prove the existence of this strait, calls our attention to the changing of the currents and the waves, and to the whales and other Arctic fish that are found in the northern part of the Pacific Ocean; but, since the publication of M. de l'Isle's map of this part of the globe, we have learned the results of the explorations of the Russians, who, without giving us the contour of the coasts of America with precision, have made known to us, in general, that the coast of California trends toward the west and approaches quite near to that of Asia, leaving nothing between the two countries except a strait of small width, re-establishing the shape of the American Continent as it was given by the earliest geographers, apparently from a knowledge more exact than we have thought, and which has been lost to us.

The Japanese, who have also cultivated the arts, and navigation in particular, appear not to have been ignorant of the situation of the countries which lie to the north of their empire. Kaempfer claimed to have seen in Japan a map, made by the people of that country, upon which they represented Kamtchatka, which extends farther east than Japan. Upon the eastern shore, opposite to America, there is a gulf of a square form, in the middle of which a small island is seen; farther to the north a second may be perceived, which appears to touch the two continents with its two extremities. Upon a map which this celebrated traveler brought to Europe, and which has passed into the collection of the late M. Hans Sloan, along the eastern coast of Kamchatka a strait is seen, and beyond it a large country which is America. In the northern part of the strait is an island which extends toward the two continents. M. Hans Sloan has wished me to call attention to this curious map, and Mr. Birch, Secretary of the Royal Society of London, has sent me an exact copy of it.

This map agrees quite closely with our old maps of America, and with the new discoveries of the Russians. No island is seen where M. de l'Isle has placed the coast which the Russians have discovered; but, in the neighbourhood of this strait, America appears to advance considerably, and to form a long tongue of land which extends nearly to Asia. I am led to believe that this coast must form part of the continent of America, from the fact that M. de l'Isle states that a large number of the inhabitants came to meet the Russians with boats similar to those of the Green-

landers or Esquimaux, which indicates some relationship between the people, and at the same time a connection of this land with America. In this case it is readily seen that the Chinese could reach *Fu-sang* much more easily than would otherwise be possible, for they could follow the coasts almost all the way.

I think that I have given sufficient proof that, at a distance of twenty thousand *li* from Kamtchatka, there is found a land where *Fu-sang* may be placed; that this land is that of the continent of America, from which it results that *Fu-sang* is situated in this continent. The Chinese historians speak also of a country a thousand *li* farther east than *Fu-sang*. They call it the "Kingdom of Women." But their account is filled with fables, similar to those which our first explorers have related concerning newly discovered countries.

"The inhabitants of this kingdom are white. They have hairy bodies, and long locks that fall down to the ground. At the second or third month the women come to bathe in a river, and they become pregnant. They bear their young at the sixth or seventh month. Instead of breasts, they have white locks at the back of the head, from which there issues a liquor that serves to nourish their children. It is said that, one hundred days after their birth, the children are able to run about, and appear fully grown when three or four years of age. The women take flight at sight of a stranger, and they are very respectful toward their husbands. These people feed upon a plant which has the taste and odor of salt, and which for this reason bears the name of the 'salt-plant.' The leaves are similar to those of the plant which the Chinese call *Sie-hao*, which is a species of absinthe."

It is easy to perceive from this tale that, as is the custom in several places in the Indies, the women of the country nursed their children over their shoulders, and the fable reported above must have originated from this practice.

We also find in the same authors that, in the year 507 A. D., in the reign of the *Liang* dynasty, a Chinese vessel, which was sailing the ocean, was driven by a tempest to an unknown island. The women resembled those of China, but the men had a figure and a voice like those of dogs. These people fed upon small beans, and had clothing made of a species of linen cloth, and the walls of their houses were constructed of earth built up in a circular form. The Chinese could not understand their language.

There is room for the belief that the beans that are mentioned are grains of maize; and the Chevalier de Tonti, in his accounts of Louisiana, reports that the Taenças, when speaking to their king, have the custom of making a great howling, by means of which they intend to show their respect and admiration for him. A similar practice among the people of the last-mentioned island may have led the Chinese to say that their voices resembled those of dogs.*

We can not doubt at present that the Chinese had penetrated very far into the ocean toward the south, sailing back and forth across it, and that, in consequence, they had sufficient boldness and experience in navigation to enable them to sail to California direct. The examination of the route which they took, and the distances which they have given, prove that they went there in the year 458 A. D. In fact, we find some traces of this commerce in our own accounts. George Horne tells that, at the west of the country of the Epicériniens, neighbours of the Hurons, there lived a people among whom there arrived foreign merchants who had no beards and who were carried by large vessels. Francisco Vasquez de Coronado states also that, at Quivira, vessels were found of which the sterns were gilded; and Pierre Melendez, in Acosta, speaks of the wrecks of Chinese vessels seen upon the coast. It is also an unquestionable fact that foreign merchants clothed in silk formerly came among the Catualcans. All these accounts, added to those which we have adduced, become so many proofs that the Chinese traded at the north of California, near the country of Quivira. We may also notice, as a necessary consequence of such commerce, that, of all the American tribes, the most civilized are situated near the coast which faces China. In the region of New Mexico there are found tribes that have houses of several stories, with halls, chambers, and bath-rooms. They are clothed in robes of cotton and of skin; but that which is most unusual among savages is, that they have leather shoes and boots. Each village has its public criers, who announce the orders of the king, and idols and tem-

* The Chinese geographers have also made mention of an island, called *Kia-y*, which is situated to the east of Japan. In the year 659 some of these islanders came to China with the Japanese. The Japanese map, which has been sent to me by M. Sloan, places the island of *Kia-y* to the east of Japan and of Jesso, in the midst of twelve other smaller islands.

ples are seen everywhere. Baron de la Hontan speaks also of the Morambecs, who lived in walled cities situated near a great salt lake, and made woolen cloth, copper hatchets, and various other manufactures. Some writers have maintained that the civilized people situated to the north are the remnants of the Mexicans who took flight at the time when Hernando Cortez penetrated into Mexico, and who fled to the north and founded several considerable kingdoms, among others that of Quivira. Although this conjecture appears not to be devoid of some foundation, we read, nevertheless, in Acosta, that the Mexicans themselves, a long time before the Spanish invasion, came to Mexico from the north, which leads me to believe that the Chinese who landed in northern America had contributed to their civilization. The foundation of the Mexican Empire does not date back of the year 820 A. D., a time several centuries later than the navigations of the Chinese, of which the first occurred in 458. The people who inhabited Mexico before 820, and who bore the name of *Chichimecas*, were savages, who retired into the mountains, where they lived without laws, without religion, and without a prince to govern them. About the year 820 the *Nahuatalcas*, a wise and civilized nation, came to Mexico, from which they drove the inhabitants, and there founded the powerful empire which the Spaniards destroyed. The *Nahuatalcas* did not bring from the north the custom of sacrificing human victims. These barbarous sacrifices were not instituted until after their arrival in Mexico, and upon the occasion of a circumstance which is related in full by Acosta.

Before terminating this essay, it is necessary to make some remarks regarding the description of the country of *Fu-sang*, and to reply to some objections that may be raised, particularly as to the occurrence of horses, which have not been found in any part of America. The great advantages which are derived from the possession of these animals would appear to be sufficient to insure their preservation. We observe upon this subject that all nations do not seem to have been equally persuaded of their usefulness. Tartary, which is filled with horses, is near to Siberia, where, in several places, they have not been found at all, and where the dog or the reindeer is used instead. Nevertheless, horses could have been taken to these places—no difficulty, such as that of crossing the sea, preventing their transportation—and

these tribes have known of them among their neighbours without having made use of them. Possibly the Chinese vessels formerly carried a few of them to America, and some tribes then used them. But it is well known to what a point the savages of America carried their cruelty toward conquered tribes. Their wars caused frequent migrations and the complete annihilation of several nations, and consequently the destruction of the usages which these exterminated tribes may have received by means of commerce. Finally, no one undertakes to guarantee all that is contained in the relations of Marco Polo, of Plan Carpin, and of Rubruquis. These ancient travelers have sometimes wandered from the truth ; and yet we can not, merely upon this account, sweepingly condemn all of their statements. The Chinese traveler may have allowed himself to be deceived by something that he saw, and may have applied the name of horses to certain animals of the country of Quivira and of Cibola, which resembled them in size, and which the Spaniards have called sheep, on account of the wool that they bear.* In the same way we have given the names of European animals to several animals of America, notwithstanding the fact that they are of a different species. In regard to the cattle mentioned in the account : since we have discovered the country of Quivira, Hudson's Bay, and the Mississippi, a species of cattle has been found with large horns, so that no difficulty remains regarding this point, and we may conclude that the Chinese navigators landed to the north of California, where they found these animals.

A more exact description of the tree called *fu-sang* would contribute toward enabling us to determine the region more definitely. All that is said of it agrees rather with some tree of America than with any that occurs in the frozen land of Kamtchatka; and the uses that are made of it, such as the manufacture of the stuffs, the cloth, and the paper spoken of in the account, appear to indicate a civilized people inhabiting a temperate country, such as that in the neighbourhood of California, rather than a country like Kamtchatka, the inhabitants of which retire into caverns, and are clothed in skins, and are too barbarous to make cloth or paper, or to have letters or true literary characters for the expression of their ideas—a thing unknown

* "These animals," says Acosta, "are of as great use to the Indians as asses are among us, and are used to carry heavy burdens."

even to several nations in the southern part of Kamtchatka, who, as we have previously observed, are, from their southerly location, much nearer to China than *Fu-sang* can be supposed to be, if we locate it in the northern part of Kamtchatka, or anywhere upon the northeastern coast of Asia ; in America, on the contrary, and particularly among the Mexicans, there is found a species of writing which consists not of alphabetical characters, but hieroglyphic characters or representations of ideas, such as the oldest characters of China were.

Be it as it may, it is not my design to produce a multitude of conjectures as to the people of *Fu-sang* and as to the Americans. I confine myself to that which appears to me to be solidly confirmed. The Chinese penetrated to a country very far from the shores of the Orient. I have examined the distances stated by them, and the length of the standard of measure used by them, and they have led me to the coast of California. I have concluded from this that they have known America since the year 458 A. D. In the countries near to the spot where they landed were found the most civilized nations of America. I have thought that they are indebted for their civilization to the commerce which they have had with the Chinese.* This is all that I proposed to establish in this essay.

It is now easy to perceive the manner in which America has been peopled. There is much probability that several colonies have passed to it from the north of Asia, in the place where the two continents are the nearest together, and where a great island that extends from the east to the west, and which appears to unite them, renders the passage still easier. They may have reached it either by means of the ice, which in these seas sometimes lasts two or three years, as we have seen examples in our own days, or by the help of the canoes in use among the Greenlanders and other northern barbarians living in the easternmost part of Siberia.

A certain agreement in the manners and customs which are found among the Tunguses and the Samoyedes with those of the tribes of Hudson's Bay, of Mississippi, and of Louisiana, adds a

* George Horne, 1, iv, c. 13, goes further. He affirms that the Mexicans are a colony of Chinese who came into America in 1279 A. D. with their emperor named *Ti-pun*, after the conquest of China by the Mongols. But this statement is erroneous, since *Ti-pun* with his fleet was swallowed up by the waters.

new force to these reflections. It is known that in general all the nations of the same country are distinguished by peculiarities of countenance, and by an exterior, that proclaims their common origin. Such are the Chinese, for example, who are easily recognized among other nations. The nations of Europe have a long and bushy beard, while that of the Chinese, the Tartars, and the people of Siberia is but slight ; in which point they resemble the Americans, from which it might be inferred that these last came from Tartary. In examining the animals, we are compelled to make the same reflection. Several are found in America which are not met with elsewhere, except in the north of Asia—as the hairy cattle, and the reindeer, so common in Siberia and in the northern part of America.

A number of additional facts can also be stated which confirm the case of the passage. We extract them from Charlevoix, who reports that Père Grellon, after having laboured for some time in the missions of New France, went from there to China, and thence to Tartary, where he met a Huron woman whom he had known in Canada. She had been captured in war, and taken from one nation to another until she had reached Tartary. Another Jesuit, upon returning from China, related also that a Spanish woman from Florida, who met with the same misfortune, after having passed through extremely cold regions was finally met in Tartary.

However remarkable these accounts may be, it is nevertheless not impossible to reconcile them with geography. The women reached the shore of the sea that washes the western coast of America, whence they first passed by canoes to the island that is found in the strait, from which they landed upon the continent of Asia, and finally, taking the route from *Ta-han*, to which I have referred, they approached China.

There is room for the belief that this is one of the ways by which America has been peopled ; but it is not at all likely that it has been the only one on the side of the north. Some among the writers who have investigated the origin of the Americans have made some conjectures upon the subject which seem not to be destitute of foundation. At the mouth of the river Kolyma, in Siberia, is found a thickly peopled island, which is often frequented by those who come to hunt for the fossil ivory of the mammoth, which is more beautiful than that of the

elephant, and is used for making different objects. They arrive there, with all their families, by crossing the ice, and it frequently happens that, surprised by a thaw, they are carried away upon large cakes of ice toward the opposite point of America, which is not very far distant. That which seems to give more weight to this conjecture is the fact that the Americans who inhabit this country have the same physiognomy as the unfortunate islanders, who, from too great a desire for gain, expose themselves to the danger of thus being transported to a strange country. It can not be doubted that floating ice has sometimes carried men, and, even more frequently, animals, to neighbouring countries. Great cakes of ice, detached from more southerly lands, have been seen to arrive upon the coast of Iceland, laden with wood and with animals, of which the Icelanders take so great advantage that they neglect the interior of the island, and remain more willingly upon the coast, in order to be on hand to profit by them. It is in this manner that a number of ferocious animals have penetrated into regions where men would never wish to have brought them.

I conclude, from all these observations, that a part of America has been peopled by the barbarians who inhabit the north of Asia. Adding also that the commerce of the Chinese has not only carried new inhabitants to them, but has also contributed much to the civilization of the American people, and to give them a knowledge of the most useful arts. And if, upon the evidence of the Japanese map, we place the kingdom of *Changjin* to the south of the Strait of Magellan, it is certain in that case that the Chinese and the Coreans have known the southern part of America; that their navigators have frequented it; and that by this means they have civilized the Peruvians, among whom certain arts flourished, and who felt themselves not to be barbarians in anything.

Other nations, less civilized than the Chinese, have also had means for reaching America no less easily at the south. Those who have populated the islands of Sumatra and Borneo, the Moluccas, and the Philippines, are connected with the inhabitants of India and of China; they have been from island to island in their canoes; they have penetrated successively to New Guinea, New Holland, and New Zealand, immense countries of which we do not know the extent. In that way they have ap-

proached the American Continent. Some of them may have reached the islands which are found between the tenth and twentieth degrees of south latitude—islands so near to each other that they form, as it were, a chain, which they could have followed. They have been peopled one after another, until those most distant from their original starting-point, and the nearest to America, have received their colonies.

Perhaps the same reasoning might be applied to some parts of Europe. The British Islands, Norway, Iceland, and Greenland may have been the places of passage of American colonies, and, as these regions became more thickly peopled, some of the inhabitants would go to seek new and more distant habitations. But without stopping here to make conjectures regarding the navigation of the ancients, history furnishes us with a proof that civilized nations have attempted to discover new lands to the west of Europe, and to penetrate far into this vast sea. It is true of the Arabs.

It is known that under the dynasty of the Ommiades these tribes made the conquest of a part of Africa. Thence, under the leadership of Tharic, they passed into Spain, which they reduced to a province of their empire; but after the Ommiades had been destroyed in Syria, a prince of that house escaped the general massacre made by the Abbassides, and fled to Spain, where he was proclaimed caliph, and founded a powerful monarchy, which was destroyed by other princes coming from Africa. These possessed the greater part of Spain, until they were driven out by the Christians. It was during the reign of the Arabs in Spain that some of their sailors, setting sail from Lisbon, where they then were masters, embarked upon the gloomy sea or Western Ocean, with the intention of penetrating as far as they could toward the west, and of discovering the islands and lands which existed there. But their enterprise did not meet with the success with which they flattered themselves. After eleven days of navigation before a favourable wind, they found a thick sea, which exhaled a bad odor, where they met a number of rocks, and where the darkness commenced to make itself perceived. They were not so bold as to penetrate any farther. Making sail then to the south, they, after twelve days of navigation, explored the Canaries, where they met a man who spoke Arabic. They traveled about among the islands, and landed upon one,

where they were stopped by the islanders. Questioned by the king of the country as to the object of their voyage, they answered him that their design had been to penetrate to the end of the world. The king informed them that his father had ordered some of his subjects to make the same attempt, but that, after having sailed the sea for a month without discovering anything, they had returned to the Canaries. These strange voyages of the Arabs, and particularly that of the inhabitants of the Canaries, cause us to suspect that others of the islanders, equally bold and more fortunate, may have reached America ; since they had the courage to abandon themselves, with their vessels, to the mercy of this vast sea, although they had no knowledge of the compass, and, as we regard them, were but little skilled in the art of navigation.

Other Arabs, and the people of Senegal, knew also at the same time of the Cape Verd Islands. We have not found in any writer that the Arabs penetrated any farther. Nevertheless, they approached at least this near to the lands of America, and, if they were not bold enough to sail directly to it, some of those who sailed the sea may have been carried by the tempests to the islands of the Azores, which are in the same degree of latitude, where pieces of wood and dead bodies from America are often found. It is this which gave birth to the belief of Christopher Columbus that there must be, and were, lands near the Azores.

After this recital, we see that even the most barbarous people have had sufficient skill in the art of navigation to reach very distant islands, and, as a necessary consequence, to go even as far as to America ; but it is not my intention to exhaust the subject. We shall not be able to succeed in doing that until after we have obtained an exact knowledge of all the globe, and have discovered all the southern lands. I must stop with having collected the facts which are scattered in the Chinese geographies concerning the voyages of the Chinese in the South Sea and to America, and with having made, in consequence, some reflections concerning the passage of colonies to America.

CHAPTER III.

KLAPROTH'S DISSENT.

Title of de Guignes's article incorrect—Translation of the account of *Fu-sang*—Vines and horses not found in America—Route to Japan—Length of the *li*—Identification of *Wen-shin* with Jesso—*Ta-han* identified with Taraikai or Saghalien—The route to *Ta-han* by land—The *Shy-wei—Lieu-kuei—Fu-sang* south of *Ta-han* instead of east—*Fu-sang* an ancient name of Japan—Analysis of name "Fu-sang"—The paper mulberry—Metals—The introduction of Buddhism—Fantastic tales.

Researches regarding the Country of Fu-sang, mentioned in Chinese Books, and erroneously supposed to be a Part of America.—By J. Klaproth.[1647]

The celebrated de Guignes, having found in Chinese books a description of a country situated a great distance to the east of China, and thinking it probable that this country, called Fu-sang, must be a part of America, set forth this opinion in an essay read before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, entitled "Investigation of the Navigations of the Chinese to the Coast of America, and as to some Tribes situated at the Eastern Extremity of Asia."

It should be first observed that this title is incorrect. Nothing is said in the Chinese original, which de Guignes had before his eyes, concerning any voyage undertaken by the Chinese to *Fu-sang*, but, as is shown farther on, it is simply a question of a description of this country, given by a priest who was a native of it, and who had come to China. This notice is found in that part of the Great Annals of China * entitled *Nan-szu*, or "His-

* These are the *Nan-eul-szu*, or the "Twenty-two Historians," of which the works form a collection of more than six hundred Chinese volumes, and which should not be confounded with the annals entitled *T'ung-kian-kang-mu*, which are known in Europe by the meager extracts which Père Mailla has given in twelve volumes, in 4°.

tory of the South." After the destruction of the dynasty of *Tsin*, in 420 A. D., China was overwhelmed with troubles, which resulted in the establishment of two empires, one in the northern provinces, the other in those of the south. The last was successively governed, from 420 to 589 A. D., by the four dynasties of *Sung*, *Ts'i*, *Liang*, and *Ch'in*. The history of the two empires was written by *Li-yan-cheu*, who lived about the commencement of the seventh century. This is what he says about *Fu-sang :*

"In the first of the years *yung-yuan*, of the reign of *Fe-ti*, of the dynasty of *Ts'i*, a *shaman* (or Buddhist priest), called *Hoei Shin*, arrived from the country of *Fu-sang* at *King-cheu*.* He related what follows : *Fu-sang* is twenty thousand *li* to the east of the country of *Ta-han*, and equally to the east of China. In this country there grow many trees called *fu-sang*,† of which the leaves resemble those of the *t'ung* (*Bignonia tomentosa*), and the first shoots those of the bamboo. The people of the country eat them. The fruit is red and of the shape of a pear. The bark of this tree is prepared in the same way as that of hemp, and cloth and clothing are made of it. Flowered stuffs are also manufactured from it. Wooden planks are used for the construction of their houses, for in this country there are no cities and no walled habitations. The inhabitants have a species of writing, and make paper from the bark of the *fu-sang*. They have no weapons or armies, and do not make war. According to the laws of the kingdom, there are a southern prison and a northern prison. Those who have committed crimes that are not very serious are sent to the southern prison, but great criminals are shut up in the northern one. Those who may receive pardon are sent to the first ; those, on the contrary, to whom it can not be accorded are confined in the northern prison.‡ The men and the women who are shut up in the latter are permitted to marry each other. The male children, born from these unions, are sold as slaves at the age of eight years ; the

* *King-cheu* is a city of the first order, situated upon the left side of the great *Kiang*, in the present province of *Hu-pe*.

† *Fu-sang* in Chinese, or, according to the Japanese pronunciation, *Fouts-sôk*, is the shrub which we call "*Hibiscus rosa Chinensis*."

‡ De Guignes has very badly translated this passage, as follows : "The most guilty are placed in the northern prison and afterward transferred into that of the south if they obtain their pardon ; otherwise they are condemned to remain all their lives in the first."

girls at the age of nine years. The criminals who are confined there never come forth alive. When a man of high rank commits a crime, the people assemble in great numbers. They sit down face to face with the criminal, who is placed in a ditch, and regale themselves with a banquet, and take leave of him as of a dying man.* Then he is surrounded by ashes. For an offense of little gravity the criminal alone is punished, but for a great crime, the culprit, his sons, and grandsons are punished; finally, for the greatest offenses his descendants to the seventh generation are included in the punishment. The name of the king of the country is *Y-k'i* (or *Yit-k'i*).† The nobles of the first class are called *Tui-lu;* those of the second, *little Tui-lu;* and those of the third, *Na-tu-sha*. When the king goes forth, he is accompanied by drums and horns. He changes the color of his garments at different epochs. In the years of the cycle *kia* and *y* ‡ they are blue; in the years *ping* and *ting*, red; in the years *ou* and *ki*, yellow; in the years *keng* and *sin*, white; finally, in those which have the characters *jin* and *kuei*, they are black.

"The cattle have long horns, upon which burdens are loaded which weigh as much, sometimes, as twenty *ho* (of one hundred and twenty Chinese pounds). In this country they make use of carts harnessed to cattle, horses, and deer. They rear deer there as they raise cattle in China, and make cheese from the milk of the females.‖ A species of red pear is found there, which is preserved throughout the year. There are also many vines.#

* De Guignes translates the last words by "He is then judged."

† De Guignes has wrongly read "*Y-chi*."

‡ The years 1, 11, 21, 31, 41, and 51 of the cycle of sixty years bear the character *kia;* the years 2, 12, 22, 32, 42, and 52 have the character *y*.

Ping, 3, 13, 23, 33, 43, and 53; *ting*, 4, 14, 24, 34, 44, and 54.

Ou, 5, 15, 25, 35, 45, and 55; *ki*, 6, 16, 26, 36, 46, and 56.

Keng, 7, 17, 27, 37, 47, and 57; *sin*, 8, 18, 28, 38, 48, and 58.

Jin, 9, 19, 29, 39, 49, and 59; *kuei*, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, and 60.

‖ De Guignes translates: "The inhabitants feed hinds, as in China, and from them they obtain butter."

In the original, *To-p'u-t'ao*. De Guignes, having decomposed the word *p'u-t'ao*, translates: "A great number of iris-plants and peaches are found there." Nevertheless, the word *p'u* alone never means the iris; it is the name of rushes and other species of marshy reeds which are used for making mats. *T'ao* is, in fact, the name of the peach, but the compound word *p'u-t'ao*, in Chinese, signifies the vine. At present, it is written with other characters—i. e.,

Iron is lacking, but copper is found. Gold and silver are not esteemed. Commerce is free, and they do not haggle at all.

"Their practices regarding marriage are as follows: He who desires to wed a girl establishes his cabin before her door; he sprinkles and sweeps the earth every morning and every night. When he has practiced this formality for a year, if the maid will not give her consent, he desists; but, if she is pleased with him, he marries her. The ceremonies of marriage are nearly the same as in China. At the death of father or mother they fast seven days. At that of a grandfather or grandmother they refrain from eating for five days; and only for three days at the death of brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and other relatives. The images of spirits are placed upon a species of pedestal, and prayers are addressed to them morning and evening.*

"The king does not occupy himself with the affairs of government during the three years which follow his accession to the throne.

"Formerly the religion of Buddha did not exist in this country, but in the fourth of the years *ta-ming*, of the reign of *Hiao-wu-ti*, of the dynasty of *Sung* (458 A. D.), five *pi-k'ieu*, or priests, of the country of *Ki-pin* (Cophène), came to *Fu-sang*, and there spread abroad the law of Buddha. They carried with them their books and sacred images and the ritual, and established monastic customs,† and so changed the manners of the inhabitants."

葡萄, but 桃蒲 is the ancient orthography of the times of *Han*, which prevailed until the tenth century of our era.

The vine is not a native of China, its seeds having been imported by the celebrated General *Chang K'ian*, sent into the western country in the year 126 B. C. He traveled through the Afghanistan of our days, and the northwestern part of India, and returned to China after thirteen years' absence. The term *p'u-t'ao* is not native to China, any more than the object which it designates. It is probably the imperfect transcription of the Greek βότρυς. The Japanese pronounce it *bou-dô*. They usually give to the vine the name of *yebi-kadzoura*, composed of *yebi*, a sea craw-fish, and of *kadzoura*, a general name of climbing plants which attach themselves to neighbouring trees.

* De Guignes translates: "During their prayers they expose the image of the defunct person." The text speaks of *shin*, or *genii*, and not of the spirits of the dead.

† In the original, 家出, *ch'u-kia*—that is to say, "to leave one's house or family," or "to embrace a monastic life." De Guignes has not translated this passage, with the exception of the beginning.

The circumstance that vines and horses are found in the country of *Fu-sang* is sufficient to prove that it could not be any part of America, these two objects having been brought to the continent by the Spaniards, after the discovery of Christopher Columbus in 1492. But other reasons, drawn from the Chinese books, explicitly oppose the supposition that *Fu-sang* should be identified with any part of the New World. We have seen, from the account of the priest *Hoei Shin*, that *Fu-sang* was twenty thousand *li* to the east of *Ta-han*. De Guignes has erroneously taken this last country for Kamtchatka. He bases this hypothesis upon another passage of the *Nan-szu*, in which the author says that, in order to go to *Ta-han*, the traveler sets out from the western shore of Corea,* coasts along this peninsula, and, after having gone twelve thousand *li*, arrives at Japan ; that from there, after a route of seven thousand *li* toward the north, he comes to the country of *Wen-shin*, and that, five thousand *li* from the last, toward the east, the country of *Ta-han* is found, from which *Fu-sang* is distant twenty thousand *li*.

In olden times the Chinese vessels which sailed to Japan crossed the Strait of Corea, passed before the isles of *Tsu-sima* (in Chinese, *Tui-ma-tao*), and landed in some port of the northern coast of the great island of Niphon. We must, therefore, conclude that the distance mentioned in the route much exceeds the reality. It should also be remembered that the ancient Chinese did not have any means of determining the length of their journeys at sea. Even if we admit the maritime *li* of the fifth century to have measured four hundred to the degree, the distance of twelve thousand *li* of coasting between the mouth of the *Ta-t'ung-kiang*, in 38° 45′ N. latitude, upon the western coast of Corea, and the middle of the coast of Niphon, upon

* De Guignes translates the passage: "Sets out from the shore of the province of *Leao-tong*, situated to the north of *Pekin*." But, in the first place, this province is not to the north, but to the northeast of Pekin. Next, the Chinese text says that they set forth from the district of *Lo-lang*, which is situated not in *Leao-tung*, but in Corea, and of which the capital is the present city of *P'ing-jang* (in d'Auville's map, *Ping-yang*), situated upon the northern bank of the *Ta-t'ung-kiang*, or *P'ai-shue*, a river of the province of *P'ing-ngan*, which, in great part, in the time of the dynasty of *Han*, formed the district of *Lo-lang*. *P'ing-yang* was the residence of *K'i-tsu*, the first Chinese prince who was established in Corea, about the year 1122 before our era.

the Japanese Sea, is, nevertheless, more than twice too great; the distance between the two points, in coasting, is not more than fifty-six hundred *li*, of four hundred to the degree. It, therefore, results that the *li* of the Chinese route measure about eight hundred and fifty to the degree.

The same account estimates the distance between the Japanese port and the country of *Wen-shin* as seven thousand *li*, or a little more than eight degrees of latitude. This distance conducts us, however, by following the contour of the coast of the Japanese Sea, exactly to the northern part of Niphon and to the southern point of the island of Jesso. The country of *Wen-shin*, or "Tattooed People," is, in fact, found there; for the Ainos, who then occupied both the northern part of Japan and the island of Jesso, have even to this day the custom of painting the face and the body with different figures.

The distance from the country of *Wen-shin* to that of *Ta-han* is, according to our account, five thousand *li*, or about six degrees of latitude. This brings us exactly to the southern point of the island of Taraikai, erroneously called Saghalien upon our maps. The identity of this island with *Ta-han* is confirmed by another account, which describes the route from the northern part of China to the last-named country.

In the times of the *T'ang* dynasty the Chinese had established three fortified cities to the north of the northernmost curve described by the *Hoang-ho*, which surrounded upon three sides the present country of the Ordos, called for this reason *Ho-t'ao*, or "Enveloped by the River." One of these cities, situated between the two others, bore the name of *Chung-sheu-kiang-ch'ing*, or "the Central City, which Protects the Submissive People." It does not now exist, but its site, which can be determined with precision, was in the country now occupied by the Mongol tribe of Orat, upon the northern bank of the *Hoang-ho*. To go by land to the country of *Ta-han*, the traveler set forth from this city, and traversed the desert of Gobi, or Shamo, and arrived at the principal encampment of the *Hoei-khé*, situated upon the left bank of the Orkhou, not far from its sources, and the same place where the Mongolians afterward constructed their first capital, Caracorum. From there he reached the country of the *Ko-li-han* and of the *Tu-p'o*, situated to the south of a great lake, upon the ice of which he

must cross in winter. We know from other indications that the lake is that of Baikal. To the north of this lake, say the Chinese relations, high mountains are found, and a country where, says one, the sun is not above the horizon longer than during the little time that it takes to cook a breast of mutton. The *Tu-p'o*, neighbours of the *Ko-li-han*, inhabit the country to the south of the lake. Another historian informs us what is the true abode of the *Ko-li-han*, and we know that this country is the same as the ancient country of Kirkis, or Kerghiz, situated between the *O-pu* (the Obi) and the *Ang-ko-la* (the Angara). Upon leaving the country of the *Ko-li-han*, and traveling to the east, we enter into that of the *Shy-wei*.

The *Shy-wei* include a great number of tribes that do not appear to belong to the same nation, for the Chinese accounts mention several who speak a different language from that which the others use. Nevertheless, the greater part of the *Shy-wei* are of the same origin as the *Khi-tan* and speak their idiom, which is identical with that of the *Mo-ho;* the latter are, to all appearances, the Mongols. The others belong to the Tunguse race. The most southerly *Shy-wei* live in the vicinity of the river Nou, an affluent upon the right of the upper Amoor. After having left the country of the *Shy-wei*, who live to the east of the *Ko-li-han* and of Lake Baikal, and marching for fifteen days to the east, we find the Shy-wei called 者 如, *Ju-che*, who are probably the same people that other Chinese authors call 直 如, *Ju-che*—that is to say, the *Djourdje*, ancestors of the present Mantchoos. From there we advance for ten days toward the north, and enter into *Ta-han*, surrounded by the sea upon three sides.

This country, called also *Lieu-kuei*, therefore can not be other than the island of Taraikai, as we have already ascertained by following the route by sea laid down by *Li-yan-sheu*. De Guignes has wished to consider Kamtchatka as *Ta-han;* but it is impossible to reach Kamtchatka from the eastern bank of Lake Baikal within thirty days, this time being barely sufficient to go across a country where there are no roads, from the eastern point of Lake Baikal, by way of the country of the Mantchoos and along the Amoor, to the great island of Taraikai, situated before the mouth of that river.

The identity of *Ta-han* and the island of Taraikai, once

demonstrated, prevents all further search for the country of *Fu-sang* in America. We have seen that the navigators, who went from the eastern coast of Corea to *Ta-han*, traveled at first twelve thousand, then seven thousand, and again five thousand *li*, or in all twenty-four thousand *li* (or, according to our calculation, twenty-nine and a half degrees of latitude), in order to reach that country. *Fu-sang* was twenty thousand *li* (or twenty-three and a half degrees) to the east of *Ta-han* or Taraikai, and so nearer by four thousand *li* than the latter country was to the eastern coast of Corea. If we adopt the letter of the relation, and seek for *Fu-sang* to the east of *Ta-han*, we fall into the great ocean, for the opposite coast of America in the same latitude is not less than four times as distant.

We must therefore reject the entire tale as to *Fu-sang* as fabulous, or else find a means of reconciling it with the truth. This may be found by supposing the indication of the direction as toward the east to be incorrect. Now, the route by sea which conducts us to Taraikai indicates this as being the constant direction ; whereas the traveler at first goes to the south to double Corea, then, upon entering the Japanese Sea, he directs his course to the northeast, and finally changes this course for one more northerly, in order to follow the channel of Tartary to a point south of Taraikai. We may therefore presume that one sets sail from that country, and that at first one goes directly east, in order to pass the Strait of Perouse, by skirting the northern coast of Jesso, but that, upon arriving at the eastern point of this island, the course turns to the south and leads us to the southeastern part of Japan, which was the country called *Fu-sang*. In fact, one of the ancient names of this empire is *Fu-sang* (*Hibiscus rosa Chinensis*), and the Japanese books say that it was applied to their country because of its beauty.

If we analyze the two syllables which compose the word "fusang," we find that the first, 扶, *fu*, signifies "to help, to be useful," and that the second, 桑, *sang*, designates the mulberry. The word therefore signifies, the *useful mulberry*. This circumstance leads me to think that there is some mistake in the Chinese account preserved in the *Nan-szu*, and that it confounds the *hibiscus*, or the "Rose of China," with the paper-mulberry (*Morus papyrifera*), for the description of the tree in question applies rather to this last than to the hibiscus ; in fact, the bark of the

paper-mulberry furnishes to the Japanese all the productions which the Chinese account attributes to the true *fu-sang*. The bark is employed to make paper, stuffs, clothing, cordage, wicks, and several other useful things.

Among the other productions of *Fu-sang*, as we have already remarked, the vine and the horse did not exist in America before the arrival of the Europeans, but they are found in Japan. The copper of this country is celebrated as an important article of export. Iron is, even now, rare in Japan, and consequently more valued than copper. According to mythological traditions, horses and cattle were produced from the eyes of the spirit *Ouke-motsi-no-kami*, and the other domestic animals issued from his mouth. As to the vine, it appears that that is older in Japan than in China, where it was not introduced until the second century before our era; for, according to the Japanese traditions, grapes were produced from a tress of black hair thrown down by *Izanaki-no-mikote*, the last of the seven celestial spirits that reigned in the country.

The single difficulty which remains is that which concerns the introduction of Buddhism. According to the Japanese annals, this religion was not diffused throughout the empire until 552, the date that it was carried from *Fiak-sai*, or *Pe-ts'i*, a kingdom situated in Corea, to the court of the Dairi. Nevertheless, as this belief had been introduced in 372 into the kingdom of *Kao-li*, or *Ko-rai*, and in 384 into *Fiak-sai*, and the Japanese had had intercourse with the two countries for a long time, it is not at all improbable that Buddhism had found disciples in Japan before the way into the palace of the Dairi was opened to it.

Finally, I will call attention to the fact that the country of *Fu-sang* has furnished the Chinese poets with innumerable opportunities for giving fantastic descriptions of its marvels. The authors of the *Shan Hai King** and the *Li-sao*,† as well as *Hwai-nan-tz*,‡ *Li T'ai-pi*,‖ and other writers of the same kind,

* The *Shan Hai King*, the Chinese "Classic of Lands and Seas," is described in chapter xxxvi of this work.

† The *Li-sao* is a celebrated poem written by *Kiu Yuen* in the third century B. C.

‡ *Hwai-nan-tz* is one of ten eminent writers of antiquity, who are associated together under the designation of the "Ten Philosophers." He was the grandson of *Kau-ti*, of the *Han* dynasty, B. C. 189. He wrote upon the origin of things.

‖ *Li T'ai-pi* is one of the most popular of the Chinese poets. He lived during the reign of the *T'ang* dynasty.

have used them freely. According to them, the sun rises in the valley of *Yang-ku*, and makes his toilet at *Fu-sang*, where there are mulberries several thousand fathoms high ; the people eat the fruit, which gives to their bodies the colour of gold, and endows them with the power to fly in the air. In an equally fabulous notice of *Fu-sang*, which dates from the time of the *Liang* dynasty, there is a statement that the silk-worms of the country are six feet long and seven inches in breadth ; they are of the colour of gold, and lay eggs of the size of swallows' eggs. I spare the reader the rest of these fables.

CHAPTER IV.

DE PARAVEY'S SUPPORT.

America visited by Scandinavians—American tribes emigrants from Asia—Ancient Chinese maps—Researches antedating those of Klaproth—Letter of Père Gaubil—*Ta-han*—*Lieu-kuei*—Identification of these with Kamtchatka—Size of *Fu-sang*—Views of M. Dumont d'Urville—Length of the *li*—America lies at the distance and in the direction indicated—The Meropide of Elien—The Hyperboreans—The monuments of Guatemala and Yucatan—The *Shan-hai-king*—Identification of the *fu-sang* tree with the metl or maguey—The Japanese Encyclopædia says Japan is not *Fu-sang*—The banana or pisang tree may have been the tree called *fu-sang*—Grapes in America—Milk in America—The bisons of America—Llamas—Horses—Wooden cabins—The ten-year cycle—The titles of the king and nobles—The worship of images—Resemblance of pyramids of America to those of the Buddhists—An image of Buddha—The spread of the Buddhist religion—History of the Chichimecas—Resemblance of Japanese to Mexicans—Analogies of Asiatic and American civilizations pointed out by Humboldt—Credit due de Guignes—Appendix—*Ma Twan-lin's* account—The *fu-sang* said to be the prickly poppy of Mexico—Laws punishing a criminal's family have existed in China—Chinese cycle of sixty years existed in India—Cattle harnessed to carts—The grapes of *Fu-sang* wild, not cultivated—Another Chinese custom in *Fu-sang*—The route to *Ta-han*—The route to Japan very indirect—Priests called lamas both in Mexico and Tartary.

America under the Name of the Country of Fu-sang—by M. de Paravey.[2015]

The scholars of Iceland and Denmark have shown that the Scandinavians, long before Columbus, visited the northeastern portion of America, and there found wild vines and grapes; and that they even penetrated to the south as far as to what is now known as Brazil. Before these modern researches, the illustrious Buffon, in his "Discours sur les Variétés de l'Espèce Humaine," took the ground, as M. de Humboldt has also recently done, that the tribes of Northwestern America, and even of

Mexico, had come from Tartary and Central Asia; and, relying upon the new discoveries of the Russians, he traced the route followed by the Asiatics, holding that they reached the northwestern portion of California by way of Kamtchatka and the chain of the Aleutian Islands. Upon his side, M. de Guignes, examining the books of China, and by them throwing a light upon the origin of all European nations, found among them a very remarkable memoir regarding the country of *Fu-sang*, or the country of the *Extreme East*. He availed himself of the light thrown by the Russians and the latest geographers upon the extreme northeastern countries of Asia, and, in his scholarly work, he proved, as far as it was then possible to do so, that the country of *Fu-sang*, known in the year 458 A. D., rich in gold, silver, and copper, but *destitute of iron*, could be nothing else than *America*.

All the maps, rough and purposely altered as to the size of foreign countries, that we have been able to find in the books or collections relating to China, and anterior in date to the exact maps of the Celestial Empire, which were finally made by the aid of the corrections of the missionaries at Pekin, show, in fact, to the east and northeast of China, beyond Japan, marked under one of its names, *Ji* 日, *pen* 本 ("Origin of the Sun"), a confused mass of countries, delineated as small islands, undoubtedly because they were reached by sea; and among these countries, *of which the size is purposely reduced*, is marked the celebrated country of *Fu-sang*, a country of which many fables have been related in China, but which, in the account translated by M. de Guignes, is presented in a light so entirely natural that it can not be considered otherwise than as one of the countries of America, even if it is not, as we think possible, intended for the entire Continent of America.

We had not known of the old Chinese maps, drawn up so as to present Europe and all of Asia, outside of China, as very small countries, until our visit to Oxford in 1830. We then copied them at the Bodleian Library, and our scholarly friend, Sir George Stanton, afterward gave us one of these imperfect maps.

Upon returning to London, we there sought and found the Chinese text of the account translated by M. de Guignes; for the works in which it is found are monopolized at Paris by certain students of Chinese. We copied this text, and showed it to

Mr. Huttman, then secretary of the English Asiatic Society. He recognized in it, as we did, a description of America, or of one of its parts, and, in the surprise which he felt, he communicated, probably, with M. Klaproth regarding our researches, for we were at London again when this Prussian scholar published, in the "Nouvelles Annales des Voyages," in the year 1831, a pretended refutation of the memoir of M. de Guignes, a refutation which he addressed to us, together with a letter of equal length, which we may some day publish. Neither this letter nor this printed article changed our convictions as to the justice of the views of the learned M. de Guignes. We declared them to M. Klaproth, and, as he himself undoubtedly felt the feebleness of the arguments by which he had endeavoured to prove that this account of *Fu-sang* should be understood to refer to Japan, he afterward, on this account, as we suppose, wishing to convert M. von Humboldt to his false ideas, caused the insertion, in Vol. X of the "Nouveau Journal Asiatique de Paris," of the letters of the late Père Gaubil, in which this learned missionary, without disputing this story, discusses the ideas of M. de Guignes, and, not knowing anything then of the maps of which we have spoken, appears to be unwilling to admit that America, under the name of *Fu-sang*, or under any other name, had been really known to the Buddhists or shamans of High Asia since the year 458 A. D.

Since that time, however, we have endeavoured to prove, by an exact calculation of the distance in *li*, given in this account, translated from the Great Annals of China, regarding the country of *Fu-sang*, and by discussing the route traveled to reach it, that this country, even following the views of M. Klaproth and of Father Gaubil, concerning the Chinese names given to the country so distant from Kamtchatka, could not be found elsewhere than in America.

According to the shaman or Buddhist monk who made *Fu-sang* known to the Chinese in the year 499 of our era, this country was at the same time to the east of China, and equally to the east of a semi-civilized land known in the Chinese books by the name of the country of *Ta* 大, *Han* 漢, or of the "Great Hans," a name applied first to the Chinese dynasty of the *Hans*, founded in 206 B. C., after that of the *Tsin*.

But, according to the Chinese accounts regarding this coun-

try of *Ta-han*—which could be reached either by sea, by setting out from Japan and sailing to the northeast, or by land, by setting forth from the sharp bend toward the north which is made by the great river *Hoang-ho*, into the country of the Mongols, and passing to the south of Lake Baikal, and then, going the same distance to the northeast—this country, very distant from China, could not be any other than Kamtchatka, also called the country of *Lieu-kuei*, or "Place of Exile" (*lieu*, 流) "of the Vicious" (*kuei*, 鬼), in other Chinese geographies.

Father Gaubil, in these same letters, published by M. Klaproth, admits this to be the country of *Lieu-kuei*, for it is said that the fact that this country is surrounded by the sea upon three sides, as Kamtchatka is, and the distance at which it is placed in the geography of the *Tang* dynasty, also published by this learned missionary, both agree in confining the land of *Lieu-kuei* to this extreme point of northeastern Asia. It should also be noticed that M. Klaproth himself, in the memoir which we refute, when discussing the position of the country of *Ta-han*, declares that this land has also been called the country of *Lieu-kuei;* and since, according to Father Gaubil, this place is Kamtchatka, the country of *Ta-han* must answer to the southern portion of Kamtchatka, and not to the great island of Saghalien or Taraikai, which is found at the east of Tartary, opposite the mouth of the Yellow River, the island in which M. Klaproth attempts to place it in his "Researches regarding *Fu-sang*."

It is, also, in Kamtchatka that the celebrated M. de Guignes places the country of *Ta-han*, which the Chinese books, such as the *Pian-y-tien*, the great "Geography of Foreign Nations," a valuable work, of which a copy is possessed by the Royal Library at Paris, represent as inhabited by barbarous men of great stature, and with hair very long and in wild disorder.

And when the shaman *Hoei Shin*, coming from the country of *Fu-sang* to China, and landing at *King-cheu*, in the province of *Hu-pe*, upon the left bank of the great river *Kiang*, said that "*Fu-sang is at the same time to the east of China and to the east of the country of Ta-han*," or of Kamtchatka, it is evident that he indicated a very great extension of this country of *Fu-sang*, from north to south; since Kamtchatka, even in its most southerly part, is very distant to the northeast from China,

even from its northern boundary, and still farther from the river *Kiang;* he speaks, therefore, not of an island; not even of one as large as Japan; but of a continent of great extent, such as North America.

So, when we had communicated the memoir of M. de Guignes, and its pretended refutation by M. Klaproth, to the celebrated navigator M. Dumont d'Urville, whose unfortunate loss science still deplores, this scholar, who, before his last voyage, had, in accordance with our advice, commenced the study of the geographical books preserved in China, could not restrain a smile of pity upon seeing that M. Klaproth had, by main strength, attempted to change this vast continent into a simple province of Japan, a country which he himself points out under its true name, in another passage of the Great Annals cited by M. de Guignes, and where the route is described leading by sea from Corea to the country of *Ta-han.* In order to reach that region, the route touches the country of *Wo,* or of Japan, which was already well known to the Chinese in all its parts. The route, continuing toward the north, touches at the country of *Wen-shin* (the island of Saghalien) ; then turning to the east, *Ta-han* or Kamtchatka is reached, otherwise called *Lieu-kuei.* It is evident that no other land than North America, east of Asia, is sufficiently large to be *at the same time* to the east of Central China and of Kamtchatka : this was not plainly said by M. de Guignes, but he evidently perceived it, and the distance also at which *Fu-sang* is placed from the country of *Ta-han* or Kamtchatka, in the account of the shaman, completes the demonstration.

In fact, he stated this distance of *Fu-sang* easterly from *Ta-han* at twenty thousand *li,* and, as the length of the *li* has frequently been changed in China, M. Klaproth tries, by supposing the length to be very small, to make this distance reach only as far as Japan ! But, as the direction toward the east still incommodes him and causes him to fall into the ocean, because of the admission which he makes that *Ta-han* must be the island of Saghalien, he without further ceremony changes this direction and turns it around toward the south ; and in this way, by adding one false supposition to another, he arrives at the conclusion that the southeastern part of Japan is this country of *Fu-sang;* again assuming that this country had been but recently discovered by the Chinese.

But Father Gaubil, upon whom he otherwise relies, could undeceive him and set him right as to the real length of the *li*. In his "Histoire de la Dynastie des Tang," a dynasty that reigned shortly after the epoch when the accounts of *Ta-han* and of *Fu-sang* were inserted in the Great Annals, he said that "fifteen thousand *li* are reckoned as the distance between Persia and the city of *Sy-ngan-fu*," then the capital of China (see "Memoires concernant les Chinois," Vol. XV, p. 450). Persia is designated in these books as the kingdom of *Po-sse*, and its capital was formerly near Passa-garde and Shiraz or Persepolis.

Now, toward the northeast, the geographies of the *Tang* dynasty reckon fifteen thousand *li* also as the distance from *Sy-ngan-fu* to the country of *Lieu-kuei* (ib., Vol. XV, p. 453)—which, according to M. Klaproth, is the same as the country of *Ta-han*—a country surrounded by the sea upon three sides, and which Father Gaubil asserts, as we have said, to be Kamtchatka.

If, therefore, we set a pair of compasses upon a terrestrial globe, placing the points upon *Sy-ngan-fu*, then the capital of China, and Shiraz or Persepolis, the capital of *Po-sse* (or Persia), and then, keeping one point upon the first-named city, swing the other around to the northeast, it will be found to reach to the southern part of the land of Kamtchatka, thus proving the accuracy of the stated distances.

The length of the *li* during this epoch is therefore fixed; hence, one third of the above-named distance represents five thousand *li*, and, adding this to the length of the fifteen thousand *li* above described, the distance of twenty thousand *li*, which the account of the shaman affirms as extending toward the east from the country of *Ta-han* to that of *Fu-sang*, from which he had come, can be reckoned with great accuracy.

If, then, with the compasses we lay out upon the globe this distance of twenty thousand *li*, setting one point upon the southern end of Kamtchatka (which answers to the country of *Lieu-kuei* or of *Ta-han*), and swinging the other point toward the east, we should, if *Fu-sang* is America, reach at least the western coast of this new continent, a coast which, although long known to the Asiatics, has, by a sort of fatality, been the last to be explored by Europeans. Now, in fact, this is just where the point of the compasses will reach, and this confirms both the conjectures of Buffon and the assertions made by M. de Guignes, based

upon the very incorrect maps which were all that could then be obtained ; for the arm of the compasses thus reaches to a point north of the mouth of the Columbia River, not far from California.*

This scholar could not then arrive at the same precision that is possible for us, since, we repeat, the exact outlines of the northwest coast of America near the Aleutian Islands, and even those of the country of Kamtchatka, had not, in his days, been fully established ; but his merit was on that account even the greater, in being the first to recognize the true value of the *li* at that epoch, and to find, in the geographies of China, which had been so rarely consulted by European scholars, countries so unknown to us as Kamtchatka, and the vast American Continent; known from ancient times by the wandering tribes of Central Asia, but which have only recently been made known to us, by the admirable and persevering efforts of an illustrious genius.

By the aid of the same books preserved in China, and which, unfortunately for Europeans, have not been translated, although we have possessed them for more than a century, we can show that the *Meropide* of *Elien* is North America ; for the invasion of the country of the Hyperboreans, of which this author speaks, can not have taken place elsewhere than from North America into Kamtchatka, and extending as far as to the banks of the great Amoor River, a region in which, according to the old Chinese books, there lived a multitude of tribes of which the names are scarcely known in Europe to this day, although very curious and all significant.

From the most ancient times, having undoubtedly received colonies from Greece and Syria, these happy Hyperboreans sent to the temple of Apollo at Delos sheaves of the grain which they harvested.

Herodotus and Pausanias name to us the nations which passed these offerings from hand to hand to Greece, and when to what we have said are added the accounts of the same nations which are given in the Chinese books, we can not avoid the conviction that the true land of the Hyperboreans—that is to say, of the tribes of the northeast—can not be situated elsewhere than upon the Amoor River, and in the neighbourhood of Corea,

* In his later essay M. de Paravey corrects this statement, and names San Francisco as the point that is reached.—E. P. V.

countries having an alphabet, and very anciently civilized or colonized.

Through the Hyperboreans, in connection with the ferocious tribes of North America, tribes which Elien described under the name of Μάχιμος, or "Warriors," the Greeks of ancient times, who had carried the culture of the cereals to the banks of the Amoor, therefore obtained some knowledge concerning *Fu-sang*, or the Eastern World, that vast continent which, explored from the western side by the Phœnicians of Egypt, and afterward by the Carthagenians, received the name of Atlantis.

The flowery imagination of the Asiatics embroidered with fables these accounts of a world so distant, and which could only be reached by incurring very great dangers; but the curious monuments of Palenque in Guatemala, and those not less important which M. de Waldeck sketched in Yucatan, demonstrate positively the ancient relations between Central Asia, India, and Europe, and America, or *Meropide*, the true land of *Fu-sang*.

The *Shan-hai-king*, an old mythological geography of China, the *Li-sao*, and other Chinese books, relate fables also regarding the valley of *Tang-ku*, or of the Hot Springs, from which the sun appears to issue; it rises then in the country of *Fu-sang*, where the mulberries grow to a prodigious height. It is said that the people of *Fu-sang* eat the fruit of these mulberries in order to become immortal, that they can fly in the air, and that the silk-worms of these trees, enormous also, inclose themselves in cocoons of monstrous size.

All these fables are founded upon the name *sang*, 桑, of the mulberry, which enters into "*Fu-sang*," the Chinese name of America; and this can be explained from an examination of the Mythriac monuments, sculptures of Eastern Asia, in which there may always be observed upon the right the sun rising behind a tree such as the mulberry. This is nothing else, in fact, than the representation of the hieroglyphic character preserved in China to express the *East*, a character which is pronounced *tong*, 東, and which is formed by drawing the symbol of the *sun*, 日 *ji*, behind that of a *tree*, 木, *mo*; the sun in rising showing its disk, in fact, behind the trees.

Tacitus, in his "Germanicus," relates fables, also, in regard to the country where the sun sets, in explaining the sparkling when its fires penetrate the ocean; but his admirable work has

been none the less constantly read and consulted since his time, and these marvelous tales have not caused the denial of the existence of the region of which he speaks.

But the account of the shaman *Hoei Shin* regarding *Fu-sang* offers none of these fables; and, if it places a tree of this name in America, it describes it as a plant having red fruit in the form of a pear, a shrub, of which the young shoots are eaten; and of which the bark is prepared like that of hemp, of which cloth, clothing, and even paper are made: for the inhabitants of this country had a method of writing, says this account, and, in fact, books and a species of writing are found in America, in Mexico, and elsewhere.

In the Chinese botanical books the name of *fu-sang*, which may be translated as "the *serviceable, useful mulberry*" (these adjectives conveying the meaning of "*fu*"), is given now to the *ketine*, or *hibiscus rosa sinensis*, a plant brought from Persia to China, as we learn from Father Cabot, and *which has been grafted upon the mulberry.*

But M. Klaproth, by some mistake, has been led to see in this plant the paper-mulberry, of which, in fact, cloth and clothing are also made; while others find in it the *metl* or *maguey* of Mexico, but badly described; for this plant also gives cloth and paper, it furnishes a sort of wine and food, and is pre-eminently useful.

In truth, this name *Fu-sang* expresses only the name of the *Extreme East*, for in the ancient hieroglyphic geography the Central Kingdom is called, as it now is in China, *Chong-hoa*, or "the Central Flower," and the four cardinal countries have the name of the *Sse-fu*, or "the Four Auxiliary Countries," composed of the four principal petals of the nelumbo, the mystic flower, the flower of the middle, the sacred lotus, type of ancient Egypt and of the earth, *par excellence.*

India offers this geographical symbol to us again, and the ancient Chinese maps call the countries of the north, *Fu-yu;* those of the south, *Fu-nan;* those of the west, *Fu-lin* (that is to say, the *Ta-tsin*, the Roman Empire); and, finally, those of the east, *Fu-sang.* Now, to the east of China there is no other extensive land than America; and, if Japan has ever been also given this name of *Fu-sang*, it is because it is to the east of China; but the Japanese Encyclopædia, which should have been

consulted by M. Klaproth, who attempted to support his opinion by this name erroneously applied to this country, says that it is *not* the true country of *Fu-sang*.

The banana, the *pĭ-sang* tree of the Malays, may also be one of the trees called *fu-sang*, for these trees, as well as the flowers of the *nelumbo*, or rose-lotus of Egypt, where the young *Horus* is seen to spring—that is to say, where the sun is born, are types of the East. All this, we repeat, is merely a natural series of symbols employed in the ancient and hieroglyphic geography, which is too little studied.

The account translated by M. de Guignes also places many *pu-tao*, or grapes, in the country of *Fu-sang*. M. de Guignes translated the two characters separately, understanding *pu* to mean the iris, and *tao* the peach. M. Klaproth has properly rectified this, but with singular thoughtlessness he forgets that the forests of North America abound in several species of wild vines, and that the Scandinavians placed the country of *Vin-land* (the Land of Vines) in the northeastern part of the continent. He therefore denies the existence of the vine in America, and, relying especially upon this passage, he concludes that *Fu-sang* must be Japan, where the vine, as he says, had existed for a long time, although in China it had not been introduced from Western Asia until the year 126 before our era. It can therefore be seen how feeble his attempted refutation of M. de Guignes is, even when the last is mistaken; and his memoir, as a whole, offers no more forcible arguments.

When the shaman said that iron was lacking in *Fu-sang*, but that copper was found, and that gold and silver were not valued (because of their abundance, no doubt), he repeats what Plato said of Atlantis, and what has been reiterated in all accounts regarding America; a celebrated river of the northern part of this continent bears the name of the Coppermine River, and copper is also very abundant in Peru.

It is also stated that the inhabitants of *Fu-sang raised herds of deer and made cheese from the milk of the hinds;* and in the Chinese and Japanese Encyclopædias, as also in the *Pian-y-tien*, when the figure of an inhabitant of *Fu-sang* is given, he is drawn, in fact, as engaged in milking a hind having small round spots, and in the two Encyclopædias this is given as forming the characteristic peculiarity of this country of *Fu-sang*. Philostratus, in

his "Life of Apollonius," mentioned tribes in India who raised hinds for their milk, and the thing is not so common as to fail to be remarked, but herds of hinds have also been found in America in our days; for Valmont de Bomare, in the article entitled "Deer," says: "The Americans have herds of deer and of hinds running in the woods throughout the day and at night re-entering their stables. Several tribes of America have no other milk," he adds, "than that obtained from their hinds, and of which they also make cheese."

It appears, therefore, that he translates by these words what *Hoei Shin* said in 499 A. D. concerning the nations of *Fu-sang;* and in calling attention to the fact that this usage formerly existed in India, it was not without design, for the same shaman affirms that the religion of Buddha (an Indian religion) had been carried to the country of *Fu-sang*, in the year 458 of our era, by five monks of *Ky-pin*, or of Cophène, an Indian country. He says that the tribes, from that time converted by them, had neither military weapons nor troops, and, like the Argippeans (of whom Herodotus speaks), that they did not make war; he adds, finally, that they had a species of writing and worshiped images —that is to say, that they were true Buddhists.

That which is said regarding the cattle with long horns that carried heavy burdens upon their heads, and of carts to which horses, cattle, and deer were harnessed, offers, as it appears, the only difficulty; but the bisons with manes and with enormous heads, found in North America, may have been the cause of this erroneous statement, and, but for the evasion of the description, the Chinese name *Ma*, which is applied to horses, asses, and camels, and which forms the radical of useful animals of this nature, might be given, even although it were wrongfully, to the llamas and alpacas already domesticated perhaps in South America, which also was included in *Fu-sang.*

It may be possible, moreover, that horses had been introduced before this epoch into Northwestern America, which is hardly known even in our days, and where tribes are mentioned which use them; and where teams of reindeers, like those of Kamtchatka, may also be seen. It is true that it has been supposed that these horses are descended from those brought to Mexico by the Spaniards; but this has not been proved: and even if we suppose them to be of European origin, an epidemic or a de-

structive war may, since the fifth century, have destroyed the domesticated horses brought to *Fu-sang* by the Tartars and the Buddhists of Asia.

The people of *Fu-sang* had no other habitations than villages of wooden cabins, such as have been found near the Columbia River, to the northwest of California; and, to obtain a wife, the young men of the country were obliged to serve their betrothed for an entire year. Now (in the "Collection of Thevenot"), this is precisely what Palafox says of the American Indians, whose manners he describes; and this custom also exists in the extreme northeastern countries of Asia, countries from which America may be reached, as we have said.

Other details of their customs seem to be borrowed from the Chinese civilization, especially the cycle of ten years, or perhaps even of sixty years—as M. de Humboldt has in fact described among the Muyscas of the plateau of Bogota, in South America, the usage of the cycle of sixty years and of institutions analogous to those of the Buddhism of Japan. The cycle of *Fu-sang*, bearing the names of the ten Chinese *Kans*, served to mark the successive colours of the king's garments, colours which were changed every two years, just as is prescribed for the Emperor of China by the chapter *yue-ling* of the *Lü-ki*, or "Sacred Book of Rites."

But the so-called Chinese cycles, which gave their alphabets to the most ancient nations of Syria, Phœnicia, and India, as well as to those of Greece, as we have elsewhere shown (see our "Essay upon the Common and Hieroglyphic Origin of the Figures and of the Letters," Paris, 1826; and the article, entitled "Japanese Origin of the Muyscas," in the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne," Vol. X, page 8, where the figures of the cycles may be found), may have been carried to *Fu-sang* quite as well from Central Asia, or from India, as from China, as they were never unknown to the Buddhists or shamans.

We might also discuss the sound of the titles given to the king and nobility of the country of *Fu-sang;* but these discussions would carry us too far, and we will merely call attention to the fact that the title of the king was *I-ky*, a sound which seems connected with the name of the *Hic-sos*, the pastoral kings of Egypt who came from Asia, and the last syllable with *Ric*, the name of the Gothic kings, who also came from the north of Asia; and possibly also with that of *Cacique*, the title

of the chiefs of the islands of America, and with that of the *Arikis*, or kings of the islands of Oceanica.

We will therefore confine ourselves to discussing the conclusion of this account of *Fu-sang*.

"Formerly," says *Hoei Shin*, "the religion of Buddha did not exist in this country; but in the *Song* dynasty (in 458 A. D. —a precise date here), five *Pi-kieu*, or priests of the country of *Ky-pin* (a country in which Father Gaubil sees Samarcand, and M. de Rémusat sees the ancient Cophène, near India), came to *Fu-sang*, carrying with them their books and sacred images, and their ritual, and established monastic customs, and so changed the manners of the inhabitants."

Accordingly, *Hoei Shin*, a shaman himself, who came to China in 499, forty-eight years after this conversion of the people of *Fu-sang*, declared that then the people of that country worshiped the images of spirits at morning and night and did not wage war.

It is said that proselytism is one of the duties of the Buddhist priests and monks. It is therefore not surprising to see them set forth from Central Asia, and cross the seas and the most dangerous countries, in order to convert the savage tribes of America, a country already well known to them and to the Arabs and Persians of Samarcand.

This can no longer be considered doubtful, since M. de Waldeck has sketched an old temple or monastery of Yucatan, a large square inclosure accompanied by pyramids analogous to those of the Buddhists of Pegu, Ava, Siam, and the Indian Archipelago, and which can be studied in all their details.

A multitude of niches, in which the figure of the celebrated god Buddha sits with crossed-legs, exist in Java, all around the ancient temple of *Boru Buddha;* and upon examination of the temple of Yucatan, of which M. de Waldeck has published beautiful drawings, we find there the same niches in which sits the same god Buddha, and also find other figures of East Indian origin, such as the frightful head of Siva, a flattened and deformed head which surmounts each of these niches.

We can not affirm, however, that these temples of Yucatan were as old as the account of *Fu-sang*, as we have no description of other buildings in this country than wooden cabins; but, persecuted by the Brahmans of India, the Buddhists may have been

compelled, at several different times, to seek an asylum in *Fu-sang*, or America, and possibly even went to Bogota and as far as to Peru, where the manners of the people have been found to be so gentle and so analogous to those of the Buddhists.

In the same manner they civilized the wild tribes of the Indian Archipelago, and of the countries between India and China, and built temples and pyramids such as those of which we find the remains, as in Java, or those which are still standing and venerated, as in Pegu and Siam.

China received the Buddhist religion soon after the commencement of the Christian era, under *Ming-ti*, of the *Han* dynasty ; Corea in the year 372 A. D. ; *Fu-sang*, as we have said, in the year 458 ; and Japan, finally, not until 552, when the Japanese received it from Corea and from the kingdom of *Pe-tsi*, a land situated in the neighbourhood of the Amoor River and of Corea, and an ancient center of civilization.

It is from Corea, say the Chinese books, that the country of *Ta-han* can be reached, from which, sailing to the east, one arrives at America—that is to say, at *Fu-sang*. On the voyage one touches at Japan, and, without doubt, sails along its shores in order to reach the island of Saghalien upon the north, from which the route turns to the east toward Kamtchatka or *Ta-han*.

But in the curious "History of the Chichimecas," published in the collection of M. Ternaux, Ixtlilxochitl, the author, a native American, says that the Toltecs came by sea from Japan to America, landing upon the northwest coast, and in a country having a red soil, such as that near the Gila River, where also an ancient monument is mentioned, called the House of Motecuzuma.

He had seen in Mexico the Japanese sent to Rome by the missionaries ; and in these modern Japanese he recognized the features and the costume of the Toltecs of whom he spoke ; now he fixed their migration in the fifth century of our era. He is therefore found to be in perfect accord with the Chinese accounts, concerning the different voyages to America ; for Japan, as we have already said, is situated upon the route by sea from Corea to the country of *Ta-han*, the southern part of Kamtchatka, situated in a high latitude, and where, as it is said, the prevailing winds are from the west and the northwest, so

that they would naturally carry a vessel toward *Fu-sang*, or North America, a country situated to the east.

The Buddhistic monuments of Yucatan ; the history that has been preserved of the migration of the Toltecs from Japan to America ; the Chinese accounts of the country of *Ta-han*, and of the *vast country of Fu-sang*, which were given by the Buddhists who left this country of America, and arrived at China *by way of Japan:* all are therefore in perfect accord. This passage, *by way of Japan*, explains, moreover, how, as we showed in 1835, in an article entitled "Dissertation sur les Muyscas," inserted in the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne," cited above, and also published separately, at Paris, under the title "Memoire sur l'Origine Japanoise des Peuples du Plateau de Bogota," the numerals and many words of the language of the Muyscas, a tribe living upon the plains of Bogota, are found also in the present language of the Japanese.

Just as the Scandinavians, at a much later date, descended from the northeastern coast of the New World, and from Vinland, where they established a settlement, as far as to Brazil in South America, where their monuments have been found, so, a thousand years before the Spaniards, but landing upon the northwestern coast, the Buddhists of India (then persecuted by the Brahmans), the colonies of Japan and of the nations living upon the banks of the Amoor (the ancient country of the Hyperboreans), may have penetrated to Mexico, to Yucatan, to the country of Guatemala and to Palenque, to the kingdom of Cundinamarca, and finally to the rich and civilized kingdom of Peru. The celebrated M. von Humboldt has very well shown the connection of race, of civilization, and of cycles, manners and usages, which unites the tribes of these last countries to those of Tartary and of Asia ; but, by following Father Gaubil (to whom America was but little known) and M. Klaproth, in denying the identity of America with *Fu-sang*, he deprived himself of the most powerful arguments in support of his views, and could not fix any precise date for these migrations.

We hope that, if he reads this short memoir, he will render more justice to the truth of the discoveries of the celebrated M. de Guignes, the profound sinologue from whose works M. Klaproth drew a great part of his learning, and which, upon that account, the latter should not so greatly traduce.

We have wished, in this brief extract from our researches regarding America, to render justice to this learned and modest author of the "History of the Huns." As he was, so are we, oppressed by contemptible coteries; but we hope that some day more justice may be shown to the researches which have occupied our best years.

CHEVALIER DE PARAVEY.

August, 1843.

APPENDIX

Gives M. Klaproth's article as far as the end of the translation of the Chinese account of Fu-sang; and M. de Paravey adds the following additional notes:

1. The celebrated *Ma Twan-lin*, so esteemed by M. Rémusat, has also given this account (of *Fu-sang*) in his *Wen-hien-tong-kao*, with some variations in the readings; and it is this which has been translated by M. de Guignes. It is also repeated in the celebrated Chinese Encyclopædia, entitled *Yuen-kien-tui-han*, in which we found it in London in 1830, and in the *Pian-y-tien*, or "Geography of Foreign Nations"; and copies of all these highly esteemed works exist in Paris.

2. M. de Paravey, in regard to the characters 扶桑 (*Fu-sang*), has observed that Father Gonçalves, in his highly esteemed Portuguese-Chinese Dictionary, translated the name *Fu-sang* by *Papula cornuda*, the argémone, or prickly-poppy of Mexico. This learned missionary, therefore, considered it a plant or shrub of America; and this single definition may be considered as proving that the country of *Fu-sang* corresponds to some part of Mexico.

3. The laws of *Fu-sang*, which punish the children and descendants of a great criminal, have existed in China from time immemorial, and also in the countries of Asia which are tributary to China.

4. M. Klaproth recognizes the existence in *Fu-sang* of the Chinese cycle of sixty years; but the researches of Father Souciet show that it existed also in India, and, in the "Journal Asiatique," of Paris, M. de Paravey has shown that it commenced in India and in China in precisely the same year. The Buddhists of India, or of the northern part of Central Asia, may therefore have carried it to the country of *Fu-sang*, in America, and to Mexico.

5. In India, it is said, there are cattle which are harnessed to carts; and in Kamtchatka there are reindeer, a species of stag, which draw sledges.

6. In the text, M. Klaproth, in spite of all that he says in his foot-

note, should, as we have stated in our memoir, translate the words *pu-tao* (which he writes *phou-thao*) by "grapes," and not by the word "vines," which, among us, conveys the idea of culture. The woods of North America, in its northern and northwestern parts, abound in wild grapes, as the shaman says; but cultivated vines were not found in America, and the text, in fact, does not say that they were.

7. The custom which required the king not to occupy himself with state affairs during the first three years of his reign was also an ancient custom in China and in Indo-China.

8. In support of his ideas, M. de Guignes has translated another passage of the *Nan-szu*, which gives the route by sea from Corea to the country of *Ta-han*. M. Klaproth also translates this passage, which gives the distance from *Ping-yang*, the ancient capital of Corea, to Japan as 12,000 *li;* from that country to the land of the *Wen-shin* as 7,000 *li;* and from the last-named region to the country of *Ta-han*, 5,000 *li*.

In applying to this route by sea the same scale (as to the length of the *li*) which is found from the stated distance between Persepolis and *Sy-ngan-fu*, M. de Paravey found in fact that the distance between the mouths of the Amoor River, or the end of the island of Saghalien (which was the country of *Wen-shin*), and the southern part of Kamtchatka, or the land of *Ta-han*, is by this route 5,000 *li;* and he also found 7,000 *li* to be the distance between Yedo, the capital of Japan, and the mouths of the Amoor River.

The description of the route is therefore exact in these two parts; and if it first states 12,000 *li* as the distance by sea between Japan and the capital of Corea, situated upon its west coast (which is evidently too great a distance), it is because the route to Japan first led to the *Lieu-kieu* Islands, which are in fact situated 5,000 *li* from Japan and 7,000 from Corea: either this *detour* must be allowed, or else the length of the *li* must be regarded as very small; but *Ta-han* is none the less in Kamtchatka. And in all the hypotheses it is impossible that Japan, here described by its own name, and a country perfectly well known, could have contained *Fu-sang*, as M. Klaproth wishes to prove.

9. A single word, when it is well chosen, amounts sometimes to a demonstration. In the Dictionary of the Language of Mexico, by the Père Molina, a dictionary of which a copy is preserved in the British Museum at London, we have found that the word *lama*, or *tlama*, expresses the title of the "medicine-men" among the Mexicans; and no one is ignorant that in Thibet and Tartary the *lamas*, or Buddhist priests, are at the same time the physicians of these countries (so little known) through which lay the route from India to *Fu-sang*.

CHEVALIER DE PARAVEY.

March 7, 1844.

CHAPTER V.

DE PARAVEY'S NEW PROOFS.

De Paravey's researches preceded those of Neumann and d'Eichthal—Connection between the Malay and American languages—*Fu-sang* located near San Francisco—Chinese picture of a native of *Fu-sang*—Spotted deer—Cattle-horns in Mexico—Horses—Nations of Northern Asia—Appendix A—Buddhist monuments in America—A figure of Buddha in Yucatan—The worship of Siva—The explorations of Dupaix—Foot-print in the rocks—The cause of eclipses—Pyramids—Appendix B—A Buddhist sanctuary near the Colorado River—The name Quatu-zaca—The Mexicans emigrants from the north—Appendix C—An engraving of a native of *Fu-sang*—The natives of Oregon—The deer of America—Connection of American and Asiatic tribes—Pearl-fishing—The cochineal insect and the nopal—The people of Cophène—American place-names which appear to contain the name Sakya.

New Proofs that the Country of Fu-sang mentioned in the Chinese Books is America.

To the Proprietor of the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne":

Sir: Until we have in France a minister who realizes the great importance of Persia, India, and China, and who will properly organize that Asiatic Society of which I, with Messrs. de Sacy and de Chézy, was among the founders; until sufficient funds are given to the society to secure for it a building of its own and a librarian; and until it is given as its president a man who, like Lord Aukland, Director of the Asiatic Society of London, is able by his wealth and influence to unite and utilize all the educated Orientalists who now, divided among themselves, exist in Paris and in France—I shall take pleasure in contributing to your journal, because it is not submissive to any commission or any coterie, as has been well shown during the seventeen years of its existence, and as is shown, again, by its publication of my various essays, very imperfect, as I well know, but which, as a whole, will some day form a mass of facts as novel as posi-

tive. With your sound judgment you have appreciated the force of my "Description of the Origin of the Letters," of which the "Journal Asiatique," of Paris, has never had a single word to say, but which the celebrated Dr. Young approved and upon which M. Princeps is engaged.

In 1844 you published my "Dissertation upon American Fu-sang." You have also carefully criticised the articles regarding the East which M. Mohl has been giving for some years past in the "Journal Asiatique," and I thank you for having called attention, in a note to the article of 1845, to the fact that I had also discussed the delicate and important question regarding the location of the celebrated country of *Fu-sang*. M. Walcknaer has told me that M. Rémusat translated the Chinese texts regarding *Fu-sang* for him. I do not know whether or not M. Walcknaer, that erudite geographer, has expressed any opinion upon the subject; neither do I know what the learned Viscount of Santarem thinks about it: but that which I do know, and which I ask you to publish, is that M. Neumann, quoted by M. Mohl, did not publish his dissertation at Munich in 1845 until after having seen me at London in 1830–'31, upon his return from China, and after having learned from Mr. Huttman, then Secretary of the Asiatic Society of London, that I was engaged upon an extensive work upon this account of *Fu-sang*, of which I had found the Chinese text in England, the copy at Paris being taken by M. Klaproth.

It is the same regarding M. d'Eichthal, quoted by M. Mohl. At the Asiatic Society (September, 1840) and at the Geographical Society also, in the same year, M. d'Eichthal heard a note which I read regarding this country, and saw the transcript which I presented of the figures of Buddha and of Siva, first recognized by me in the beautiful work of M. de Waldeck upon the ruins of Uxmal in Yucatan. You yourself then saw the different drawings and designs, and M. Burnouf, Jr., recognized, like me and after me, the figures of Buddha and of Siva.

How could M. Mohl have been ignorant of these facts, so well known at that time? How could he have given M. d'Eichthal the credit without mentioning me? I do not know. Neither could I have known of the memoir of M. d'Eichthal or the dissertation of M. Neumann, which date only from 1845, while my articles were published in your journal in 1843 and 1844, and I

am the first to pray you, sir, to translate or criticise their arguments; for the subject is, as I repeat, very important.

Bernardin de Saint Pierre, in his "Harmonies de la Nature," had already indicated the migrations *toward the east* of the nations of India and of Oceanica, arriving thus at America to the north of Peru; and M. the Admiral de Rossel, the celebrated navigator and courteous and loyal scholar, has mentioned the Sandwich Islands as the ancient half-way port between India, China, and America, a theory which is renewed in this day.

M. de Saint Pierre, in his "Études de la Nature" (Eleventh Study, and Note 49, edition of 1836, first volume), has spoken also of numerous points of connection found by a very old author between the Malays and the Peruvians; and my numerous extracts from the "Dictionary of the Quichua Language of Peru," a dictionary of which a copy is preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, have confirmed these points of connection with the Malay spoken at Java. M. d'Eichthal has therefore entered upon a good road; but I have the priority, and M. de Avezac, to whom I have often spoken of these matters, may have conversed with him also and described to him my studies.

You speak here of my "Dissertation upon Fu-sang," which, before it was printed, was the inciting cause of M. Klaproth's article in 1831, as I have shown in my memoir. Permit me, sir, to correct that dissertation by some new and very important notes. I said that the ships of Kamtchatka, constructed in that place by the Buddhists, who came there from Cabul, carried them to America near the mouth of the Columbia; but I wrote then far from my books and without a terrestrial globe, and I therefore examined the matter again in 1844, and found that I had placed the point of their arrival a little too far north.

The beautiful work of M. Duflot de Mofras upon Oregon (Paris, 1844), a work which I have read and analyzed, conducts me to the excellent port of San Francisco, to the south of the Columbia River, as the point of arrival of the Indian Buddhists of Cabul.

According to the scale of 15,000 *li*, reckoned by the Chinese between Persia and the city of *Sy-ngan-fu*, and also reckoned between this city and the southern point of Kamtchatka or of *Ta-han*, the distance of 20,000 *li* between Kamtchatka and *Fu-sang*, measured upon a terrestrial globe, reaches precisely to this

point; and M. de Mofras says that the northwestern winds which prevail at San Francisco during a great part of the year would bring one there easily from the northeastern coast of Asia.

There, ships enter without difficulty, while the bar at the mouth of the Columbia is very difficult to cross, at least for large vessels. Still, this natural entrance to the beautiful country of Oregon may also have been known of old.

In the figure of the half-clothed, half-civilized American of *Fu-sang*, which is given in the "*Pian-y-tien*," and also in the Chinese Encyclopædia, this native is seen milking a young hind with white spots, and her fawn is equally spotted. I sought in vain for any account of this kind of spotted deer in America, until, upon re-reading M. von Humboldt's works, I noticed that the *Cervus Mexicanus* of Linnæus is spotted like our European roe-deer, and that the spots are particularly noticeable while the animal is young. This species of deer is found in America, and in Mexico in particular, in immense numbers, says M. von Humboldt, as well as a large deer similar to ours, and often entirely white; a deer which is found in the Andes, where it also runs in herds. These last, therefore, recall the white and tame hinds which are milked by the Indians of the Himalaya, as we are told by Philostratus in his "Life of Apollonius of Tyane," for these people, being Buddhists, deprive themselves of meat, and live upon fruits and dishes made from milk.

The account of *Fu-sang* speaks also of cattle with very long horns, that are domesticated by the natives of that country. Now, M. von Humboldt says that the bisons of Canada are often broken to the yoke and that they breed with our European cattle.

These bisons weigh as much as two thousand pounds or more, but their horns are small; whereas he says that cattle-horns of a monstrous size have been found in ruined monuments near Cuernavaca, in the southwestern part of Mexico. He refers these horns to the musk-ox of the extreme north of America; but M. de Castelnau, in his courageous exploration near the Amazon and in Paraguay, found cattle with very long horns, besides another species with small horns, which ran with them in the same plains.

The account of *Fu-sang* is therefore confirmed upon this point; but there is certainly some error in the text when it is said that

upon these long horns the cattle carried a weight of twenty *ho* (the Chinese "*ho*" being a weight of one hundred and twenty pounds)—that is to say, a total weight of twenty-four hundred pounds! It should be said that they weighed, per head, at least twenty-four hundred pounds, and not that this enormous burden was placed upon their horns; that would be impossible.

The horses mentioned in this account seem alone to have been lacking in America; but the Patagonians, true Tartars, are always on horseback, and there is nothing to prove that they had not preserved among them some descendants of the horses which the bonzes of India brought to *Fu-sang*, and which the boats of Kamtchatka had perhaps taken from Tartary.

I will give you some day an article about the tribes of the extreme north of Asia, having large boats and very short nights during summer.

A hundred times wiser than M. Klaproth, M. de Guignes, Sr., in his memoir regarding *Fu-sang*, by a few words referred to this nation with large boats, and of whom the name *Ku-tu-moei* —that is to say, "Having the Nights very short in Summer"— indicates the position to be near the Arctic circle.

There is an account of this nation in the work of *Ma Twan-lin*, entitled "*Wen-hien-tong-kao*," and I have extracted what he says upon the subject.

I have shown elsewhere that the passage from Europe to America by the way of Northern Siberia must then have been practicable, this sea being gradually filled up with the *detritus* of great rivers which fall into it, and in this way it freezes more and more each year, for it is known that deep seas do not freeze. All these facts open new and important questions, and your useful and weighty journal may well treat them.

Accept, etc., CHEVALIER DE PARAVEY.

SAINT GERMAIN, *April 24, 1847.*

Appendix A.

IN REGARD TO THE MEMOIR OF M. D'EICHTHAL MENTIONED BY M. MOHL.

Proof given in 1840 of the Introduction of the Worship of Buddha into America by Means of the East Indians of Cabul.

To the President of the Academy of Sciences:

Did certain bonzes of India, setting forth from Central Asia, in the year 458 of our era, go to America by the way of Kamtchatka and the northwestern part of the New World, in order to convert the nations that lived there, and of which the existence has been known ever since?

This is what is affirmed by the learned M. de Guignes, Sr., in the "Memoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions," where he has given a translation of the account of the voyage of these East Indian bonzes, taken from the Great Annals of China.

This has been since denied by M. Klaproth and M. von Humboldt, who base their opinion upon some doubts expressed by the scholarly Father Gaubil, who had not sufficiently studied the question. I desire to state my reasons for answering this question in the affirmative. I have no doubt upon the subject, since discussing it with the learned Admiral M. de Rossel, and exhaustively studying the memoir of M. de Guignes concerning the navigations of the Chinese to the celebrated eastern land which they called the country of *Fu-sang*, and which they placed some two thousand leagues to the east of the shores of their empire and of Tartary. But as neither my mere assertions nor those of others should receive any more favourable consideration than has been given to the excellent work of M. de Guignes, Sr., and as the Academy of Sciences wishes facts rather than words, I will call attention to the monuments of a portion of Central America, hitherto almost unknown, at least in regard to its antiquities; monuments to which I have already called the attention of the Asiatic Society of Paris, of M. Burnouf, Jr., and of M. the Chevalier Jaubert, and which they have agreed with me in recognizing as purely Buddhistic.

M. the Baron van der Cappelen, living near Utrecht, Holland, has shown me large drawings of the temple of Boro-Boudor in Java, brought from India by him. This ancient temple is circular, and is ornamented with thousands of small, beautiful niches, in which the figure of the celebrated Indian god Buddha sits cross-legged, each niche being surmounted by the monstrous and deformed head of Siva.

I could show the same idols in ancient Egypt, and at Axum, in Abyssinia; but, in looking over the beautiful work of M. Waldeck, the skillful artist and distinguished disciple of David, who was sent to Yucatan by the generous and unfortunate Lord Kingsborough, I was surprised to see upon the sketch of the southern façade of the vast square palace of the ruins of Uxmal, near Merida, eight niches of the Indian Buddha, figured seated

as in Java, in the East Indies, and with the face decorated with coarse rays surrounding it, and to see in addition a monstrous and flattened human head surmounting the square niche and the cabin or house in which this Indian Buddha is seated.

The resemblance of this *Buddha of Yucatan* with the figure of the Buddha of Java, published in "Crawfurd's Indian Archipelago" (vol. ii, p. 206), is such that M. Burnouf at first believed my sketches of the ancient palace of Uxmal in Yucatan, sketches copied from Plate xvii of M. Waldeck's, to be of purely East Indian and Siamese origin, and not American.

M. Burnouf knew that the worship of the monstrous Siva accompanied, even in Siam and Nepal, the gentler worship of Buddha, and that their images are often coupled, as in the temple of Boro-Boudor, in ancient Java, in the Indian Archipelago, and as in particular Typhon and the young Horus were coupled in ancient Egypt.

We find again, in the center of America, the same two figures, also coupled, exactly copied, and, to the number of eight, ornamenting the southern façade of an Oriental temple; thus, as it seems to me, clearly demonstrating the truth of the account of the voyage to *Fu-sang*, in the year 458 A. D., translated from the Chinese by M. de Guignes, and attributed to five Buddhists who set forth from *Ky-pin* or Cophène—that is to say, from the country of Cabul in India.

In the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne," vol. xii, p. 441, where an analysis is given of the "Antiquités du Mexique," by Dupaix, the explorations are mentioned which he made at Zachilla, the capital of the ancient kingdom of the Zapotecs, where he found upon a rock the imprint of a gigantic foot, an imprint in which M. de Paravey sees an imitation of that which is worshiped upon Adam's Peak in Ceylon, and of which the nations of Ava and Pégu, of the Buddhist religion, have also similar imitations; in addition, Colonel Dupaix also found in this place an idol, seated, the hands crossed upon the breast, and which can be nothing else than one of the figures of Sakya, or Buddha.

There, according to the "Journey of the Shamans," since translated by M. Rémusat, was the country of Buddhism, and of the monstrous idolatries of India; deplorable alterations from the pure worship founded in Indo-Persia by Shem, in whom we see the celebrated *Heu-tsi* of the Chinese.

There we hear of the two imaginary planets *Ragu* and *Cetu*, the head and tail of the dragon, the nodes of the moon, the cause of eclipses, and the place of the conjunctions; *and these planets are drawn at full length upon the western façade of the palace of Uxmal in Yucatan*, being interlaced so as to form knots or nodes, and having feathers instead of scales, thus showing that they are intended for *aërial* beings. All this points to an ancient hieroglyphic astronomy, in which the spirals of the

sun, in its apparent course from one tropic to the other, are symbolized by a dragon or a vast boa-constrictor, a thing quite natural as an image.

So, in Chinese, or ancient Babylonian, *an eclipse of the sun* is written by a picture of *the sun eaten by a dragon*, or serpent, and an eclipse of the moon by the figure of *the moon eaten by a dragon*. In Chinese *ji* 日, *chi* 蝕, is *an eclipse of the sun*, and *yue* 月, *chi* 蝕, *an eclipse of the moon;* these phrases being used to convey the idea that the heavenly bodies are *swallowed little by little—Chi*, 食 ("Dict. Chin.," No. 9505), the phonetic, means "to eat," and when this is united with the radical *chong*, 虫, that of the *serpent*, the two together signify "to eat little by little as the boas swallow their food." Notwithstanding the fact that the art of calculating eclipses is known in China, the common people believe only in making a noise to frighten this imaginary dragon, this feathered or aërial boa.

To find the picture at full length of these Chinese and East Indian superstitions, at Uxmal in Yucatan, and to see every evidence of a duplication in America of the Buddha of Java—an island which also contains at Suku a teocalli, or ancient pyramidal temple, similar to that of Uxmal in America, drawn by M. Waldeck (see his "Voyage au Yucatan")—have appeared to me to be important and decisive facts. I hope that they, when brought to general notice by publication in the Society's Transactions, will attract the attention of educated Americans, and show them that their country and its ruins are worthy of more careful study than they have as yet received, and that they will lead to other explorations than those hitherto made, which have been but little better than nothing.

To defend the learned author of the "History of the Huns," relying here upon the wise geographer Buache, against the ill-founded objections of M. Klaproth, has also appeared to me to be very important, and I do not believe that any one can now deny the voyages of the Indo-Tartars to America, and that nearly one thousand years before Columbus.

I could give further proofs of the connection of Uxmal, Palenque, and Tulha with India, but fear to trespass too greatly upon your space.

CHEVALIER DE PARAVEY.

PARIS, *July 20, 1840.*

APPENDIX B

TO OUR LETTER TO THE ACADEMY.

New Proofs of the Introduction of the Worship of Buddha into America, or into the Country of Fu-sang. Which was the First Country converted to this Religion in the New World?

ONE of the countries of America which was first converted by the shamans of Cabul, arriving from the southern point of Kamtchatka at

the excellent port of San Francisco, in California, to the north of Monterey, must evidently have been the country upon the banks of the Colorado River, a large river which flows through these same regions from the north to the south and falls into the northern end of the Gulf of California. Now, in the useful translations of the Spanish authors made by M. Ternaux-Compans, we find that Castañeda placed near the Colorado River, in a small island, a sanctuary of Lamaism, or of Buddhism. He mentions a divine personage living in a small house near a lake upon this island, and called, as he says, "Quatu-zaca," who was reputed *never to eat.*

Maize, deer-skin mantles, and cloth made of feathers were offered to him in great quantities; and in the same place (which proves a colonization) they also made many little bells of copper.

Even the name of this deified lama, or of this idol Quatu-zaca, contains the Tartar and East Indian name "Xaca," written *Shi-kia* in Chinese, and "Sakya" in Sanscrit, the name of the celebrated god Buddha; a remark which we are the first to make, and "Quatu" may indicate his origin as of "Cathay."*

Castañeda adds that the nations of these countries were very peaceable and gentle, never waged war, and (abstaining from flesh) lived solely upon three or four kinds of very good fruits.

It is therefore impossible to fail to see here an ancient colony of Buddhists, or of lamas, a colony which in turn pushed its branches into Mexico, Yucatan, Bogota, and even to Peru, a country of very civilized customs.

The Mexicans, frightfully cruel in their recent idolatries, are, as is known, emigrants from the northeast of Asia and from the northwestern part of America, but much more recent; and before their arrival in these beautiful countries it is to be believed, as is stated in the account of *Fu-sang*, that the gentle and fraternal religion of the Buddhists, the remnants of the race of Shem, reigned there exclusively.

Even the title of the shamans, who came there in 458, is derived from the Sanscrit "sramana," which signifies "peaceful," M. Pauthier tells us; and this name is afterward found again in Mexico, where M. Ternaux-Compans (*Mexican Vocabulary*, in his translation of the old Spanish authors) gives *Amanam* as the name of the priests and the diviners, a word which evidently may at first have been pronounced *Chamanani*, *Samanani*, *Shamaneans.*

CHEVALIER DE PARAVEY.

SAINT GERMAIN, *April 26, 1847.*

* The name "Cathay" was, however, used as a name of the Kingdom of China,[1730] or of its northern portion, and not of India.[1801]—E. P. V.

Appendix C.

IN REGARD TO THE FIGURE OF A NATIVE OF FU-SANG FOUND IN CHINESE BOOKS, AND NOW PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME.

To what Country of America can the almost Nude Man, which the Chinese Books picture as an Inhabitant of Fu-sang, have belonged?

As may be seen by the engraving,* the Chinese supposed that the men who inhabited the country of *Fu-sang* were almost naked. Now, it may be said that the inhabitants of North America are fully clothed. This is true of the greater part of the country; but in the "Voyage to the Mouth of the Columbia River" of Lewis & Clark (page 302, and also page 507), at latitude 46° 18′ north, these explorers found the Chinook Indians, and in a village upon the Island of Deer, they found women who, instead of short petticoats, had a simple truss about the loins, or a narrow skin covering this part of their bodies.

They say (page 286) that the Indians living near the Columbia River, owing to the mildness of the climate, always have the legs and feet bare, even in winter; and never wear more than small robes, even in cold weather; or skin aprons and a kind of cloak upon the shoulders (page 310). The moccasins for the feet and legs are not used, except in Canada and near Hudson's Bay, where the climate is much colder.

So the man of *Fu-sang*, shown as almost nude in the old drawing from the *Pian-y-tien* and the Chinese Cyclopædia, must have lived near the Columbia River in the neighbourhood of California, a rich and beautiful country of a very mild and temperate climate, the country of Oregon, regarding which, Spain, England, and the United States are now disputing.

In addition, if we open the "Exploration de l'Oregon et de la California," published in 1844 by M. Duflot de Mofras (vol. ii, page 250), we see, in fact, that these Indians therein described have only the loins or the middle of the body covered; and this exactly as in the plate of the native of *Fu-sang*, a plate reproduced since the year 499 of our era in all the foreign geographies published in China and Japan.

Everything, therefore, justifies my conjectures. As to the spotted hind and its fawn, we have cited M. von Humboldt in regard to the *Cervus Mexicanus* of Linnæus. And we point out, in this connection also, in order to show that the natives know how to keep them in herds and tame them, the "Voyage en Amerique" by M. de Chateaubriand (in 8vo, vol. i, page

* It has not been thought advisable to give a copy of the engraving, to which reference is made, as there is no reason for believing it to be anything more than a sketch made from the fancy of the Chinese artist.—E. P. V.

130), where he speaks of the hinds of Canada, a charming sort of hornless reindeer, which they tamed there, he tells us.

CHEVALIER DE PARAVEY.

(Extract from No. 90 (June, 1847) of the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne.")

REFUTATION OF THE OPINION EXPRESSED BY M. JOMARD THAT THE NATIONS OF AMERICA NEVER HAD ANY CONNECTION WITH THOSE OF ASIA.

(*Extract from the number of May, 1849, of the "Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne."*)

THE essay opens with a statement of the importance of geographical study, in assisting to open up commerce with foreign nations; disputes the unchristian idea that the people of America can have been Autochthones; gives a *résumé* of former arguments regarding *Fu-sang;* and adds the following new matter:

In addition to the Phœnician and East Indian art of dyeing purple with the *murex*, and the art of fishing for pearls, which is found near Panama, in the countries of Guaxaca and of Chacahua in America, there also exists another art, purely East Indian, which of itself demonstrates the arrival of the Buddhists of Cabul in America, named by them the country of the *Extreme East*—that is to say in Chinese, the country of *Fu-sang*. This art is that of using the cochineal insect of the nopal plant, an art equally found at Guaxaca, and which produces the wealth of this central country of America.

In 1795, at Madras in India, Major Anderson showed, in a special essay, that the cochineal insect and the nopal plant upon which it lives are found in India and toward the countries of Lahore and Cabul; and he thought that from these they must have been imported into America, into the country of Honduras near Mexico; but he does not show how.*

* The substance of the article that is referred to [103] is, that cochineal insects were brought from Rio Janeiro to Calcutta, and that, when they reached the latter place, the nopal plants upon which they lived were so nearly dead that none of them could be revived. The insects were therefore tried upon all the varieties of nopal that could be obtained, including a variety from the Cape of Good Hope, one from Mauritius, and a number of others, but could not live upon any of them, with the exception of a variety found growing in Bengal, which had a flower exactly similar to that of the nopal upon which the insects grew in America, and which seemed to be the same plant. Upon this the insects thrived.

W. Roxburgh says this variety "seems to be a native of Bengal; at least it has been long known."

James Anderson says "it is common over all the Carnatic"; and he again speaks of it as "common and indigenous," and also says "it is common as far

Now, the account of *Fu-sang* attributes precisely to these East Indians of *Ky-pin*, or of Cabulistan, the civilization of America, which must have preceded the ferocious and sanguinary religion of the Tartars of Mexico.

These peaceful and Buddhistic Indians occupied themselves with commerce and useful arts. Having known in their own country how to utilize the precious lac insect as well as that of the nopal, and finding the nopal in Mexico, they must have also carried there the insect which lives upon it, or, if it existed there, they made use of it as a means of preparing cochineal, an art that is purely East Indian and Asiatic.

Merely the names of Guaxaca, Chacahua, Zachita, and Zacapa, found in Honduras and Guatemala, demonstrate the presence of these Buddhists in these countries, since "Xaca" and "Sakya," or "*Shi-kia*," are the well-known Asiatic names of the celebrated divinity *Fo*, or the Indian Buddha, a god *represented as seated with crossed legs*, the figure of which, drawn at Uxmal in Yucatan without recognition, by M. de Waldeck, the artist sent by the late Lord Kingsborough, has been first brought into notice by us.

The character *shi*, 釋, of the name "*Shi-kia*," or "Sakya," signifies "to release, to dismiss, to pardon"; and the character *kia*, 跏, "to sit with the legs crossed," exactly as the figure found at Uxmal by M. Waldeck is seated. CHEVALIER DE PARAVEY.

north as Nepal, where they say an insect lives on it with which they dye red." There is no proof, however, that this was the cochineal insect.

At this time different varieties of the cactus had been introduced from America into almost all parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, and had long been common in many districts. There is nothing to show that the nopal, then found in Bengal, had not been introduced from America some time during the three centuries elapsing between the discovery of America and the date referred to in the article. And there is one fact, which seems to render it almost certain that the plant had been introduced from Mexico, and at a comparatively recent date, as it is stated that "the Bengalese call their cactus 'neeg-penny,' or 'nag-penny.'" It is evident that this is a corruption of the Mexican term "nopalli," or "nochpalli"; and if the plant had been introduced in *Hwui Shăn's* time, thirteen centuries before, the name would probably have changed more than this during that length of time. There is really no reason to believe that the plant had been introduced into India before the discovery of America by Columbus. By the end of the eighteenth century the prickly pear, or Indian fig, had become wild in India, just as it had in many other countries where it is known that it was carried early in the sixteenth century. It seems to have been widely distributed, not only for its fruit, but as a curiosity, and as it throve well in nearly all tropical lands, it soon grew wild and spread itself over the country.—E. P. V.

CHAPTER VI.

NEUMANN'S MONOGRAPH.

The knowledge of foreign nations possessed by the Chinese—Their precepts—The journey of *Lao-tse*—Embassies and spies—Knowledge derived from foreign visitors—Its preservation in Chinese records—The introduction of Buddhism—Its command to extend its doctrines to all nations—Chinese system of geography and ethnology—The unity of the Tartars and Red-skins—American languages—The Tunguses, or Eastern Barbarians—The *Pe-ti*, or Northern Barbarians—The Ainos, or Jebis, and the Negritos—The *Wen-shin*, or Pictured-people—Embassies between China and Japan—The Country of Dwarfs—The Chinese "Book of Mountains and Seas"—Information given by a Japanese embassador—Kamtchatka, the Tchuktchi, and the Aleuts—*Lieu-kuei*—The length of the *li*—*Lieu-kuei*, a peninsula—The land of the *Je-tshay*—The natives of Kamtchatka—Their dwellings—Their clothing—The climate—The animals of the country—The customs of the people—The country of the *Wen-shin* identified with the Aleutian Islands—*Ta-han*, or Alaska—The kingdom of *Fu-sang* and its inhabitants—The Amazons—*Fu-sang* identified with the western portion of America called Mexico—The *fu-sang* tree—Only one voyage made—Chinese accounts of *Fu-sang*—The distance from *Ta-han*, or Alaska, indicates that *Fu-sang* is Mexico—The oldest history of America—Successive tribes—The ruins of Mitla and Palenque—Something of earlier races to be learned from the condition of the Aztecs—Pyramidical monuments—If Buddhism existed in America, it was an impure form—The myth of Huitzilopochtli—The *fu-sang*, the maguey, or *Agave Americana*—Connection between the flora of America and that of Asia—Metals and money—Laws and customs of the Aztecs—Domestic animals—Horses—Oxen—Stag-horns—Chinese and Japanese in the Hawaiian group and in Northwestern America—Shipwrecks upon the American coast—The voyages of the Japanese.

Eastern Asia and Western America, according to Chinese Authorities of the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh Centuries—by Karl Friedrich Neumann.[1966]

1. THE KNOWLEDGE OF FOREIGN NATIONS POSSESSED BY THE CHINESE.—As, in the eyes of the Chinese, the "Middle Kingdom" was the most cultured upon earth, its precepts re-

quired that it should not only preserve its customs and laws as handed down from former generations, but that it should extend these customs and laws abroad beyond the limits of the country. It was added that this extension of knowledge should not be brought about by the art of persuasion of any missionaries, or by the compulsive force of armed troops. A true renovation could only take place, as in the case of every other healthy organic growth, when the pressure was from within outward; when the surrounding barbarians, irresistibly attracted by the virtue and majesty of the Sons of Heaven, and ashamed of their barbarism, should voluntarily obey the image of the Heavenly Father and become men.

A people actuated by such a spirit would undertake no voyages of discovery, and would carry on no wars of conquest; and during the history of this Oriental land, covering a period of four thousand years, no single prominent man is named who journeyed into foreign lands in order to improve himself or others. The journey of *Lao-tse* to the West, from which he neither returned nor wished to return, appears to have been a myth, designed to connect his teaching regarding the "Primitive and Infinite Wisdom" with the western "Mountain of the Gods" or with Buddhism. The campaigns which were undertaken beyond the limits which nature has set to the Chinese empire were merely the result of efforts at self-preservation. In Central as in Eastern Asia, in Thibet as on the Irawaddy, it is necessary to take precautions against dangers and disasters which might ultimately threaten the liberty of the nation. As is not infrequently the case, in Europe as well as in Asia, it becomes necessary to send embassies and spies into surrounding regions in order to obtain information as to their situation and condition, as well as to the circumstances and intentions of the inhabitants, of a nature which might prove of service in military expeditions and negotiations with the enemies of the empire. Moreover, the glorious and fortunate "Middle Kingdom" allured not only barbarians eager for spoils, but also merchants eager for gain, since several articles, such as silk, tea, and genuine rhubarb, were found only here. The Chinese government, like its people, has been controlled by the precepts of its sages, and has at all times received strangers humanely and courteously, as long at least as they yielded unconditional obedience, or otherwise showed submission and fear;

and, according to Oriental custom, their gifts were repaid by others more valuable. All these discoveries, and all the information obtained in their different peaceable or warlike methods, whether relating to the neigbouring nations or to those dwelling in the most distant parts of the earth, were noted in the last division of the Annual Registers of Chinese history, of which, from our point of view, they constitute the most valuable portion.

The arrogance and vanity of the Chinese people were partly eradicated, however, by means of the introduction of Buddhism, and its gradual conquest of the countries of Eastern Asia. He who believed in the divine mission of the Son of the King of Kapilapura must recognize every human being as his equal and brother; yes, must strive—for the ancient religion of Buddha, as in the case of many others of its dogmas and customs, agreed with the more youthful religion of Christianity in this point also—to extend the gospel of redemption to all nations upon the face of the earth; and, for this purpose, following the example of the divine-man, must be ready to take upon himself all conceivable sufferings and labours. We therefore find a number of Buddhist monks and priests going forth from Central Asia and China, from Japan and Corea, to known and unknown regions, either for the purpose of obtaining information as to their distant brothers in the faith or to preach the doctrine of the Holy Trinity to unbelievers. The accounts of these missionaries' travels, of which we possess several, viewed from a geographical and ethnological standpoint, are among the most important and instructive works of the entire body of Chinese literature. From them is derived the greatest part of the information which we shall give regarding Northeastern Asia and the countries of the western coast of America; information which has descended from centuries that until now have been concealed from view by darkest night.

2. Their System of Geography and Ethnology.—Arrogance and vanity are the basis whereupon the Chinese built most of their peculiar system of geography and ethnology. Around the "Central Flower," so they were taught by their sages, dwelt rude, uncouth nations, which in reality were but animals, although they had the form and figure of the human race. Because of this assumed animal nature, the inhabitants of the "Central Flower" gave them nicknames of all kinds:

dogs, swine, demons, and barbarians, were the distinguishing names which they gave to foreigners dwelling in the four cardinal directions; to the east, west, north, and south. The few western investigators and historians, who have thought it worth the trouble to devote their attention to the fallow field of the history of Eastern and Central Asia, have unquestionably followed the ethnographical system resting upon these limited geographical elements. It therefore sometimes happens that races are represented as belonging to the same family, which in fact have no connection, and sometimes one and the same nation is divided up among different families; this occurring especially among the numerous and widely extended family of the Tartars.

3. The Unity of the Tartars and Red-skins.—The Tunguses and Mongolians and a great portion of the Turks originally formed (according to the important indications of their bodily figure, as well as the elements of their languages) a single family of nations, really connected with the Esquimaux (the Skraelings or dwarfs of the Norsemen) as well as with the races and tribes of the New World. This is the solid, irrefutable result of the latest researches in the fields of comparative anatomy and physiology, as well as in those of comparative philology and history. All researches point in the end to their unity. The Red-skins have all the different peculiarities which can remind us of their neighbours on the other side of Behring's Strait. They have a four-cornered or round head, high cheek-bones, heavy jaws, large four-cornered eye-sockets, and a low, retreating forehead. The skulls of the oldest Peruvian graves show the same peculiarities as the heads of the nomadic Indians of Oregon and California; and Gallatin, in his researches in the field in which he stands alone, has shown* that the American languages as a whole have such a similarity that, however different their vocabularies may be, they all point back to a common origin. All researches regarding the manner in which America was peopled lead to the same final conclusion. Since the earth has been inhabited, these natives have dwelt in the neighbouring regions of Asia and America. The rude masses have in the course of centuries, by means of different processes of civilization, been separated into different races and nations, each of a peculiar physical type—a consequence of the higher mental tendencies—and

* Baer, in the "Beiträge zur Kentniss des Russischen Reiches," vol. i, p. 279.

numerous languages have grown up; yet they still bear sufficient tokens of their original unity, in their physical peculiarities, as well as in their languages, their customs, and their habits. This unity is shown by their genealogy (the oldest historical system of all nations which know only a single original ancestor), which leads the Turks, Mongols, and Tunguses back to the same origin.* Among the Tartarian hordes we find a relationship similar to that which existed between the different German races. The Ostrogoths and Visigoths, the Ostphalians and Westphalians, the men of the north and men of the south, belonged in their essential nature to one and the same Teutonic family, notwithstanding the differences in their culture and their destiny.

4. The Tunguses, the Eastern Barbarians.—All the numerous Tartaric tribes which wandered about, or dwelt northeasterly from the Middle Kingdom, were called by the civilized southern people *Tong-hu*, "Eastern Red-men, or Barbarians," from which term our word "Tunguse" has sprung, which has since been applied to the people of a much smaller section of country. Among the *Tong-hu* the Mongolians were prominent, many centuries before Chinggis Chakan, distinguished by the slightly different names of *Wog* or *Mog*, and divided into seven tribes, whose abodes stretched from the Corean Peninsula high up into the North, across the Amoor River, and to the Eastern Ocean—that is to say, to the Gulf of Anadir, or to Behring's Strait. The nomadic races, called *Pe-ti*, or "Northern Barbarians," dwelt more directly north; and many tribes were sometimes described as belonging to the Tunguses, and sometimes to the *Pe-ti*. In one way and another the Chinese obtained an astonishingly accurate knowledge of the northeastern coast of the Asiatic Continent, which, as is shown by their observations in astronomy and natural history, extended to the sixty-fifth degree of latitude, and even to the Arctic Ocean.† Among other accounts, they tell of a country, inhabited by a small tribe, called *Kolihan*, or *Chorhan*, which during the latter half of the seventh century sent several embassies to the court at *Singan*. This country lay on the North Sea, far from the "Middle Kingdom,"

* The "Shajrat ul Atrak," or Genealogical Tree of the Turks and Tartars, translated by Colonel Miles, London, 1838. *Tung*, or *Tungus*, is here (p. 25) represented as a son of *Turk*.

† Gaubil, "Observations Mathematiques," Paris, 1732, vol. ii, p. 110.

and beyond, still farther north, and on the other side of this sea, the days were sometimes so long and the nights so short that the sun sank and rose again before a breast of mutton could be roasted.* The Chinese were well acquainted with the customs of these hordes, which completely resembled those of the present Tchuktchi, the Koljushes, † and other families of Northeastern Asia and Northwestern America. "These barbarians," they say, "have neither oxen, sheep, nor other domestic animals; but, as some compensation for the lack of these animals, they make use of deer, which are very numerous." The deer spoken of are undoubtedly reindeer, which have also been described by European voyagers as resembling the common deer.‡ "Of agriculture these petty tribes know nothing. They support themselves by hunting and fishing, and upon the root of a plant that is found there in great abundance. Their dwellings are built of brush-wood and pieces of larger wood, and their clothing is made of birds'-feathers and the skins of wild animals. Their dead are laid in coffins, which are hung on trees growing in the mountain ranges. They know nothing of any division of the year into different seasons." #

The Chinese were also as well acquainted with the tribes which dwelt directly east as with these northern nations.

5. The Ainos, or Jebis, and the Negritos.—Even as early as the reign of the *Cheu* dynasty, in the times of David and Solomon, the limits of Chinese civilization reached to the Pacific Ocean. The numerous neighbouring groups of islands were known in the kingdom and visited for the purpose of trading. Their inhabitants sent embassies to the court, which offered all kinds of presents, that are described in full in the *Shu-king*, or Chinese Book of Annals. Moreover, it often happened, and still happens, that China sent forth a part of its overflowing or discontented population to those islands which were either sparsely settled,

* "*Ma Twan-lin*," Book 348, p. 6.

† "Koljushi," or "Koljuki," is the name of the pegs which these barbarians wear in their under lip, and from these they originally derived their name. The Russians who govern this land afterward called them "Galoches" (from that word of the French language), the name being at first applied only in jest. In the course of time, however, this word superseded the earlier name "Koljukes," so that they are now universally called "Kaloshes."

‡ Forster, "Schifffahrten im Norden," Frankfort, 1784, p. 338.

"*Ma Twan-lin*," Book 344, p. 18.

or, in some cases, entirely uninhabited, colonies having thus been sent to Japan, to *Lieu-kuei*, and to *Tai-wan* or Formosa, of which fact we possess explicit historical testimony. The family of the Ainos, or Jebis, stretching from Japan to Kamtchatka, over the Kurile and the Aleutian Islands and far away into the North, where it meets the allied family of the Esquimaux, must have appeared especially remarkable to these Chinese-Mongolian colonists and traders (who themselves possessed but scanty beards) on account of the strong growth of hair with which the bodies of these Ainos were covered. On this account they were called *Mao-jin* (or, according to the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese characters, *Mo-sin*), meaning "Hairy-people"; or, from the numerous sea-crabs which the ocean in these regions throws up upon the beach,* *Hia-i* (or, according to the Japanese pronunciation, *Jesso*)—that is to say, "Crab-barbarians." Moreover, because the Ainos, like the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and other barbarians, have the custom of tattooing themselves with all kinds of figures, they were also called *Wen-shin*, or "Pictured-people." In the course of time still other names were applied to them; but he who is governed by a knowledge of the nature of these regions and their inhabitants, immediately recognizes that the different descriptions and accounts all relate to the same family of the Ainos. We are indebted to the repeated embassies, which in earlier times went back and forth between China and Japan, for a great part of the information contained in the Annual Registers of the "Middle Kingdom" regarding the northeasterly and southeasterly islands and tribes, and, although much that is fabulous is undoubtedly contained in their accounts, still even their most incredible tales may contain some element of truth. So in the *Chu-shu*, or "Dwarfs," dwelling far distant from Japan in a southerly direction, having black bodies, naked and ugly, who murder and eat strangers, we immediately recognize the inhabitants of New Guinea or Papua.† The Ainos are first mentioned by the name of "the Hairy-people," in the Chinese "Book of Mountains and Seas," a work dating from the third or second century before our era, and richly adorned with wonderful tales. It says that they live in the Eastern Sea, and

* "Beschreibung der Kurilischen und Aleutischen Inseln," translated from the Russian into German, Ulm, 1792, p. 16.

† "*MaTwan-lin*," Book 327, p. 37.

have hair growing over their entire body.* Several of these people accompanied a Japanese embassy to the "Middle Kingdom" in the year 659 A. D. In the Annual Register of the *Tang* dynasty they are called "Crab-barbarians," and the following observation is added: "They had long beards and lived northeasterly from Japan"; they presented arrows, bows, and deerskins, as the chronicle states, as offerings to the throne.†

These were inhabitants of Jesso, which island had shortly before (in 658 A. D.) been conquered by the Japanese and made tributary to them. The questions of the "Son of Heaven" of the *Tang* dynasty and the answers of the Japanese embassador are given as follows:

The Ruler of the Tang Dynasty.—Does the celestial autocrat enjoy continual peace?

The Embassador.—Heaven and earth unite their gifts, and constant peace results.

The Ruler of the Tang Dynasty.—Are the officers of the kingdom well selected?

The Embassador.—The grace of the Heavenly Ruler is bestowed upon them and they remain well.

The Ruler of the Tang Dynasty.—Does internal peace prevail?

The Embassador.—The government stands in accord with heaven and earth—the people have no cause for complaint.

The Ruler of the Tang Dynasty.—Where does this land of Jesso lie?

The Embassador.—To the northeast.

The Ruler of the Tang Dynasty.—How many kinds of "Crab-barbarians" are there?

The Embassador.—Three: the most distant we call *Tsugaru* (after which the Strait of Sangar, between Japan and Jesso, is named); the nearest *Ara*, and the next *Niki*. The men here

* The *Shan-hai-king*, quoted in the "Histoire des Trois Royaumes," translated by Titsingh, Paris, 1832, p. 213. Klaproth has, in accordance with his well-known deceptive manner, attempted to pass off this translation as his own.

† *Tang-shu*, or "Annual Register of the Tang Dynasty," Book 220, p. 98. "*Ma Twan-lin*," Book 326, p. 23, where the account, as usual, is mutilated. Titsingh, "Annales des Empereurs du Japan," Paris, 1834, p. 52. There is an agreement between the Chinese and Japanese Annual Registers upon this subject, that is worthy of notice.

with us belong to these last. They come annually with their tribute to the court of our kingdom.

The Ruler of the Tang Dynasty.—Does this land produce grain?

The Embassador.—No; the inhabitants live upon flesh.

The Ruler of the Tang Dynasty.—Have they houses?

The Embassador.—No; they dwell in the mountain ranges among the trunks of trees.*

Since this time in the seventh century, several military expeditions have been undertaken against these neighbouring "Northern Barbarians," by the adjoining civilized kingdom, which have generally resulted successfully. The inhabitants of Jesso, however, usually rose again after a short time, drove the Japanese garrison out of the land, and surrendered themselves anew to the wild freedom that was enjoyed by other members of the same family upon the neighbouring islands. Even now, as we learn from different sources, the Japanese rule over only a small part of this island so rich in gold mines.

Jesso easily leads to an acquaintance with Kamtchatka, which happened to be also fully described for us at the same time, as is shown by the following account:

6. Kamtchatka, the Tchuktchi, and the Aleuts.—*Lieu-kuei*, or *Ling-goei*, as the Kamtchatdales of the present day still call their fellow-countrymen on the Penshinish Bay,† is described in the Annual Registers of the "Middle Kingdom" as fifteen thousand Chinese miles distant from the capital; this standard of distance (the *li*, or Chinese mile), according to the renowned astronomer *I-han*, was, in the time of the *Tang*

* *Nippon-ki*—that is to say, "The Annual Registers of Japan," from 661 B. C. to 696 A. D., which were completed in the year 720. They embrace thirty volumes in 8vo. The portion translated by Hoffman is found in the 26th vol., p. 9, or vol. viii, p. 130, of Siebold's "Japanese Archives."

† Steller, "Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka," Leipzig, 1734, p. 3. The words between quotation-marks are translated literally from the Annual Registers of the *Tang* dynasty (*Tang-shu*, Book 220, p. 19). The remainder is explanatory, and is mostly added from Steller. The Annual Registers of the *Tang* dynasty have also been compared with the article of *Ma Twan-lin* (Book 347, p. 5), which indeed seems to have been borrowed from the *Tang-shu*, but it is arranged in better order, and also contains much original matter, on which account I have used it as the basis of my work. The compiler of the Encyclopædia of *Kang-hi* (*Yuen-kien-lui-han*) contented himself (Book 241, p. 19), as in many other places, with transcribing from *Ma Twan-lin*.

dynasty, contained about 338 times in one of our geographical degrees.

Now, *Si-ngan*, the Chinese capital during the reign of the *Tang* dynasty, is in the district of *Shan-si*, 34° 15′ 34″ north latitude and 106° 34′ 0″ east longitude from Paris.

Peter and Paul's Haven in Kamtchatka is situated in 53° 0′ 59″ north latitude and 153° 19′ 56″ east longitude from Paris.

The distance between these two points wonderfully confirms the accounts of the Chinese Annual Registers, and leaves no room for doubt as to the identity of Kamtchatka with *Lieu-kuei*, for we may well be satisfied when such rough estimates, which may have been made by semi-barbarous sailors or by the barbarous inhabitants, come, in so great a distance, within two or three degrees of astronomical results.

"This land lies in a northeasterly direction from the 'Black River,' or the 'Black-dragon River' (the Amoor) and the country of the *Mo-ko*, from which it is reached by a sailing-voyage of fifteen days' duration, which is the time usually occupied by the *Mo-ko* upon the voyage." As has already been indicated, these *Mo-ko* are the Mongolians, who in former centuries, and even up to the times of the *Tang* dynasty, extended from Corea, on the south, to the farther side of the Amoor River, on the north; the western boundary of the country which they inhabited being unknown. In the east, as is expressly declared in our authorities, they roamed as far as to the ocean—i. e., to the Pacific Ocean—from the coast of which they could easily cross to the islands of the Pacific and to the continent of America. That this really happened, is indicated by the physical resemblance between the inhabitants of the two countries and the relationship between the Mongolian languages and the idioms of several tribes of American Indians. The distance from Ochotsk to the peninsula lying opposite is only about one hundred and fifty German miles, and the natives of this region are in fact accustomed to making this journey by water in from ten to fourteen days.

"*Lieu-kuei* lies northerly from the Northern Sea, by which it is surrounded upon three sides. On the north the peninsula is bounded by the land of the *Je-tshay*, or Tchuktchi,* of which

* In the "*Tung-shu*" there is a typographical error. Instead of *Pe-hai*, "the North Sea," the name is given as *Shao-hai*, "the Little Sea." The proper read-

the limits are not clearly defined. From Kamtchatka to *Je-tshay* is a month's journey, and beyond it is an unknown land, from which no embassy ever came to the 'Middle Kingdom.' Neither fortified places nor walled cities are found in this land; the people live scattered about upon the islands of the sea, and upon the banks along the rivers and the sea, of which they salt and preserve the fish."

Steller also assures us that the dwellings of the Itälmen—i. e., the natives of Kamtchatka—are found along the rivers, on the inner sea, and at the mouths of small rivers, especially in such of these places as are provided with trees and bushes. Fish are found in incredible numbers, and salmon are especially numerous; they are prepared in many ways, but chiefly by salting,* so as to serve for food both for man and beast throughout the long winters. The races living still farther north live also, almost exclusively, upon fish, from which fact they have received the name "Eskimantik," or "Eskimo," that is to say, "Raw-fish eaters."†

"Their dwellings consist of pits, which they dig quite deep in the earth, and then wall up with thick, unhewn wooden planks." These serve only as their winter residences, their summer residences being set upon posts, like our pigeon-houses. The Itälmen dig the earth out from three to five feet deep, making an excavation in the shape of a long rectangular parallelogram, and as large as may be required to accommodate their families. They throw the excavated earth all around the borders of the pit in a pile two feet broad. Then they prepare willow stakes five or six feet long, and drive them into the ground close together along the wall of the pit, so that they reach to the same height as the earthen wall. Between these stakes and the earth they place dry straw, so that the earth may not fall through and by immediate contact with the articles contained in the dwelling cause them to become mouldy or rusty.

ing is found in the two Encyclopædias already named. *Je-tshay-kuo*, which here means "the Land of the *Je-tshay*," is also named only in the two Encyclopædias. The arrogant Chinese love to write the names of foreign nations with characters which are insulting and abusive in their meanings. The name *Licu-kuci* is therefore written with characters meaning "the Dysenteric Devils," and *Je-tshay* with characters meaning "the Devil's Attendants."

* Steller, pp. 169, 210, 211.

† Mithridates, iii, 3–425.

In the middle of the pit they make the fire-place, between four slender piles, which are fastened above at one side of the entrance, which is near the fire-place, and serves also as a chimney through which the smoke escapes. Opposite the fire-place they make a channel in the ground from eight feet to two fathoms long (the size and length being dependent upon the size of the dwelling), which extends outside of the house, which is opened when a fire is kindled and closed when the fire is allowed to go out. This air-opening is made in any side of the dwelling without regard to the cardinal points, care being only taken that it should always open toward the river near which the house is placed. The wind can usually find free entrance, but, when it comes in too strongly, they place a cover over the air-opening as a protection against it. When it is desired to enter the dwelling, it is necessary to go in through the opening in the roof, which serves as a chimney, and descend a ladder or a tree-trunk, in which notches in which to place the feet have been hewed. Difficult as this is to a European, especially when a fire is burning and there seems danger of stifling from the smoke, it seems a very easy matter to the Itälmen. The little children usually creep through the air-channel, which also serves as a cupboard in which the cooking and table utensils are stored. Internally, the dwelling is divided into squares by wooden beams, so that each of the inhabitants has his own particular sleeping-place and private room.

"On account of the frequent fogs and heavy snows, the climate is very raw and cold. The people are all clothed in the hides of the animals which they kill by hunting; but they also prepare a species of cloth, from dogs' hair and various kinds of grasses, which is also used for clothing. In the winter the skins of swine and reindeer are used as clothing, and in the summer the skins of fishes. They have great numbers of dogs."

We now know that a remarkable difference is found in the climate of different portions of Kamtchatka. Districts that lie only a short distance from each other have very different weather at the same season of the year. The southern portion of the peninsula is, in general, on account of the proximity of the sea, very cloudy and damp, and is, for a great portion of the time, subject to fearfully tempestuous winds. The farther we ascend to the north, toward the Penshinish Bay, the gentler are the

winds in winter, and the smaller is the amount of rain that falls during the summer. There is no part of the world, however, in which rains are heavier or more frequent than in Kamtchatka, and deeper snow is nowhere found than occurs upon this peninsula between the 51st and 54th degrees of north latitude. On this account the inhabitants need their warm clothing of seal-skins and reindeer hides. The skins of dogs, marmots, and sables are also prepared for this use. The women split dry nettle-stalks and other grasses, and labouriously spin a yarn from them, which is made up into a species of linen cloth, and likewise serves as the material for different articles of clothing. Reindeer, black bear, wolves, foxes, and other wild quadrupeds are found in great numbers, and are caught in many ways, some of them extremely ingenious, of which the Chinese have also heard. Dogs are the only domestic animals, and these are upon many accounts almost indispensable to the people of Kamtchatka; they are harnessed to sledges, and so serve as substitutes for our horses and asses: and the dogs of this land are so strong that they endure more than our beasts of burden. Their skins and hair are made up into clothing, so that they also supply the place of sheep (of which none are found in this country), and of their wool. The statement, that swine are found in Kamtchatka, is an error of the Chinese writer;* they would, indeed, prosper here, but in Steller's time none had been introduced into the country. Up to the present day several of the Mantchoo tribes, living farthest to the northeast, clothe themselves in fish-skins, on which account the Chinese call them "*Ju-pi*" (Fish-skins). They, like the Chedshen, belong to the Aleutian family.

"The people have no regulations or laws, and know nothing of officers or of superiors in rank. If there is a robber in the land, the people are all called together in order to judge him. Nothing is known of the division and the succession of the four seasons of the year. Their bows are about four feet long, and their arrows like those of the 'Middle Kingdom.' From bones and stones they make a species of musical instrument. They love to sing and dance. They lay their dead in large tree-trunks, and mourn for them for three years, but without wearing any particular kind of mourning-garment. In the year 640,

* It is possible that this term is applied to some species of marine animal resembling the seal.—E. P. V.

during the time of the reign of the Second Son of Heaven of the *Tang* dynasty, the first and last tribute-bringing embassy came from the land of *Lieu-kuei* to the 'Middle Kingdom.'"

Before the conquest of the country by the Russians, the Kamtchatdales lived in a kind of community, as is the case among all wild tribes, as, for instance, among the early German tribes. Each revenged for himself the injuries that were done to him, and availed himself for this purpose of his weapons, which consisted of bows, arrows, and bone spears. In time of war they chose a leader, whose authority ceased with the war. If anything was stolen and the thief was not discovered, the elders called the people together and then exhorted each one of them to give up the criminal. If he was not detected in this way, then the magic arts of their shamans, or priests, were brought into requisition to conjure death and ruin down upon the head of the villain. The Itälmen divided the solar year into two parts, calling one "summer" and the other "winter." The division into days and weeks is quite unknown to the Kamtchatdales, and most of them can not count beyond forty. They waste the greater part of their time with music and dancing, and in telling merry stories. Their songs and melodies, of which Steller gives us several, seem charming and agreeable.

If, says this distinguished man (sacrificed in Russia), whom I usually follow in the account of the customs and usages of the Kamtchatdales, we compare the cantatos of the great Orlando di Lasso, with which he charmed the King of France after the Parisian's Carnival of Blood, with those of the Itälmen, the latter seem much the more agreeable of the two, many of these arias being not merely one-part melodies, but being sung with an alto also.

The Chinese account of the disposition of the corpses of the dead, and of the three-years' mourning, is not well founded. At least, at the time of the discovery of the country by the Russians, nothing similar was found to exist. The sick, when they seemed past recovery, were cast to the dogs while still living, and any lamentation over the death of parents or other relations very seldom occurred. It is possible, however, even if improbable, that since the seventh century many a change and error has been made in the Chinese records regarding this country.

The habitation of the *Wen-shin*, or "Pictured-people," must

be looked for to the east of Kamtchatka, and therefore in the Aleutian Islands, if we accept the estimate in regard to their distance from Japan.

"The land of the *Wen-shin*," it is said in the Annual Registers of the Southern Dynasties,* "is distant from Japan in a northeasterly direction about seven thousand Chinese miles," or some twenty of our geographical degrees, a direction and distance placing us in the midst of the group of the Aleutian Islands. It is impossible to conceive how de Guignes can have sought for these "Pictured-people" in Jesso, and imagined that he found them there.

"The bodies of these people exhibit all kinds of figures, such as those of animals and the like. They have three lines upon the forehead; the large and straight indicate the nobles, the small and crooked the common people, of the nation."

It is well known that before their conversion to Christianity the Aleuts not only tattooed different figures upon their bodies, but they also bored through the cartilage of the nose and wore a peg or pin stuck transversely through the opening, and upon holidays hung glass beads upon this pin. The women in the same way bored through the ear, all about the margin, and also made incisions in the lower lip, in which they wore bone or stone needles some two inches long.

7. Ta-han, Alaska.—In the times of the *Liang* dynasty, in the first half of the sixth century of our era, the Chinese heard of a land which lay five thousand of their miles easterly from the country of the "Pictured-people" of the Aleutian Islands, and named it "*Ta-han*," or "Great China." The direction and the distance lead us to the great Peninsula of Alaska. The country was apparently named "Great China" because some account of the great continent which stretched out beyond the peninsula had reached the "Middle Kingdom." So, for the same reasons, according to the Sagas, the Irish who, in earlier centuries, discovered America long before the days of Columbus, named the newly-discovered regions "Great Ireland." †

* *Nan-sse*—i. e., "History of the Southern Dynasties," Book 79, p. 5. The same article is also found in the *Liang-shu*, or "The Annual Registers of the *Liang* Dynasty," Book 54, p. 19, and in *Ma Twan-lin's* work, Book 327, p. 2.

† The Munich "Gel. Anzeiger," vol. viii, p. 636. This must have been the country stretching from the two Carolinas to the southern point of Florida.

We are informed that the people of *Ta-han* upon the whole resembled the "Pictured-people" in their customs and usages. "The two nations, however, spoke quite different languages. The people of *Ta-han* carried no weapons and knew nothing of war and strife."

Beyond *Ta-han*, the Chinese learned, at the close of the fifth century of our era, of the existence of a land which the elder de Guignes has already located in the northwestern part of the American Continent. The conjecture of this sagacious and scholarly man is in its main points well founded, but we are now in a position to clearly determine the particular country of America to which the Chinese account referred. The zealous investigations concerning the perished civilization of the New World, and the traces of it which still exist, have led to results of which the investigators of the eighteenth century could have had no knowledge. We will now give, first, a complete and literal translation of the Chinese account regarding the distant eastern land, and follow it with an explanation, as far as practicable, of its various statements.

8–11.—The Kingdom of Fu-sang and its Inhabitants.—[Here follows a translation of the Chinese account, which is given in full elsewhere, and which it therefore will not be necessary to quote here.]

12. The Amazons.—The same Buddhist priest to whom we owe the account of the land of *Fu-sang* tells also of a Kingdom of Women. It lay about a thousand Chinese miles easterly from *Fu-sang*, and was inhabited by white people with very hairy bodies.* The whole account, however, contains so much that is fabulous that it is not worth while to give it. It is none the less remarkable, however, that, from the most ancient times, all great civilized nations which have had written accounts that have come down to us, speak of a kingdom of women which, the farther that the northeastern portions of Asia became known without finding any such kingdom, was always pushed back to a greater distance, until finally these governing women were transplanted into America. It is hardly necessary to say that such a kingdom of women never existed. It is quite possible that here

* The account is found in the *Nan-sse*, Book 79, p. 5; *Liang-shu*, Book 54, p. 49, and copied from these, but with many corrections, in the Encyclopædia of *Ma Twan-lin*, Book 327, *et seq.*

and there the women of many different races had separate dwelling-places, or perhaps lived apart upon an island, where they from time to time received visits from the men. The Arabs likewise tell of such an arrangement;* but they placed their country of women in quite another part of the world. The knowledge of the Arabians and Persians of the northern and northeastern regions of the earth extended only as far as Japan. East of Japan, Abulfeda expressly declares, the earth was believed to be uninhabited.

13. Fu-sang, the Western Portion of America, called Mexico.—What all these distant lands were called by their native inhabitants we do not know, and, in fact, it is rarely that the native names of foreign countries are known, even of those which have been recently discovered. We only know that the Chinese Buddhist missionaries gave to the country the name of a tree which grew in great numbers both there and in Eastern Asia,† or rather, perhaps, as seems probable, the new land was covered with a plant similar to the Asiatic *fu-sang*, and to this new plant the old name *fu-sang* was given, and this designation was then applied to the country also, for it is one of the inborn dispositions of human nature to name a country after its prominent productions which are rare elsewhere. So the Normans, who discovered the northern coast of America, about five hundred years after the era of these Buddhist priests, named the country "Vinland," because of the great abundance of wild grape-vines growing there. On account of the great distance of *Fu-sang*, no more missionaries ever reached the country, yet the Buddhists and the Chinese investigators interested in antiquarian researches never allowed this land, which had been once described with so many details, to be forgotten. Chinese scholars have mentioned it frequently in their works, and have even given it a place in their maps,‡ while the Buddhists, in their uncritical, meditative way, never became weary of repeating the old tales. The myth-loving geographers and poets also availed themselves of this knowledge at a later period, and spun the tale out in many fanciful ways, as was done by those of the West in regard to Prester John. These strange and charming

* Edrisi, ii, p. 433, ed. Jaubert.

† Loureiro, "Flora Cochin-Chinensis," Berolini, 1793, ii, 510.

‡ *Fa-kiai-ngan-li-tu*, i. e., "Sure Tables of Religion," i, 22.

pictures of the imagination, regarding the tree and the land of *Fu-sang*, will, in the eyes of the earnest investigator, cause no more doubt of the truth of the historical portion of the accounts, than the rich collections of popular stories regarding Alexander the Great and Charlemagne cause regarding the historical works of Arrian and Eginhard.

The distance of the land from *Ta-han*, or Alaska, which, according to the estimate already given, amounts to fifty-seven or fifty-eight degrees, brings us to the northwestern coast of Mexico, or New Spain, in the region of San Blas or the neighbouring districts. The other details of the Buddhist-Chinese account also point to this region no less plainly, but before entering upon an examination of the history of the Aztecs, it seems necessary to explain a difficulty which might otherwise destroy this whole attempt to furnish proof as to the true situation of the country.

14. The Oldest History of America.—The account of this Buddhist, goes back to times far antedating all the traditions and historical records of the Aztecs, dubious as these are, from the fact that they rest only upon the uncertain interpretation of their hieroglyphic records. One fact, however, is certain amidst these otherwise uncertain tales as to the early history of America. The barbarian races of conquerors that followed one another in this region, always journeying from the north to the south, murdered, drove away, and enslaved the earlier inhabitants, and, in the course of time, formed new civil and political institutions, modified by their own peculiarities, but modeled upon those of the destroyed kingdom, and these, in turn, were in the course of a few centuries again shattered by other barbarians. These later bands of conquerors can no more be considered as the first colonists in the New World than the first colonists of Europe can be thought to be the tribes which conquered the German and other races in the Old World.

15. The Ruins of Mitla and Palenque.—The nameless ruins which are designated by the names of the neighbouring cities of Mitla and Palenque (the last-named city being situated in the province of Tzendale, near the boundary-line between the city of Ciudad Real and Yucatan) have been considered by enthusiastic investigators to date back to a period several thousand years before the Christian era. Enthusiasts have found here not

only the home of the most intellectual civilization of the New World, but also the home of Buddhism.* The Toltecs—a name that means "Architects"—appeared about the middle of the seventh century. One of their literary productions, "The Divine Book," had, according to an unconfirmed tradition, been preserved up to the times of the Spaniards.† The Aztecs, on the contrary, first came to Anahuac, or "the Land near the Water," during the reign of the Emperor Frederick II.‡ The savage conquerors, as was the case with all races at the time of the great migrations of the nations of Europe, were at first hostile to both the existing religion and the native civilization. In the end, however, when the necessity of having the state properly controlled was forced upon them, they could erect the new structure only upon the existing ruins. This is as true in a figurative as in a literal sense, and we can learn much of the condition of the earlier races in this land by a consideration of the regulations, customs, and usages of the Aztecs. The most learned historian of New Spain, in harmony with the results of the most recent researches, long ago recognized the original connection of the numerous languages of Mexico, notwithstanding all their differences in single points.#

The pyramidical, symbolical form of the wonderful monuments of ancient Mexico appears in truth to have some external points of resemblance with the religious structures erected by the Buddhists, and the pyramids of the old inhabitants of this land served, like those of the Egyptians and Buddhists, as places of interment; but neither their architecture nor their ornamentation, if we are to decide from the drawings of Mexican antiquities, exhibit any East Indian symbol, unless their eight rings or stories are considered as such. It is stated in a Buddhist legend that the remains of Sakya, after his cremation, were collected in eight metallic vessels and as many sacred buildings were erected over these.‖ But if Buddhism ever reigned over Central Ameri-

* "Antiquités Mexicaines," ii, p. 73; "Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society," ii; Prescott, "History of the Conquest of Mexico," Paris, 1844, iii, p. 253.

† Prescott, i, 67.

‡ The chronological estimates of the different historians do not agree with one another. Those of the learned Clavigero appear to be always the most reliable, however. Prescott, i, 11.

Clavigero, "Storia Antica del Messico," i, 153.

‖ "Asiatic Researches," xvi, 316.

ca, it surely can not have been the pure religion of Sakya, as it is found to-day in Nepal, Thibet, and other countries of Asia, but only a form of a religious belief founded upon the fundamental principles of this doctrine, and changed to adapt it to the earlier belief of the people of the New World; for the missionaries of Sakya might be called Jesuits, from the fact that they, in order to obtain an easier entrance for their religion and its dogmas, either built them up upon the previous customs and usages of the country or cunningly mixed the two together. The myth of the birth of the terrible Aztec god of war is perhaps a faded remnant of the East Indian religion which may once have bloomed here. Huitzilopochtli, like Sakya, was begotten in a wonderful way: his mother saw a ball of glittering feathers floating in the air, placed it in her bosom, became pregnant, and bore her terrible son, who, at the time of his birth, had a spear in his right hand, a shield in his left, and a waving tuft of green feathers upon his head.* Juan de Grijalva, the nephew of Valasquez, was so astonished at the superior civilization of the main continent as compared with the islands, and particularly at the regularity of the buildings, that he, upon this account, in 1518, gave to the Peninsula of Yucatan the name of "New Spain," a name which soon obtained a much wider extension.†

16. Fu-sang, Maguey, Agave Americana.—It is known that the flora of the northwestern regions of America is intimately connected with that of China, Japan, and other lands in the easternmost region of the Orient. On this account it may be believed that the *fu-sang* tree was also found in America in earlier times, and that from bad management it has since become extinct. The tobacco-plant and Indian corn are in a similar way native both to China and to the New World.‡ It appears much more probable, however, that the traveler, as has not unfrequently occurred in other similar cases, when he saw in Mexico a new plant formerly unknown to him, which was used there for many purposes in a similar way to the uses made of the *fu-sang* tree in Eastern Asia, gave to it the name of the well-known Asiatic tree which he thought to resemble it. The plant that I mean is the great

* Clavigero, ii, 19. † Prescott, i, 143.

‡ Professor Neumann seems to have made this statement on insufficient authority.—E. P. V.

Mexican Aloe, the *Agave Americana,* called "Maguey" by the natives, which, throwing up its pyramidical tuft of flowers above the dark circle of its leaves, is found in such great abundance upon the plains of New Spain. From its crushed leaves a firm paper is prepared, even up to the present time, as at the time when the Aztec kingdom flourished, and the few hieroglyphic manuscripts that have escaped the barbarity and fanaticism of the Spaniards consist of this paper; and of such manuscripts the Buddhist missionary speaks. The flowing sap is brewed into an intoxicating drink, which is still liked by the people of the country. Its large, stiff leaves serve as firm roofs for their low huts, and from the fibers are made all kinds of thread, cordage, and rough cloth. When cooked, the roots form a savoury species of food; and the thorns are used as needles and pins. This wonderful plant, therefore, offers not only food and drink, but clothing and writing-materials, and, in fact, so satisfies, to a certain degree, every want of the Mexicans, that many who are acquainted with the land and its inhabitants are convinced that the maguey must be rooted out before the sloth and indolence of the people—evils which prevent them from reaching a higher culture and civilization—can be checked.*

17. Metals and Money.—The use of iron, although it is found so abundantly in New Spain, was, as our traveler has justly observed, not known. Copper and bronze were then used instead in this country, as they were formerly used in other regions of the earth. According to the account of Antonio de Herrera, two varieties of copper were prepared, one hard and the other soft—of which the first was used for hatchets, cutting-instruments, and agricultural implements, and the other for kettles and all kinds of household utensils. The inhabitants also understood how to work silver, tin, and lead mines; but neither the silver nor the gold, which was found upon the surface of the earth or in the channels of the rivers, served as the usual medium of exchange, and these metals were not especially valued in the land. Pieces of tin, in the form of a hammer, and packages of cacao containing a certain number of kernels, were generally used as money. "Admirable money," exclaims Peter Martyr, "which checks avarice; since it can neither be long kept nor safely buried."†

* Prescott, i, 63, 87.

† Prescott, i, 92.

18. Laws and Customs of the Aztecs.—The laws of the Aztecs were very strict; but in the few fragments of them which are contained in the hieroglyphic pictures that we have, we find no trace of the regulations described as existing in the land of *Fu-sang*. An hereditary nobility stood, however, at the side of Montezuma, divided into several different ranks, concerning which the historians give contradictory accounts. Zurita speaks of four ranks of chiefs, who paid no tribute and who enjoyed other privileges. * The customs of courtship and marriage resembled those which exist to-day in Kamtchatka. We have no knowledge of the mourning ceremonies of the Aztecs, except that their kings had particular palaces in which they passed the time of mourning for their nearest relatives.† At the festivities in honour of the gods, drums and trumpets were sounded; and this may also have been done by the attendants of the king as to the representative of the divinity.‡

The Aztecs reckoned time by a cycle of fifty-two years, and, as is well known, knew very accurately the time of the revolution of the earth about the sun. The ten-year cycle mentioned in the Chinese account may have been a subdivision of that of fifty-two years, or else may have been used as an independent method of reckoning time, as is the case with the ten-year cycle of the Chinese, who call the signs of the different years "stems." It is remarkable that the Mongolians and Mantchoos designate these "stems" by words indicating different colours, which fact may possibly have some connection with the change of colour in the garments of the prince of *Fu-sang* in the different years of the cycle. # Among the Tartarian tribes the first two years of the ten are called green and greenish, the next two red and reddish, the two following yellow and yellowish, the next two white and whitish, and, finally, the last two black and blackish. It appears impossible, however, to bring this cycle of the Aztecs into any connection with those of the Asiatic tribes, who usually reckon time by periods of sixty years.

19. Domestic Animals.—The Aztecs have no draught animals or beasts of burden, and it is well known that horses were not found in any part of the New World, and the account of

* Prescott, i, 18. † Mithridates, iii, 3–33.

‡ Bernal Diaz, "Hist. de la Conquista," pp. 152, 153; Prescott, iii, 87, 97.

Gaubil, "Observations Mathématiques," Paris, 1732, ii, 135.

the Chinese traveler certainly is not applicable to the later Mexican monarchies. Two species of oxen with large horns ranged in herds in the plains of the Rio del Norte before the arrival of the Spaniards.* These may have been tamed by the earlier inhabitants and used as domestic animals. Stags' horns have also been found in the ruins of Mexican buildings, and Montezuma showed the Spaniards enormous horns as curiosities.† It is possible that in earlier times stags ranged farther south than at present and that their range extended from Upper California and other regions of North America, in which they are still found in large herds, as far as to the regions of Central America. An inhabitant of China would naturally think it very strange to see butter made from the milk of the hinds, as milk is rarely used in China even up to the present day. When the inhabitants of *Chu-san* saw that the English sailors milked goats, even grave, elderly men could not restrain their laughter at the sight. Moreover, the Chinese traveler may have used the character "*ma*" (or "horse") to designate some animal resembling a horse; for changes of this kind frequently occur in similar accounts. In the same way the names of many animals of the Old World have been applied to similar animals in the New World which belong to quite different species. The eastern limits of the Asiatic Continent are also the limits of the native country of the horse; and it furthermore appears that this animal was first introduced into Japan from Corea in the third century of our era.‡ But no matter from what source the error in regard to American horses may have come, the unprejudiced and circumspect inquirer will not be induced merely upon this account to declare the whole story regarding Fusang-Mexico to be an idle tale. It appears to me that this description of the countries upon the western coast of America, in the Annual Register of the Chinese Empire, is at least as credible as the account contained in the Icelandic Sagas of the discovery of the eastern shores of the New World.

20. Chinese and Japanese in the Hawaiian Group and in

* Humboldt, "Neu-Spanien," iii, 138.

† Humboldt, "Neu-Spanien," ii, 243.

‡ *Nippon-ki*—i. e., "Annual Registers of the Kingdom of Japan." In the entry for the year 284 it is said: "In this year horses were brought from Corea"; but it is not especially stated that they were the first in Japan.

Northwestern America.—In support of the theory of an early communication of China and Japan with the islands between Asia and America and with the western coast of this division of the earth, even though such communication may have been only accidental, a number of facts of modern date may be adduced. Even if the Chinese and the Japanese, who, by virtue of their knowledge of the compass since the earliest date of their history, would find such a voyage not to be particularly difficult, never intentionally undertook any voyages by sea to America, yet it may have happened, as it still happens, that ships from Eastern Asia, China, and Japan, as well as those of Russians from Ochotsk and Kamtchatka,* were thrown upon the islands and coast of the New World. The earliest Spanish travelers and explorers heard of foreign merchants who had landed upon the northwestern coast of America, and even claimed to have seen fragments of a Chinese ship.† We also know that the crew of a Japanese junk accidentally discovered a great continent in the East, wintered there, and then safely returned home. The Japanese stated that the land extended farther to the northwest.‡ They may have passed the winter in the neighbourhood of California, and have discovered the coast farther north, together with the Peninsula of Alaska.

A Japanese ship was wrecked, about the end of the year 1832, upon Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands, of which the Hawaiian "Spectator" contained the following detailed account: "This Japanese ship had nine men on board, who were carrying fish to Jeddo from one of the southerly islands of the 'Eastern Kingdom.' A storm drove them into the open sea, where they drifted about for ten or eleven months, until they finally (in December, 1832) landed in the port of Waiala, upon the island of Oahu. The ship sank, but the men were saved and brought to Honolulu, where they remained for eighteen months, and then, in accordance with their own desires, sailed for Kamtchatka, hoping to be able to slip quietly from this country into their native land." For the terribly barbarous government of Japan, remem-

* An account of a Russian ship which was driven upon the coast of California in 1761 may be found in the "Travels of Several Missionaries of the Society of Jesus in America," Nüremberg, 1785, p. 337.

† Torquemada, "Mon. Ind.," iii, 7; Acosta, "Hist. Nat. Amer.," iii, 12.

‡ Kaempfer, "Geschichte von Japan," Lemgo, 1777, i, 82.

bering even to this day the evil artifices of the Portuguese Jesuits, and fearing the secret plots of the neighbouring Russians, prohibited even its own unfortunate shipwrecked subjects from returning to their native land. "When the people of Hawaii," so continues the "Spectator," "saw these foreigners so closely resembling them in external form and in many customs and usages, they were much astonished, and unanimously declared, 'There can be no farther room for doubt. We came from Asia.'" *

Another instance of a Japanese ship in America and of the former inconsiderate iron policy of the Japanese government is as follows: During the winter of 1833–'34 a junk from Japan suffered shipwreck upon the northwest coast of America in the neighbourhood of Queen Charlotte's Island. The numerous members of the crew, weakened by hunger, were, with the exception of two persons, murdered by the natives. The Hudson's Bay Company took charge of these unfortunate beings, and in 1834 sent them to England, from which country they were sent on to Macao. This was considered as a fortunate occurrence, as it was hoped that the government at Jeddo would show some gratitude for this humane treatment of its subjects, and possibly give up its policy of prohibiting the entry of foreigners into the kingdom. The ship which it was intended should restore these subjects to the rulers of the "Eastern Kingdom," and at the same time extend the doctrines of the Christian religion to Japan (for Carl Guetzlaff was on board), was received with cannon-balls, and compelled to leave the coast of the inhospitable land, with its intended good work unperformed.

All these different facts sufficiently prove that a voyage to America and the neighbouring islands, on the part of some of the people who shared in the Chinese civilization, can not have been a very infrequent occurrence. And, upon the other side, the inhabitants of these islands may, in their frail canoes, have accidentally or intentionally landed from time to time upon the Asiatic Continent. "It is wonderful," says the Jesuit Hieronymus d'Angelis, who in 1680 was the first European to visit

* "Hawaiian Spectator," i, 296, quoted in Belcher's "Voyage Round the World," London, 1843, i, 304; Jarvis's "History of the Sandwich Islands," London, 1843, 27. According to a tradition of the people of the islands, several such ships had been wrecked upon Hawaii before the arrival of the whites.

Jesso,* "how bold these people are, and how expert in navigation. In their defective boats they undertake voyages occupying from two to three months, and, however many may perish at sea, new adventurers are always found to undertake the same bold risks."

Since the opening of Japan to other nations and its entrance into the affairs of the world, the state of facts outlined above is of course entirely changed. Voyages from Eastern Asia to Western America and back are now of common, almost of daily, occurrence. The large Japanese Embassy, which came to Washington by the way of the Hawaiian Islands and California in 1860, is fully described in my "History of Eastern Asia," and is still held in fresh remembrance. †

* P. Dan Bartolli, "Dell' Historia della Compagnia di Giesu," Rome, 1640, v, 71. D'Angelis himself designed a map of Jesso.

† "Ost-Asiatische Geschichte, vom Ersten Chinesischen Krieg bis zu den Verträgen zu Peking" (1840–1860), von Karl Friedrich Neumann, Leipzig, 1861, 335 pp.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ARGUMENTS OF MM. PEREZ AND GODRON.

Knowledge of America possessed by the Chinese—The Country of Women—Other travelers relate incredible stories—Klaproth's argument—The account contained in the Japanese Encyclopædia—Note denying that *Fu-sang* is Japan—Weakness of Klaproth's argument—Identity of names of cities in Asia and America—American languages—Resemblance of the Tartars to the Aborigines of America—Similitude of customs—A Buddhist mission to America in the fifth century—The Chinese able to measure distances, and possessed of the compass—The musk-oxen and bisons of America—Horses—Names of European animals misapplied to American animals—The "horse-deer" of America—Vines—The difficulty in identifying the *fu-sang* tree—Iron and copper in America and Japan.

Memoir upon the Relations of the Americans in Former Times with the Nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa—Section entitled, "Knowledge possessed by the Chinese in the Fourth Century of our Era"—by M. Jose Perez, D. M.[2026]

The question as to whether or not the people of Eastern Asia, at the time above named, had any communication with the natives of any part of America, appears to be worthy of the careful investigation of scholars. An unexpected discovery has thrown light upon this subject; and, following the authority of some writers and the criticisms of others, it appears evident that the New World was known in former times to the Chinese and Japanese. Before engaging in a discussion regarding the authors who have thought that the country of *Fu-sang* should be identified with America, it is indispensable to place the steps of the process by which their conclusion was reached under the eyes of the reader, without taking part in the perversion of facts for the benefit of any theory whatever, as has unfortunately been done to the injury of the solution of the problem which now occupies us.

It was in 1761 that de Guignes published his justly celebrated memoir, in which, after identifying several nations of the extreme East, mentioned by the Chinese accounts, and particularly that of *Ta-han*, which he placed, with reason, in the most eastern part of Siberia, this learned Sinologue made known to the astonished scientific world the Chinese descriptions of the famous country of *Fu-sang*, in which he recognized a part of North America. This continent, say the writers of the Celestial Empire, is situated twenty thousand *li* to the east of the country of *Ta-han*. The king bears the title of *Y-chi*, and the chiefs of the nation beneath him are the great and petty *Tsui-lu* and the *Na-to-sha*. "The historian from whom *Ma Twan-lin* copies this account," says de Guignes, "adds that the Chinese had no knowledge of the country of *Fu-sang* before the year 458, and to the present time I have seen no other than these two writers who give any extended account of it. Some authors of dictionaries who mention it, merely say that it is situated in the region where the sun rises." The situation of *Fu-sang*, clearly described in the accounts, and the great distance which separates it from China, to the east of which country it lies—a distance stated in precise terms by the Chinese geographers—appear to positively prove that this country can not be contained in Asia, even within its utmost bounds. Moreover, the Chinese historians, as de Guignes has remarked, also speak of another country a thousand *li* farther east than *Fu-sang*, a country called "the Kingdom of Women." The account which is given of it is, it is true, full of fables; but that merely proves that this last country marked one of the extreme limits of their geographical knowledge, and that it was a land of which they had but very imperfect accounts, analogous to those which the travelers of the Middle Ages gave regarding the eastern countries which they reached. Does not even Marco Polo himself, whose intellectual superiority and the value of whose geographical statements it is now the fashion to exaggerate beyond all reason, relate to us the most incredible stories regarding countries in which he lived? . . .

The Chinese account of "the Kingdom of Women" is written with no less intelligence and sincerity than the European works of the Middle Ages of which we have spoken, and that which appears to us to be fabulous might well seem true if it were better explained. It is evident that the author did not intend to say

that it was the river of this country which caused the women's pregnancy, but merely that the baths taken in its waters were favourable to them when in that condition, which is moreover proved by the following phrase, where it is said that they gave birth to their young four months after having taken these baths; and as for the white locks which they had at the back of the head, by which they nursed their children, the account is explained very easily by a custom, common in India and elsewhere, by which the women nurse their children over their shoulders. Finally, de Guignes mentions, as an additional proof in support of his theory, the shipwreck in 507 A. D. of a Chinese vessel upon the shores of an unknown island situated at a great distance in the Pacific Ocean. The women of this country resembled those of China, and the men made themselves understood by barking, undoubtedly like the noise made by the Tænças in Louisiana in the presence of their king, in order to do him honour.

From all these facts it appeared indisputable to the learned Sinologue that the Chinese had penetrated very far into the Pacific Ocean, if they had not traveled over it, and that they had sufficient boldness to go to California in the year 458 A. D. . . .

Klaproth, the famous Orientalist, having much learning, but even more envy, did not wish that any one should have greater credit than himself for Chinese scholarship, and thought it possible to plunge de Guignes's celebrated discovery into forgetfulness by stuffing it into a mattress of paradoxes quite filled with wonderful statements. . . . As to the great distance which exists, according to the shaman's account, between this unknown country and China, Klaproth takes a lesson from the trick of decipherers who fail either to understand an entire inscription or some of its words: he finds errors in the original document.

"The distances named in the accounts," says he, "much exceed the truth" (that is to say, the hypothesis of the Prussian Sinologue), "and the Chinese had no means of determining the length of their cruises at sea." Finally, to make it impossible to identify *Fu-sang* with any part of America, Klaproth conceives the ruse of finding a place upon the map for the country of *Wen-shin*. After having consigned these unfortunate "Tattooed Men" to the island of Jesso, he writes, quite satisfied with himself: "The identity of *Ta-han* and the island of Tarakai,

once demonstrated, prevents all further search for the country of *Fu-sang* in America." Then, viewing his fanciful argument more and more complacently, he adds: "We must, therefore, reject the entire tale as to *Fu-sang* as fabulous, or else find a means of *reconciling it with the truth.* This may be found by supposing the indication of the direction as toward the east to be incorrect. We may, therefore, presume that one goes directly east in order to pass the Strait of Perouse in skirting the northern coast of Jesso, but that upon arriving at the eastern point of this island the course turns to the south and leads us to the southeastern part of Japan, which was the country called *Fu-sang.* It was, in fact, one of the ancient names of this empire." We will soon consider the attention that should be given to all this arguing, but will now return to the original source from which proceeds all the information given to us regarding the country in which we are interested. Several accounts of *Fu-sang* are in existence, but they are evidently derived one from another, and all have a common origin. Our limits do not permit us to reproduce those which have been successively translated by de Guignes and Klaproth, but we will give here the account of this country which is contained in the large and celebrated Japanese Encyclopædia, entitled *Wa-kan-san-sai-dzou-ye* (vol. xiv), which M. de Rosny has kindly translated from the original expressly for our work. This notice is merely an abridgment of the accounts formerly mentioned, but it possesses the inestimable advantage over the latter, of making known to us the clearly expressed opinion of the Japanese editor upon this question. As it is with Japan that Klaproth identifies the country of *Fu-sang*, this opinion can not fail to be of great weight in the balance. The following is the translation of this notice:

Fou-sô (in Chinese, *Fu-sang*).—The Encyclopædia, entitled *San-sai-dzou-ye*, says:

"The country of *Fou-sô* is situated at the east of the country of *Tai-kan.* According to the authority of the work entitled *Foung-tien*, *Fou-sô* is distant from the country of *Tai-kan* in an easterly direction about 20,000 *li.* It is placed to the east of the 'Middle Kingdom' (China). Many trees, called *fou-sô-mok* (*Hibiscus rosa Sinensis*), are found there.* Their leaves

* In Japanese, "*Sono-tsoutsi-ni fou-sô-mok ohosi.*" "In hanc terram *fou-sô* (sic vocitatæ) arbores multæ sunt."

are similar to those of the *tô*-tree; when they are young they are like bamboo-sprouts, and the natives eat them. Their fruits are like pears, and are of a red colour. The fiber of the bark is drawn out to make cloth from which clothing is made. Planks made from the tree are employed to build their houses.

"In this country there are no cities. The natives have a method of writing, and they make clothing (*sic*) from the bark of the *fou-sô* tree. They have no offensive weapons or defensive armour, and do not wage wars.

"They give to their king the name of *Kiki-zin*, that is to say, 'the most honourable man.' When the latter walks abroad he is accompanied with drums and trumpets. At different periods of the year he changes the colour of his garments. In the cyclic years *kia* and *i* they are blue; in the years *ping* and *ting* they are red, etc.

"The natives raise deer, as cattle are raised, and prepare creamy dishes from the milk of the animals.

"In this country there is no iron, but there is copper. Gold and silver are not valued. In the markets no duties are levied. The rules for the observance of the marriage-ceremony are in general the same as those of the 'Middle Kingdom' (China). In the second year of the period, called *ta-ming* (or 'great light'), the year 458 of our era, under the reign of the emperor *Hiao Wu-ti*,* of the *Sung* dynasty, five *bhikshus* (mendicant priests) of the country of *Ki-pin*, in their travels reached *Fou-sô*, and commenced to propagate Buddhism there." The editor of the *Wakan-san-sai-dzôu-ye* adds the following comment:

"Note.—It is not now certainly known what to think regarding the country of *Fou-sô*, which is said to be to the east of China and also to the east of the country of *Tai-kan*. It is therefore uncertain whether the country to which the bonzes of the country of *Ki-pin* went, carrying the doctrine of Buddha, is situated to the north or to the east of Japan. In any case, it is wrong to think that the account refers to Japan, and the statement that *Fou-sô* may be another name of Japan is incorrect." The Japanese author adds in a note: "*Ki-pin* is one of the western countries (*Si-yu*). It is *San-ma-œll-han*" (Samarcand).

* This prince of the *Peh Sung*, or Northern *Sung* dynasty, reigned from 454 to 465 A. D. The period *ta-ming* is comprised between the years 457 and 464.

To this account, and as before to serve as the foundation of our argument, we will add the translation which M. de Rosny has also kindly made for us of the notices of the great Japanese Encyclopædia of the countries of *Boun-zin* and *Tai-kan*.

Boun-zin (in Chinese, *Wen-shin*).—The Encyclopædia, entitled *San-sai-dzou-ye*, says: "The productions of the country of *Boun-zin* (Men with Tattooed Bodies) are of very little value. In the inns no food is found. The dwelling of the king is ornamented with gold and gems. In the markets, traffic is carried on by means of precious objects."

Tai-kan (in Chinese, *Tu-han*).—The Encyclopædia, entitled *San-sai-dzou-ye*, says: "In the country of *Tai-kan* there are no armies, and war is not waged. The people are similar to those of *Boun-zin* (the Men with Tattooed Bodies), but their language is different.

"Some people say that the country of *Tai-kan* is situated to the east of the country of *Boun-zin*, at a distance of about five thousand *li*."

Having laid these documents before our readers, we will now attempt to discuss the arguments that have been urged against the identification of the country of *Fu-sang*, or *Fou-sŏ*, with America. First of all, we find, in the account translated by M. de Rosny, a passage which completely annihilates the hypothesis, otherwise so gratuitous as we see, of the Prussian scholar, according to which *Fu-sang* was one of the names of Japan. "In any case," says the Japanese author of the great Encyclopædia, "it is wrong to think that the account refers to Japan, and the statement that *Fou-sŏ* (or *Fu-sang*) may be another name of Japan is incorrect." I will add that, after the statement of such an authority, it hardly seems necessary to further refute the imaginary system invented by Klaproth to compensate for the poverty of his cause, since M. de Rosny has been unable to find in any of the Japanese-Chinese dictionaries of his excellent collection anything which can justify the statement made by the German scholar, that *Fu-sang* is another name for Japan. Then, if we admit that *Fu-sang* is the same as Japan, it is necessary to find between this last country and China another country, *Ta-han*, inhabited by savages with tattooed bodies and so slightly advanced in knowledge as not to have arms of any nature—

which is expressly contradicted by our historical and geographical knowledge.

It is also necessary to find to the east of Japan, and not in America, another country, *Niu-jin-kwoh*, which one of the most famous Chinese works, the *Peu-tsao-kang-mouh*, places to the east of the country of *Fu-sang*, which is again impossible. Then it is necessary to admit, as Klaproth wishes, that the author of the description of *Fu-sang* must have been deceived as to the distance of twenty thousand *li* which separated this remote country from the lands known at this time ; as also that he must have been mistaken when he said that Buddhism had been introduced there in the year 458 A. D., since it did not reach Japan until a century later ; he must also have been mistaken in his mention of the tree which gave its name to *Fu-sang*, for, according to Klaproth, "there is some error in the Chinese account, which confounds the hibiscus (or the rose of China) with the paper-mulberry, or *Morus papyrifera*," etc., etc.

Once admitting that in the place of the hypothesis, at least very probable at first sight, so skillfully presented by M. de Guignes, another hypothesis absolutely inadmissible is proposed to us, let us consider the weight that should be given the objections of Klaproth against the identification of *Fu-sang* with America.

We have seen that Klaproth thought that he had found a serious objection in the grapes which the Chinese voyagers found in *Fu-sang ;* but this objection can not now be admitted. By a singular oversight he forgets that the forests of North America abound in wild vines of several species, and that the Scandinavians had placed Vin-land, or the "Land of Wine," in its northeastern part ; he thinks that *Fu-sang* may have been Japan, where, he says, the vine has existed from times immemorial, although the Chinese did not introduce it from Western Asia until the year 126 before our era.

In addition to all that precedes, a multitude of petty particulars are also presented, which, by their significant number, suffice to convince the most unwilling that America must have received colonies from Asia. We will mention only a few of these particulars, reserving the others to communicate hereafter to those who are not persuaded that to discuss the matter further is but to labour at demolishing open gates. We not only find in America the grand distinctive traits of the nations of the extreme

Orient, but we see that at some remote epoch the Asiatics had given to the cities of the New World the same names as the cities of their mother country, as the Europeans did when they gave to the western cities of the New World the names of New York, New Orleans, New Brunswick (*sic*), etc. So the name of the famous Japanese city of Ohosaka, to the west of the Pacific, has become Oaxaca, in Mexico, upon its eastern side. Formerly there were the same names of nations or of tribes, which we find with the most striking resemblance upon the two sides of the Pacific, as, for example, the Chan, a tribe living in the neighbourhood of Palenque, of which the name signifies "Serpent." * The identical name being found again in Indo-China,† in the country of the Nagas, "Serpents." Nachan, "the City of the Serpents," in America, corresponds with the Cambodian Nakhorchan "the City of Serpents." It is sufficient to add that, in glancing over an old map of Mexico, the geographical names of several different provinces are found, and among them names which betray a Chinese origin at first sight, such as Mi-choa-kan, Ko-li-man, Te-koua-na-pan, etc. The name which the Otomis give to their language, "Hiang-hioung," is not less convincing, and it is known that these Indians are included among the oldest populations of Central America. Grammatical affinities, not less remarkable, are established between different idioms of the Old and the New World. In several languages, both of Greenland and of Brazil, a special form of negative conjugation is found; and in the Moska and the Arawack the negation is interposed between the root of the verb and its terminations, as is the case in the Turkish and the other Tartarian dialects. In Guarani, in Chiquito, and in Quichua, as in Tagala and Mantchoo, there exists a pronoun of the first person plural, excluding those who are addressed, and another which includes these last. The conjugation of the languages of the plateau of Anahuac recalls in most of its details the conjugations of the Basque and the Hungarian verbs.

The type of the different Indian nations is astonishingly similar to the Mongolian type. M. Ledyard, who has had the advantage of studying the American race in the countries in

* See the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg's "Popol Vuh," p. civ.

† See the notice of these nations given by Yule, "Narrative of the Mission sent to the Court of Ava in 1855."

which its members live, and who has also undertaken ethnographic researches in Siberia, was so much struck with this truth that he wrote to Jefferson: "I shall never be able to inform you how closely the Tartars resemble the aborigines of America, both in a general way and circumstantially."* At the south the Chiriquanos, a Peruvian tribe, present analogies not less striking. "If I should see these Indians in Europe," said M. Temple, in speaking of them, "with their coppery tint approaching sallowness, with their long hair brilliantly black, and with their lack of beard, I should assuredly take them for Chinese, such is the close resemblance between these nations in their traits."† Another traveler, John Bell, said there were no other tribes in the world which had so striking a resemblance to one another as that of the natives of Canada to the Tunguses.‡ Alex. von Humboldt goes much further. He mentions a monument discovered in Canada, nine hundred leagues from Montreal, upon which was found an inscription in Tartarian characters.#

Similitude of customs, which may be supposed the result of chance, but which may rather be the effect of another cause, are not less striking. The form of the *teo-calli*, "the house of the divinity," among the Mexicans, singularly resembles that of the pagodas with steeples, of Barmany and of Siam; and the religious ceremonies which were practiced there are not less analogous to the Brahmanic ceremonies than the figure of the Mexican god, Quetzalcoatl, is to that of the Indian Buddha. In closing this part of my memoir, I shall be contented to remind my readers of the fact that numerous scholars have called attention to resemblances between America and Asia, in the customs and institutions of the nations of the two continents, which an intelligent critic can not mistake for those which are merely the effect of chance.

Those who are interested in these questions may consult with profit the writings of Garcia, Hugo, Grotius, Fischer, Acosta, Brerewood, and Pennant, as well as many other erudite works better known, which it is therefore less necessary to mention here.

* Sparks's "Life of Ledyard," p. 66.

† Temple, "Travels in Peru," vol. ii, p. 184.

‡ "Travels to Various Parts of Asia," 1788, vol. i, p. 280. See also the "Transactions of the American Ethnological Society," vol. i, 1845, p. 175.

"Tableaux de la Nature," vol. i.

A Buddhist Mission to America in the Fifth Century of the Christian Era—by Dr. A. Godron, President of the Academy of Sciences of Nancy.[1411]

The Europeans were certainly not the first navigators who landed upon the American Continent after the commencement of the Christian era. Before the voyage of Columbus to the New World, before the visits of the Basques to Newfoundland, even before the times, between the ninth and fourteenth centuries, when the Norwegians undertook their bold excursions to America and established settlements there, the Asiatics certainly had knowledge of this immense continent.

It is not my intention to discuss in this article all the proofs which might be presented in support of this statement—to these I will return hereafter; but for the present I propose to examine only the account of a visit of Buddhist missionaries to America, which was made in the fifth century of the Christian era.

[Here follows a *résumé* of the statements and arguments of previous writers upon the subject. M. Godron continues:]

As to the point raised by M. Klaproth, that the Chinese did not possess means of measuring the distances of their journeys accurately and of determining their direction, it may be observed that we possess a document which disproves this assertion, and which is the more curious from the fact that it came from Klaproth himself. It proves that the Chinese, even in the times of remote antiquity, were no novices in the art of measuring distances and fixing their direction. Reference is made to a letter upon the invention of the compass, which he addressed to von Humboldt, and of which this celebrated traveler published extracts.*

Speaking of the voyages from China to India by the way of the Bolor, which he had been discussing, Klaproth states that the accounts of these journeys are worthy of the more confidence from the fact that the compass had long been employed by the Chinese. He adds that *Sse-ma-tscian*, a Chinese historian who lived at the time of the destruction of the Bactrian Empire by Mithradates, gives the following account: "The Emperor *Tz'-ing-wang*, 1,110 years before the Christian era, gave a pres-

* Alex. von Humboldt, "Asie Centrale." Paris, 1843, in 8vo; vol. i, Introduction, p. 40.

ent to the embassadors of *Tong-king* and Cochin-China. They feared that they would not be able to retrace the way back to their country, and the emperor therefore gave them five magnetic chariots which pointed to the south by means of the movable arm of a small figure covered with a feather-robe." Adding to these chariots an odometer, that is to say, a mechanism by which another small figure strikes a blow upon a drum or bell each time that the chariot has passed over the distance of a Chinese *li*, we then have an indication of the direction of the road, and a means of measuring the distance passed over. "In the third century of our era," adds Klaproth, "the Chinese ships were steered upon the Indian Ocean according to the indications of a magnetic needle. In order to avoid friction, and to give a freer movement to the needle, it has been supposed that they allowed it to float upon water. This was the aquatic compass of the Chinese and the magnetic fish of the ancient Indian pilots."

We, therefore, see that Klaproth was perfectly well informed upon the subject, and may well feel surprised at his remarks in regard to the voyages to *Fu-sang*. If the scientific honesty of a scholar of his rank were not sheltered from all criticism, it might readily be believed that he was forced to mislead the Chinese navigators in order to prevent their arrival in America, and to compel them to land in Japan.

But this consideration did not limit the criticisms which the scholarly Prussian Orientalist made regarding the theories of de Guignes. He picks to pieces the description which the Buddhist monk *Hoei Shin* gives of the country of *Fu-sang*. He finds a new source of objection in the nomenclature of the animals and vegetation described as existing in this country. According to him, cattle and horses did not exist in America until they were imported by the Spaniards. The vine and wheat were unknown before the conquest. He, therefore, arrives at the conclusion that the description of *Fu-sang* is not applicable to America. These new difficulties are not more serious than those which have preceded.

No zoölogist denies that two species of cattle were found native in North America. One of these is the musk-ox (*Bos moschatos*), which goes in small herds of twenty to thirty individuals in the frigid regions which border upon the Arctic circle, between the 60th and 73d degrees of north latitude,

and which can not be referred to here. The other is the bison (*Bos Americanus*), which goes in herds that are often extremely numerous, which are found in the temperate regions of North America, and which in winter migrate farther south. These cattle were certainly found in the region which the Chinese of the fifth century knew by the name of *Fu-sang*, and which must correspond to New California. They also existed in abundance in the sixteenth century in the kingdom of Cibola and the country of Quivera. The first Spanish conquerors who penetrated into this country called them *vaccas*, and these animals were a precious and abundant resource for them.

One of these "*conquistadores*," P. de Castañeda de Nogera, described them in a manner which it is impossible to misunderstand.*

According to Gomara, there existed at the same time, in the northwestern part of Mexico, a population whose principal wealth consisted in domestic bisons.†

It is perfectly true that horses were imported into America from Europe. If the Buddhist monks stated that they were found in *Fu-sang*, it must have been because of the natural tendency of a man who arrives in a new country to assimilate the animals which he finds there to those which he has seen in his native land, and many examples of this tendency might easily be cited. To confine ourselves to America, it is known that the invaders of the New World applied the names of European animals to the animals found in America, being guided by the general resemblance, which was often very remote, in the selection of the particular name. Thus, they called the llamas "big sheep," because they were covered with wool; the peccaries they called "hogs," remarking, it is true, that they were smaller than our hogs. Turkeys were in their eyes "hens," which were larger than those of Spain. The Buddhist missionaries might have even found sheep in the country of *Fu-sang*, if they had penetrated farther into the mountains.

P. de Castañeda de Nogera saw animals near Chichilticale, to which he applied this name.‡ He referred to a species of

* P. de Castañeda de Nogera, "Relation du Voyage de Cibola entrepres en 1540," in the collection of Ternaux-Compans. Paris, in 8vo; vol. ix (1838), p. 237.

† Gomara, "Historia General de las Indias." Medina, 1558, in 8vo, chap. ccxiv.

‡ See his work cited above, p. 54.

mountain-goat, the *Musimon montanus*, which is found in these regions up to the present day.

But what zoölogical type existed upon the western coast of North America to which the Buddhist missionaries gave the name of the horse? Was it not the same species of which the Spaniards, during their expeditions into the same country, saw such numerous individuals, which they called *horse-deer;* animals remarkable for their great height, and bearing large and branching antlers?* This appears extremely probable. These Spanish adventurers were no more naturalists than the Buddhist monks of whom we have spoken. The name was undoubtedly applied to the elk, because it stands as high as a horse, and the female is without horns. Even the males shed their horns every year, and, when without these ornaments, they may easily have been mistaken at a distance for horses. Moreover, the Spaniards made a broad distinction between these "horse-deer" and the common deer which they shot in the same part of America.

Several species of vines are indigenous to North America, and they grow in a wild state. The Norwegians, in the year 1000, when exploring the eastern coast of the continent near the forty-first degree, north latitude, gave the name of Vinland to the country for this reason.† But this does not suffice to prove that this plant existed also upon the western coast fifty-two degrees of longitude farther west.

But the Spaniards observed vines in 1540 in the country of Cibola and Quivera, notably among the Teyas and the Querechos. They found the grapes of an agreeable flavor, and ate both them and red plums.‡

It is therefore no occasion for astonishment to learn that the Buddhist missionaries saw vines in the country of *Fu-sang*.

The Spanish conquerors also found a cereal abundantly cultivated by the natives in the same part of North America, and in several of their accounts they give it the name of "wheat"

* L. Cabiera de Cordove, "Histoire de Phillippe II, Roi d'Espagne," in the collection of Ternaux-Compans, vol. x, p. 444.

† C. Christ. Rafn, "Memoire sur la Decouverte de l'Amérique au x^e^ Siècle." Copenhagen, 1845, in 4to, p. 13.

‡ P. de Castañeda de Nogera, in the work cited, vol. ix, pp. 125 and 278. Juan Jaranello, "Relation du Voyage fait à la Nouvelle Terre par Vasquez de Coronado," in the collection of Ternaux-Compans, vol. ix, p. 378.

(*trigo*), and in others it is designated by the name of maize, which has been preserved for it. Need we wonder that the Buddhist monks should have availed themselves of the name applicable to wheat to designate this precious cereal? Do not the French peasants even now call it Turkish wheat, or Roman wheat?*

But what is that tree which is covered with red, pear-shaped fruit, and which furnishes the natives with the raw material from which their cloth is made? Some authors have thought this to be the *Hibiscus rosa Sinensis*; others, the *Broussonetia papyrifera*. We can not admit either of these views to be correct. The *Hibiscus rosa Sinensis* is, as its name indicates, a native of China. The *Broussonetia* grows in China and Japan and in the islands of Polynesia, but not in America.

We do not know to what botanical species the tree mentioned by the Chinese historian should be referred; but the failure to decide this question does not furnish the least objection in regard to the geographical position of the country of *Fu-sang*.

Iron was unknown in this last country, and in fact the natives of North America were ignorant of the existence of this valuable metal. It was certainly used in Japan before the fifth century; and this fact alone is sufficient to show that the country of *Fu-sang* can not, as Klaproth wishes, be identified with the great island of Japan. The Americans, on the contrary, were acquainted with the use of copper, and made tools from it before the arrival of the Europeans. Native copper exists in several countries of the New World, and it is found in great abundance near Lake Superior, where it is still mined. Along the southern shore of this lake, Mr. Knapp, Superintendent of the Minnesota Mining Company, discovered in 1840 a great number of galleries often from seven to nine meters in depth, and of an extent equal to about the same number of kilometers. These excavations were the work of the early indigenes, the proof of this assertion having been found by clearing out the trenches. Very many stone mallets and hammers were found, and also wooden shovels and a great quantity of pottery made without the aid of

* The account of *Fu-sang* says nothing about wheat. It seems probable that Dr. Godron had in mind the wheat mentioned by the Northmen as found in Vinland, and that, writing from memory, he confused the two accounts.—E. P. V.

the potter's wheel.* It may also be added that many very old pines have grown upon the rubbish thrown out of these ancient excavations. Mr. Foster counted three hundred and ninety-five concentric rings upon the trunk of one of them which was cut down. Moreover, the pines now living are surrounded by decayed trunks, the *débris* of preceding generations.†

We therefore see that all the difficulties raised by Klaproth fall one after the other, and leave the views of the scholarly French Sinologue, de Guignes, without serious objection. The country which the Chinese of the fifth century designated by the name of *Fu-sang* can therefore have been nothing else than the American Continent, thus discovered by the Asiatics ten centuries before Christopher Columbus.

* Lubbock, "North American Archæology," French translation given in the Revue Archéologique of 1865, p. 182.

† Lubbock, "Prehistoric Man," French translation. Paris, 1867, 8vo, p. 205.

CHAPTER VIII.

D'EICHTHAL'S "STUDY."

The Buddhistic origin of American civilization—The geographical relations between Northeastern Asia and Northwestern America—The memoirs of de Guignes and Klaproth—If *Fu-sang* was in Japan, there is no room for the "Country of Women"—The Japanese deny that *Fu-sang* was in their country—De Guignes's map—The ease of a voyage from Asia to America—The warm current of the Pacific Ocean—The Aleutian Islands—Voyages of the natives—The civilization of New Mexico—A white population—Cophène—Buddhism—How it is modified and propagated—Its absorption of the doctrines of other religions—Its proselytism—Its religious communities—The route from Cophène to *Fu-sang*—A Buddhist sanctuary at Palenque—Description of Stephens—An image of Buddha—The lion-headed couch—The winged globe—The aureola about the figure—Decadence in art—The altars upon which flowers and fruits are offered—Reply to observations of M. Vivien de Saint Martin—The two routes to *Ta-han*—That country located near the mouth of the Amoor River—Traces of Buddhism in that neighbourhood—Ease of voyage to the Aleutian islands—Klaproth's theory untenable—No other hypothesis remaining than that *Fu-sang* must be sought in America.

Study concerning the Buddhistic Origin of American Civilization—by M. Gustave d'Eichthal.[1217]

CONDENSED TRANSLATION.

ARTICLE I.—The Geographical Relations between Northeastern Asia and Northwestern America. (From the "Revue Archéologique," of September 1, 1864.)

The memoir of de Guignes, "Upon the Voyages of the Chinese to the Coast of America and as to some Tribes situated at the Eastern Extremity of Asia," does not in its title fully express the thought which he entertained. The true problem which he intended to examine was that of the existence of a connection between the civilization of America and that of Eastern Asia; and some, at least, of the most important elements for its solution were in his hands. Upon the one side, the discover-

ies of Behring in 1728 and 1741 had confirmed the old Japanese documents, and made known, at least in a general manner, the geographical relations between the northern portions of Asia and America ; upon the other side, the studies of de Guignes for his history of the Mongols had made him acquainted with the ancient Chinese histories, and in one of them he found the account upon which all his work is based.

Klaproth, in an equally celebrated memoir, has, as is well known, sought to overthrow de Guignes's conclusion, and has endeavoured to substitute another hypothesis. The publication of this last memoir has had a deplorable result. By the weight attached to his name the author has shaken, in the minds of others, the solution indicated by de Guignes, and has turned them aside from the truth; yet, nevertheless, viewed as an attempted refutation, Klaproth's memoir may be said to be a valueless work, and we shall presently show the incredible weakness of the arguments which he opposes to those of his predecessor. He produces no new documents, and does no more than to repeat those already quoted by de Guignes, and in fact the only merit that can be recognized in his work is that he often translates them more accurately, and with the superiority given him by the general progress in his times in the science of geography and in acquaintance with the Chinese.

Klaproth, in the most arbitrary manner, places himself in opposition to the letter of his text by assuming that the statement that *Fu-sang* is situated to the east of *Ta-han* is erroneous, and placing it to the south instead ; but this is not the only objection to his argument, for no one in Japan has ever been heard to speak of it as *Fu-sang;* the details which are given by the Chinese narrator regarding this country do not agree with Japan in any respect, and among other circumstances there is one that is mentioned which is quite decisive. The narrator not only places *Fu-sang* twenty thousand *li* to the east of *Ta-han,* but he speaks of a country, "the Kingdom of Women," which is found one thousand *li* to the east of *Fu-sang.* Now, one thousand *li* to the east of Japan there is nothing but the sea.

It should also be remembered that the Chinese, living so near to Japan, and having communications with that country from the most ancient times, have never dreamed of placing the country of *Fu-sang* there. To them *Fu-sang* has become merely a

legendary country, of which fables are told that would never be believed as to a neighbouring land, for the prestige of distance and of novel circumstances is necessary to give rise to tales of such a nature.

History is no more favourable than fable to Klaproth's opinion, for, as he himself admits, Buddhism was introduced into the country of *Fu-sang* in the year 458 A. D., and was not introduced into Japan, officially at least, until 552, about a century later. How, then, can it be admitted that *Fu-sang* can be Japan, or even any part of Japan? . . .

With a species of divinatory instinct, or rather with extreme good sense, de Guignes traced upon the map drawn by him the probable route to America followed by those whom he calls Chinese navigators; the details are undoubtedly very imperfect; only one of the Aleutian Islands, the first Behring's Island, is shown, and upon the other hand the peninsula of Alaska is immoderately extended both in length and breadth; there is also a complete absence of exact determination of latitudes and longitudes; nevertheless, the general outline of the coasts of Asia and America is perfectly correct. All the discoveries and observations since made have only served to confirm it.

We have three very important documents before us, i. e.: "Statistische und ethnographische Nachrichten über die Russischen Besitzungen an der Nordwest-Küste von America," by Rear-Admiral von Wrangell, St. Petersburg, 1839; an analysis by F. Loewe, of the work of Père Wenjaminow, upon "The (Aleutian) Islands of the District of Unalaska," extracted from the eighth number for 1842 of the periodical, entitled "Archiv für die wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland"; and, finally, the analysis in the "Revue des Deux Mondes," for April 1, 1858, of the memoir of Maury regarding the ease of the passage between the northeastern shores of Asia and the northwestern coast of America. All these documents agree in demonstrating the ease of this communication, and of establishing a settlement upon the northwestern coast of America. The climate of all this region, even in the highest latitudes, and up to the sixtieth degree, is relatively very mild. The chain composed of the Aleutian Islands and the peninsula of Alaska forms, as it were, a barrier to arrest the polar influences. Moreover, the great warm current of the Pacific Ocean, observed by modern navigators, raises the

temperature there very notably. From observations carefully collected, it has been proved that the mean temperature of Sitka is about 45° Fahrenheit, with, it is true, but very slight difference between the summer and the winter; even in winter the sea is never solidly frozen, and, in a word, according to the unanimous testimony of navigators, there is no other place in the world where so great and sudden a change of climate is found as is met in passing from Behring's Sea to the Pacific Ocean.

The Aleutian Islands, before their conquest by the Russians (1760–1790), were inhabited by a numerous and prosperous population. Amphibious and fur-bearing animals existed there in immense numbers. The inhabitants had a tradition that they were of Asiatic origin, and they transported themselves easily from one island to another in their leather canoes, or *baidares*.

"The farther one goes north," says Maury, "the easier the passage becomes, and the greater attraction the natives seem to find in it. A pole serves them as a rudder; a branch of a tree provided with its limbs and foliage is set up in the air to serve as a sail. The crew, which is usually composed of a man with his wife and children, take the opportunity when the wind blows gently toward the point which they wish to reach, and they may be seen fearlessly sailing before the wind in the open sea at a speed of four or five miles an hour." Langsdorff, in his "Voyage around the World in the Years 1803–1807," speaks of canoes made by the natives, which would hold as many as a dozen persons, and mentions the fact that they sailed in them from the Island of Kodiak to Sitka.

All this, it is true, is proof only of navigation by the indigenes either between Asia and America, or from one point to another of the northwestern coast of America. We see nothing of any question of navigation in these regions by the Chinese, or even of a direct navigation by the Japanese between the two Continents; and although there are numerous instances, some of them quite recent, in which Japanese junks have been driven by tempests, or the ocean currents, upon the American coast, the return is much more difficult, and there does not exist any trace of a regular navigation between China or Japan and America in ancient times. In this respect the title given by de Guignes to his memoir, "Upon the Voyages of the Chinese to the Coast of America," shows that the author wished to give a prudent vague-

ness to the title, but said perhaps too much. All the facts go to show that the relations with America, of which de Guignes caught a glimpse, can and must have existed ; but in the present state of our knowledge * we must hold that they took place by means of more modest navigators, who still had sufficient skill for so easy a passage. . . .

The brief and judicious observations made by de Guignes, regarding the state of civilization attained by the natives of the region now known as New Mexico, have been fully confirmed by the more perfect knowledge derived from old and new documents regarding the region, and we now have unquestionable proof of its high state of civilization, and, in some respects, of its connection with the Chinese civilization before the conquest. All historical documents, moreover, authorize us to place in this country the point at which originated the civilization of the American tribes found farther south. . . .

What is said regarding the existence of a white population is confirmed by the observations of modern explorers,† and finally what is said regarding the existence of two prisons in the country may find its explanation in the belief as to future punishments held by some Indian tribes, especially by the Mandans.‡ . . .

When de Guignes translated from the Chinese records the statement that the religion of *Fo* was formerly unknown in the land of *Fu-sang*, but that under the *Sung* dynasty five bonzes from Samarcand carried their doctrine into this country and changed the manners of the inhabitants, neither he nor any man of that day suspected, either that the religion of *Fo* was anything more than the national religion of China, or that it was identical with Buddhism, and the question does not seem to have occurred to de Guignes as to how these so-called Chinese priests can have come from Samarcand.

The country of *Ki-pin*, the ancient Cophène, corresponded very closely with the country now called Bokhara, the land of Samarcand. Samarcand, in fact, at the time spoken of, was one

* The species of suzerainty exercised by China over Kamtchatka is the only proof given by de Guignes of the action of China in its neighbourhood.

† "Report on the Indian Tribes," by Lieutenant Whipple, p. 31; Catlin, "Letters and Notes," etc., vol. i, p. 93.

‡ Catlin, "Letters and Notes," etc., vol. i, p. 157.

of the great foci of Buddhism. Moreover, it is in the center of Asia, in contact with Persia upon one side and Turkestan upon the other, at the outlet of all the routes which lead from this central region to the northern frontier of China, and to all the northwestern part of Asia as far as to the coast of the Pacific Ocean. . . .

At the time of Klaproth, the history of Buddhism, although something was known of it, was far from complete. The great works of Hodgson, of Turnour, and of Burnouf had not then appeared. That of which de Guignes could not even have thought, and which Klaproth himself could have accomplished but very imperfectly, it is now possible to attempt with a hope of success. By recapitulating all that we know now regarding the internal development and the distant propagation of Buddhism, it will be easy to understand what may have been the results of its propagation in America, and from this point of view to judge the institutions and the monuments of American civilization.

Article II.—Buddhism: How it is Modified and Propagated. (November 1, 1864.)

This article shows that the spirit of good-will and charity which animated the doctrines of the Buddhist religion disposed it to conciliation toward the foreign religions that surrounded it, when carried from India, the land of its birth, into other countries, even when these other religions had but slight affinity with it.

It never placed itself in open hostility to the world by which it was surrounded, and in India respected the pantheon of the gods that were worshiped there. Hostile as the spirit which dictated the distinction of castes in India is to the ardent charity which animated Buddhism, it accepted the distinction of castes as an accomplished fact.

The fusion of Buddhism with the national religion, even with that of the sects of India the most opposed to its nature, is a fact established by the most authentic documents and by unquestionable proofs. In principles, nothing can be more opposite to Buddhism than the worship of Siva ; yet, notwithstanding this, at the end of a few centuries we see an intimate union established between the two religions.

In Java, Buddhism is found mixed with Brahmanism, or with

the worship of Siva, and the union of Buddhism with Brahmanism is also found in Ceylon ; and the Buddhistic religion of Japan shows a large mixture of other elements.

This series of facts shows what transformations Buddhism underwent, even in very early times, by contact with the other religions which it encountered. It also shows us the expansive force by which it was animated, and which served to transport it to a great distance from the place at which it originated. Proselytism is an essential feature of Buddhism ; it is the consequence of the sentiments of good-will and universal charity which it professed, and at the same time of the profound faith which the word of the master inspired in his disciples. "If the great saint Buddha formerly descended upon the earth," says *Hiuen-tsang*, "it was that he might himself spread abroad the blessed influences of his law—Buddha established his doctrine in order that it might be spread abroad into all places. What man is there who would wish to be the only one to drink of it? I can not forget the words of the sacred book, 'Whosoever has hidden the law from men shall be struck with blindness in all his transmigrations.'"

"The man who believes in the mission of Sakya-muni," says M. Neumann, "is obliged to consider every man as an equal and a brother, and must even strive to have the blessed news of redemption carried to all the nations of the earth, and for this purpose he should, following the example of the divine-man, submit himself to all trials and all sufferings. This is why we see a multitude of Buddhist monks and missionaries going from Central Asia, China, Japan, and Corea, and traveling into all parts of the world, known and unknown. It is to preach to unbelievers the doctrine of the *three jewels* (i. e., Buddha, the Law, and the Assembly), or to gather news of their co-religionists."

Buddhism rejected the mystery in which Brahmanism was enveloped, and, proclaiming the superiority of moral works above mere ritualistic practices,* its preachings opened its doctrines to the acceptance of all mankind. Its disciples, both men and women, after having in the earliest days shared a nomadic life, were united in religious communities and convents, which were governed by the eldest or the most honoured.† It recommended

* Burnouf's "Introduction à l'Histoire du Buddhisme," pp. 335 and 337.

† Burnouf, p. 214.

penance as the means of progressive improvement; it instituted the confession;* it prohibited bloody sacrifices.†

We can now understand both the truth and importance of the statements made in the Chinese account: that five monks went to *Fu-sang*, and there spread abroad the law of Buddha; that they carried with them their books, their sacred images, and their ritual, and instituted monastic customs, and so changed the manners of the inhabitants. A Buddhist mission could not be better characterized. It should be remembered, however, that the books and images carried by these missionaries of the fifth century would undoubtedly contain quite as strong an infusion of the elements of Brahmanism (and of the worship of Siva in particular) as of the elements of Buddhism properly so called. China and Japan seem also to have furnished their contingent, and we in fact know that if this doctrine was first established in *Fu-sang* by monks from Samarcand, the account which has been transmitted to us is the work of a Chinese monk who had sojourned there himself. As to the indication of Samarcand, as the country from which the mission departed, there is nothing that should not seem to us to be perfectly authentic. Since the publication of the journey of *Hiuen-tsang*, we know that the Buddhist propagandist, setting forth from the north of India, passed Samarcand in order to reach, by way of Turkestan and the desert of Gobi, the northern frontiers of China.

Starting from this point, the Buddhist missionaries would have nothing further to do than to turn toward the north, in order to follow the route indicated by de Guignes, which, by way of the Lake of Baikal and the Amoor River, would lead them to the country of *Ta-han*. The remarkable Buddhist monuments recently discovered near the mouth of the Amoor River, although their date can not be precisely determined, prove in any case that at a very ancient epoch this country was frequented by the Buddhists.‡

From *Ta-han*, as stated in the Chinese account, these missionaries reached *Fu-sang*.

Article III.—Consideration of the Observations of Humboldt upon the Relations between the Civilization of Asia and America (January 1, 1865), and

* Burnouf, p. 300. † Burnouf, p. 339.

‡ See C. de Sabin, "Le Fleuve Amoûr," Paris, 1861.

ARTICLE IV.—Upon the Presence of Buddhism among the Red-skins (April 1, 1865), it seems unnecessary to translate; as Humboldt's arguments are fully given elsewhere, and as Article IV relates mostly to the religious belief and practices of the Mandan Indians.

ARTICLE V.—A Buddhist Sanctuary at Palenque (June 1, 1865).

John Stephens, in his book, entitled "Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan," new edition, London, 1844, vol. ii, p. 318, makes the following statement:

"Within the walls of the palace of Palenque, at the east of the interior tower, is another building with two corridors, one richly decorated with pictures in stucco, and having in the center an elliptical tablet. It is four feet long and three wide, of hard stone, set in the wall. Around it are the remains of a rich stucco border. The principal figure sits cross-legged on a couch ornamented with two leopards' heads; the attitude is easy, the physiognomy the same as that of the other personages, and the expression calm and benevolent. The figure wears around its neck a necklace of pearls, to which is suspended a small medallion containing a face; perhaps intended as an image of the sun. Like every other subject of sculpture we had seen in the country, the personage has ear-rings, bracelets on the wrists, and a girdle round the loins. The head-dress differs from most of the others at Palenque in that it wants the plume of feathers."

Stephens abstains from noting any analogy between this image and any other known type; but M. Lenoir, who, in his "Parallel of the Ancient Mexican Monuments with those of the Old World," referred to this figure, made the remark that its graceful attitude is analogous with the pose which the East Indians give to their god Buddha.* We shall be bolder than M. Lenoir, and where he only suspected an analogy we shall not fear to recognize a true identity.

In fact, the scene which we find under our eyes is frequently found in the monuments of Buddhist worship. It may be observed, for instance, three times repeated, in the bas-reliefs of the temple of Boro-Boudor in Java, which Crawfurd has inserted in his work upon the Indian Archipelago. These picture one or more worshipers presenting to Buddha, in accordance with the

* "Antiquités Mexicaines," vol. ii, p, 77.

precepts of his religion, offerings of flowers and of fruits. One of these images in particular, that reproduced in Crawfurd's plate xxii,* and copied in the accompanying cut, Fig. 1, offers a striking resemblance to our image of Palenque, which is copied in Fig. 2. In each we see a worshiper offering to the divinity, before whom he is kneeling, a flower, which, in the case of the Buddhist, is incontestably a lotus-flower, and, in the case of the American worshiper, either the same flower or some other of similar appearance —possibly, as has been suggested by M. the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, a cacao-tree flower. Here, however, the flower is not found, as in the bas-relief of Boro-Boudor, in the hand of the worshiper, but it rests upon a sort of support which the

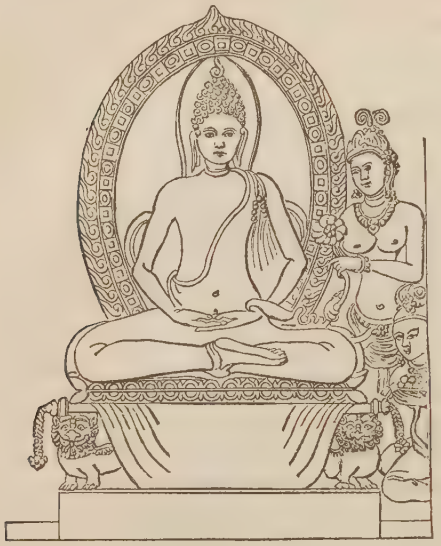

Fig. 1.—Worshiper offering a flower to the image of Buddha.

Fig. 2.—Bas-relief found at Palenque.

* Crawfurd's "History of the Indian Archipelago," 3 vols. in 12mo. Edinburgh, 1820; vol. ii, plates xix, xxii, and xxiii.

worshiper presents to the divinity ; but this same disposition, or one that is analogous, may be seen in Crawfurd's plate xix. Moreover, this same flower is twice found upon the head of our divinity, and is also frequently found associated with the figures of the gods of Palenque. (See, among the rest, Stephens's "Central America," vol. ii, p. 316, plate No. 2.) The two lions, or leopards, facing in opposite directions, upon which our divinity is seated, recall the lions which, in the paintings of India, sometimes support the seat of Buddha (and even sometimes of other divinities), and of which an example is given in the image of Buddha reproduced in Fig. 1.

But they also recall the figures of animals in pairs, facing in opposite directions, which are found so often in the sculptures and paintings of Asia. Such are notably the celebrated capitals of the columns of Persepolis, and of the temple of Dèlos, formed of two horses ; and the group of the lion and the bull placed back to back, attributed to *Ardahnari ;* finally, they agree in every particular with the group of two crouching lions —which, although brought from the island of Cyprus, are of Assyrian type—which may be seen in the Museum of Napoleon III, and of which an engraving is here given (Fig. 3).

Nevertheless, the resemblance of this last group with that which serves as a seat for our Buddha is much less than that which it presents to two other groups of lions or leopards, placed back to back, one found at the base of a niche of the edifice called the "House of the Nuns," at Uxmal,* the other discovered, or more properly disinterred, by Stephens in the same city. A

Fig. 3.—Sculpture from the island of Cyprus.

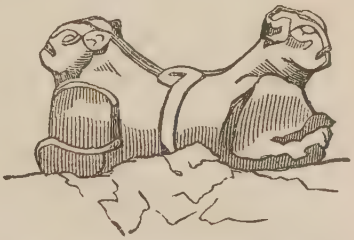

Fig. 4.—Sculpture found at Uxmal, Yucatan.

* Catherwood, "Views of Ancient Monuments of Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan," plate xv.

picture of the latter is given in the "Incidents of Travel in Yucatan," vol. i, p. 183, and we reproduce it in Fig. 4, p. 129, in order that the reader may be able to appreciate its resemblance to the Cyprian group.

Upon the plinth of the Cyprian group there is seen the image of the *winged globe*, so frequently represented upon the pediments and friezes of the temples of Egypt, Assyria, and Persia. This emblem does not occur in the last-mentioned American group, but an ornament, either identical or at least very similar, may be seen above a door opening into the interior of a sanctuary at Ocosingo, a city not very far distant from Palenque.

"In the back wall of the central chamber of this temple," says Stephens,* "was a doorway of the same size with that in front, which led to an apartment without any partitions, but in the center was an oblong inclosure, eighteen feet by eleven, which was manifestly intended as the most important part of the edifice. The door was choked up with ruins to within a few feet of the top, but over it, and extending along the whole front of the structure, was a large stucco ornament, which at first impressed us most forcibly by its striking resemblance to the winged globe over the doors of Egyptian temples. Part of this ornament had fallen down, and, striking the heap of rubbish underneath, had rolled beyond the door of entrance. We endeavoured to roll it back and restore it to its place, but it proved too heavy for the strength of four men and a boy. The part which remains is represented in the engraving, and differs in details from the winged globe. The wings are reversed ; there is a fragment of a circular ornament, which may have been intended for a globe, but there are no remains of serpents entwining it."

Fig. 5.—Ornament above a door of a ruin at Ocosingo.

Even at Palenque, above the door and upon the frieze of the sanctuary of the edifice described by Stephens under the name of "Casa No. 3," we see the two extremities of a similar ornament, the central part having been destroyed. Stephens has re-

* Stephens's "Central America," vol. ii, p. 259.

produced this ornament, or at least the two extremities which still remain of it, without making it the object of any observation in his text.*

At our first step into the study of the antiquities of Central America, we, therefore, find again the same singularity which struck us in the traditions relative to the Deluge. We see ourselves carried in one direction to Western Asia and the banks of the Mediterranean, and in the other to India and Eastern Asia. Between the two lies the land of Chaldea, and it is from this intermediate point that traditions and rites, as well as civilization, have radiated.

"It is in Chaldea," says M. Alfred Maury,† "that civilization arose for the first time upon our globe, or at least this country was one of the first centers from which it was spread abroad into neighbouring lands. It is therefore easy to conceive that a legend existing in Chaldea may have been carried among the nations who from all quarters resorted to this country."

Bearing in mind, again, that we have every reason to believe Samarcand to have been the point of departure of the Buddhism propagated in America, this circumstance makes it more easy to conceive of the presence in the New World of Asiatic elements borrowed even by Western Asia.

But the course of our work has brought us again into the presence of very serious and difficult questions. We shall therefore content ourselves with the presentation of the facts which we have given, and conclude this article with a return to the examination of the figure of Buddha at Palenque.

The oval in which the figure is inscribed, although it is true it is a little larger, recalls that which envelopes the bust of our Boro-Boudor (see Fig. 1, upon page 128), an oval which in itself is nothing more than the aureola which at first surrounded only the head of Buddha, but which was gradually enlarged.

But there is another point of resemblance which, although it relates to a simple detail only, is still more striking and decisive. Stephens relates, as we have remarked, that the oval was originally surrounded by a border in stucco, of which he saw only the remains, and which he did not indicate in his design; but

* Stephens's "Central America," vol. ii, p. 354.

† "Encyclopédie Moderne," t. xii, p. 71.

in the design of Castañeda * this border is clearly shown, although even then very dilapidated. It is after this model that, in our copy of the design of Stephens, we have attempted to restore the border in question, in part at least, and at the same time we have restored a series of small ornaments, also given by Castañeda, of which the form is somewhat crescent-shaped. These ornaments have given rise to the most singular interpretations; but the same ornaments, similarly disposed, are found about the aureola of the figure of an East Indian divinity which Raffles has given in his "History of Java" (vol. ii), and which is reproduced below.

Moreover, if the origin and signification of this ornament is sought, it will be found, from a study of the other figures given by Raffles, that it grew from successive transformations of the flames originally drawn about the aureola of the divinities, and of which an example is found in our figure itself.

FIG. 6.—Aureola about the head of an East Indian idol.

Such analogies as these, we believe, can not be the effect of chance.

In order to explain them, it must be admitted that the Buddhist artists who came to America brought with them the same collection of plans and designs, the same *albums*, if I may use the word, which were found in the hands of the Buddhist missionaries in the south of India and in the Indian Archipelago. It is a supposition which is confirmed by all the analogies that we know to exist between American and Asiatic art, and moreover it is a very natural supposition, fully justified by the history of Buddhist propagandism, and without which the existence of so marked a connection between American and Asiatic art appears an insoluble problem.

It should, however, be borne in mind that, between the primitive types imported by the Buddhists and the different monuments which we are examining, we should expect to find all the differences produced by an inevitable decadence in art, as well as by the influence of local causes and the aspect of novel natural surroundings.

* "Antiquités Mexicaines," vol. ii, plate xxvi; and Kingsborough's "Antiquities of Mexico," vol. iv, part third, plate xx.

Below and in front of our bas-relief there was also found a species of table, or bracket-shelf, which Castañeda gives in his design, but of which Stephens saw no more than the mark upon the wall of the place where it had stood, which he reproduces with dotted lines "after the model of similar tables existing in other places." *

"Del Rio," says Mr. Squier, in his "Researches regarding the Serpent Symbol in America," "describes this table as a large flag-stone, six feet in length,† three feet four inches wide, and seven inches thick, placed upon four legs like a table. These legs were ornamented by figures in bas-relief. Along the tablet against the wall there reached a sort of border similarly sculptured.

Now, this is precisely the character of the *Balang-ko* of the Hindoos, or the *Then-balang* of the Siamese--stones or altars of

Fig. 7.—Table or altar found at Palenque.

Buddha, upon which fruits and flowers were offered instead of bloody sacrifices. These are found in the Siamese and Japanese temples, as well as in all Buddhist temples generally.‡

* "Central America," vol. ii, p. 318. "Antiquités Mexicaines," vol. ii, plate xxvi, Fig. 33.

† This length is in fact that which is indicated in the report of Del Rio (see "Memoires de la Société Géographique de Paris," vol. ii, p. 170) and in the German translation given by Minutoli, "Beschreibung einer alten Stadt," etc., Berlin, 1832. Nevertheless, this measure does not agree with that given by Stephens, and by Del Rio himself, in the place cited for the length of the bas-relief—a measure which, according to the engraving, should be equal to that of the tablet.

‡ Squier, "The Serpent Symbol and the Worship of the Reciprocal Principles of Nature in America," New York, 1851, p. 89. Squier himself refers to an article by Captain James Low, "On Buddha and the *Phrabat*—Explanation of the

Quite recently an English journal, the "London Illustrated News" (February 25, 1865, p. 193), has given, with an image of Buddha, a specimen of a Buddhist altar, perfectly conformable to the Mexican altar, of which an illustration is given in Fig. 7. The presence of this altar, added to all the resemblances of detail which we have pointed out in the bas-relief, seems to us to clearly prove the Buddhistic character of the Sanctuary of Palenque.

The figure which we have described is, to our knowledge, the only one of the kind which exists at Palenque. Outside of this city, and in all the other ruins of Central America, we do not know of any other figure at all similar, unless it is a figure which M. Waldeck has given in his "Voyage to Yucatan," and which he says he saw repeated four times in that number of niches of the southern façade of the "House of the Nuns" at Uxmal.

It is noticeable that this artist, who thought that he found the imprint of Buddhism at Uxmal in a number of details, perhaps indifferent, seems not to have remarked the resemblance of this figure drawn by him to the reformer of India. He contents himself with the statement that "upon the sill of the niche which surmounts each door there is placed *a small seated figure*." On this occasion at least M. Waldeck can not therefore be accused of taking sides. Moreover, the southern façade of the "House of the Nuns," of which he speaks, has been drawn again by Stephens in a general view of the site, and has since been drawn by Catherwood.* The niches indicated above each

FIG. 8.—Seated figure found in niches of a building at Uxmal.

Symbols on a *Prapatha* or Impression of the Divine Foot," in the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland," vol. iii, p. 77. I have verified the citation, and it is entirely correct. I fear, however, that there may have been an error in the transcription of the Indian name given as *Balangko* or *Then-balang*. The word is unknown to all the Indian scholars whom I have been able to consult. May there not have been a confusion with the stone *Binlang* of the worshipers of Siva? (See Coleman's "Mythology of the Hindus," p. 176.) I have not succeeded, however, in discovering the true name of these altars. The authors who describe them merely mention them without stating the name by which they are called.

* Stephens, "Yucatan," vol. i, p. 305. Catherwood, "Views of Ancient Monu-

door are perfectly distinguishable, although, by reason of the distance from which the view is supposed to be taken, it is impossible to distinguish whether any object is or is not contained in them.*

Admitting as authentic, therefore, the image given by M. Waldeck (and there is every reason for so doing), it is impossible to fail to be struck by the analogy which it presents with the representations of Buddha in general, but particularly with the figure of Buddha sitting cross-legged, which is found placed and repeated in an entirely similar manner in the four hundred niches of the temple of Boro-Boudor at Java.† The characteristic position of the right arm is the same in both cases. The head-dress is different, but we find an almost exactly similar head-dress upon other figures of Buddha, or upon the heads of other divinities. It is a sort of fan which adorns the head of the divine personage, and which is formed by a serpent with several heads.‡ It is an ordinary attribute of Vishnu.# It is also found upon the head of Hanouman, ‖ upon that of Ganesa, △ of Vira-Badhra, ◊ etc., and finally upon that of Buddha himself.‡ A Buddha with this head-dress somewhat modified is sculptured upon the wall of the temple of Indra-Saba at Ellora ; it has

FIG. 9.—Figure of Buddha—from a temple at Ellora.

ments in Central America," plate viii. It is true that there are not merely four of these niches visible upon the southern façade, as stated in the account, but *eight*. At the same time, however, it is also true that the façade is divided into two compartments, each containing four niches, and this fact may possibly explain Waldeck's error.

* The part of this façade photographed by M. de Charney contains only two of the eight niches, and, even with the magnifying-glass, it is impossible to distinguish any appearance of a statue in either of them. But the form of the niche is exactly as given by Waldeck, and it is possible that the statues have been destroyed since the visit of that traveler.

† Crawfurd's "History of the Indian Archipelago," vol. ii, plate xxix.

‡ Moor's "Hindu Pantheon," plate xxiv.

Ibid., plate viii.

‖ Ibid., plate xcii.

△ Ibid., Frontispiece.

◊ Ibid., plate xxvi.

‡ Ibid., plate lxxv.

been reproduced by Daniel,* and we give it in our Fig. 9 (page 135), that it may be compared with the figure at Uxmal.†

The existence of these niches, with their uniform statues, often found in very great numbers in the walls of the terraces which support the temples, is one of the common traits of the religious architecture of the Indian Archipelago and of Central America. We content ourselves here with merely pointing out this analogy. We shall return to the subject again when, after our review of American history, we return to the examination of the antiquities of Palenque.‡

GUSTAVE D'EICHTHAL.

Supplement to the First Article. Reply to some Observations of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin upon de Guignes's Memoir.

The first question which presents itself to us, in connection with this work, is that of the geographical connections and the ancient communications between Asia and America, which could have permitted the passage of Buddhist missionaries to the New World. We have said that it seems to us to be possible to reduce this question to the analysis and development of de Guignes's memoir upon the subject. In our first article we therefore took up the examination of this memoir, and concluded by adopting

* "Oriental Scenery." Description of Ellora.

† Even the modification which is presented by the head-dress of the statue at Uxmal seems to be an indication of its authenticity.

‡ Before terminating this article, we think it necessary to again call the attention of our readers to another bas-relief which decorates the house designated by Stephens as *Casa No. 4*. It is an unknown divinity, but one which has completely the appearance and attitude of an East Indian divinity. M. Lenoir, in his "Parallel of the Ancient Mexican Monuments with those of the Old World," was the first to make the remark. "This bas-relief," says he, "represents a divinity who offers, especially in his attitude, a great resemblance to the divinities of India or Japan" ("Antiquités Mexicaines," vol. ii, p. 78); the figure itself is found in the same volume, plate xxxiii, and also in the "Antiquities of Mexico" of Lord Kingsborough, vol. iv, third part; also in the "Memoires de la Société de Géographie," vol. ii, plate xvi. Unfortunately this bas-relief was, by 1840, almost destroyed. Stephens saw only a fragment ("Central America," vol. ii, p. 355). Compare this bas-relief with the figure of Parvati, given by Moor, "Hindu Pantheon," plate v, figure 5; and with a statuette of Lakchmi which is to be seen in the Imperial Library. A bas-relief discovered by Stephens at Chichen-Itza, in Yucatan, is the only one among the American figures with which we are acquainted that shows a similar attitude. ("Incidents of Travel in Yucatan," vol. ii, p. 292.)

the opinion expressed by de Guignes, that the *Fu-sang* of the Chinese tradition can be nothing else than a portion of America.

An eminent geographer, M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, has combated this conclusion in a chapter of his "Année Géographique" (1865), entitled "Une Vieille Histoire remise à Flot" (i. e., An Old Story Set Afloat).

There is always profit to be found in a work emanating from M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, and we ourselves have found it in this article; but we persist none the less in the opinion which we have expressed: we even think that the observations of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin have only added a new force to our conviction. The memoir of de Guignes is composed of two quite distinct parts: one is the account of the country of *Fu-sang*, written in the fifth century of our era by a Buddhist missionary named *Hoei Shin*, which de Guignes extracted from the history of *Li-yan-cheu;* the other part is a commentary intended to determine the geographical position of the country of *Fu-sang*. In the first part, de Guignes is merely a translator; in the second, he appears as a critic, and a critic of the first order.

His merit, as we formerly remarked (and upon this point M. Vivien is in accord with us), is that, enabled by his vast knowledge of Chinese literature, he discovered two itineraries—one maritime, the other terrestrial; both of which terminate at the country of *Ta-han*, the point of Asia which, according to the account, is nearest to the country of *Fu-sang*.

The meeting of the two routes at their northern extremity proves that the country of *Ta-han* is necessarily situated at some point upon the northeastern coast of Asia. De Guignes thinks that this point is in Kamtchatka. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin thinks that it should be sought upon the river Amoor, near the point at which it empties into the Sea of Ochotsk, in the region in which, as we have already said, Buddhist monuments in a state of excellent preservation have been recently discovered. We were instantly struck by the same thought as M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, and, after a new examination of the question, we declare that we are convinced of the correctness of this view.

In fact, even according to the description of the route translated by de Guignes, we see that *by traveling five days to the east, in the direction of the Amoor River, the Shy-wei Ju-che are reached; from there, after traveling five days to the north,*

the country of Ta-han is reached, surrounded on three sides by the sea. Now, below its junction with the Soungari-Oula, and especially below its junction with the Oussori, the Amoor turns directly to the north, and the country of *Ta-han* may probably be located near its mouth. The circumstance that it is *surrounded on three sides by the sea*, may be accounted for by supposing that it is situated in some bend described by the river. But de Guignes, who was but imperfectly acquainted with the course of the Amoor and with the geography of this region, has thought it necessary to go as far north as Kamtchatka to find a locality which corresponds with the description of his itinerary.

We, therefore, very willingly make this concession to M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, or, rather, we thank him for the rectification which he has led us to adopt. But this fact does not prove that de Guignes's memoir should be considered any the less worthy of interest, or that the solution of the question which he proposes is any the less probable. But let M. Vivien speak for himself :

"The few germs of rudimentary civilization, of which the trace is found among the tribes of the Amoor, are of Buddhist origin : they undoubtedly appertain to several different epochs, but the oldest are connected with the missions of the sixth century and the three following centuries, which are mentioned in the texts which de Guignes was the first to describe. This is a real service, among many others, which the scholarly author of the 'History of the Huns' has rendered to science, and of which his error as to the location of *Ta-han* does not at all diminish the merit." *

After calling attention to the Buddhist monuments discovered some ten years ago upon the lower bank of the Amoor River, near the village designated as "Ghiliak of the Tower," M. Vivien continues thus :

"We, therefore, now have positive proof that the missionaries of the religion of Buddha, or of *Fo*, as it is called by the Chinese, not only carried shamanism into all of Central Asia, but pressed to the east and descended the valley of the Amoor River as far as to the shores of the Eastern Sea, at the same time that other propagators of this pre-eminently proselyting religion

* "L'Année Géographique," Paris, 1865, p. 258.

spread themselves by the maritime route into all the islands contained within the boundaries of the sea inclosed between the Japanese Archipelago and the coast of Mantchooria, designated upon our maps as the Sea of Japan."*

Having traveled this distance, would the Buddhist missionaries arrest their voyage here, or would they not rather, profiting by the ease with which the chain of the Aleutian Islands would enable them to pass from one continent to the other, press on until they had penetrated to America? A tradition, mentioned by de Guignes, states that at an early epoch "the Tartars who lived in the neighbourhood of the Amoor River were accustomed from this point to reach the southern portion of Kamtchatka, after five days' navigation toward the north."

This is the most direct route to reach the Aleutian Islands. They could also reach them almost equally well by turning the point of the island of Saghalien, or Taraikai, upon the south, and coasting along the chain of the Kurile Islands. It is true that we have no historical proof of navigation across what may be called the *Aleutian Sea*, either by the Tartars or by the Buddhist missionaries. But the ease of this navigation is an incontestable fact, and here, moreover, the tradition of *Fu-sang* is found.

This tradition is not founded merely upon the unsustained statement of an obscure missionary; it is attested by a multitude of legendary beliefs, of which Klaproth himself has made known to us the principal monuments. From that time the question has been, "Where is this land of *Fu-sang* situated?" De Guignes founded his answer to this question upon the distance of twenty thousand *li*, at which distance to the east from *Ta-han*, *Hoei Shin* stated that this country was situated, and thus arrived at the conclusion that *Fu-sang* must be found at some point upon the American coast, probably in California. As for us, we believe (and M. Vivien is of the same opinion) that the round distance of twenty thousand *li* is purely emphatic, and merely indicates that the distance is very great. But even this interpretation does not at all weaken de Guignes's conclusion: "The Chinese," says this illustrious scholar, "have penetrated into countries very distant toward the east. I have examined their measures, and they have conducted me to the coast

* "L'Année Géographique," p. 259.

of California. I have concluded from this that they have known America since the year 458 A. D. In the countries near to those where they landed we find the most civilized nations of America. I have thought that they were indebted for their civilization to the commerce which they have had with the Chinese. This is all that I have sought to establish in this memoir." If, at the epoch when de Guignes lived, this conclusion offered itself to him as a probable hypothesis, how much stronger would he have considered the proof if he had known, as we now know, both the character of Buddhism, and its diffusion in the countries along the coast of the Sea of Japan and near the mouth of the Amoor River, and, in addition, the proofs, which we dare call incontestable, of its presence in America.

It is, nevertheless, against this fortunate divination of an illustrious scholar that M. Vivien de Saint-Martin now protests. Undoubtedly he has shown that in the account of the shaman *Hoei Shin* several particulars do not agree with America. We may, therefore, conclude that *Hoei Shin*, not having any one to check his account, and perhaps never having been himself in *Fu-sang* (for the text is mute, or at least doubtful, as to this point), may have, as to some points, consulted his imagination rather than his recollection; but making all concessions on this account, there remain two important points in his story as to which no doubt can be raised: the essentially Buddhistic character of the customs of *Fu-sang*, and its situation at a great distance to the east of the Kingdom of *Ta-han* and the "Middle Kingdom." Now, from these two characters, *Fu-sang* can not be located elsewhere than in America. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin is not of this opinion. It is true that he does not offer any conclusion that is well-founded; he merely thinks that the "supposition of Klaproth (who sees in *Fu-sang* a portion of Japan) is, as has been said of it, the most probable." But the supposition of Klaproth, as we have repeated time after time, and as, moreover, M. Vivien himself acknowledges, has insurmountable objections opposed to it: it places to the *south* of *Ta-han* that which, according to the account, should be found at the *east*, and it supposes the existence of a Buddhist kingdom in Japan at an epoch when Buddhism was not known there. It remains, therefore, to return to de Guignes's hypothesis, which, moreover, is now a hundred times more probable than it seemed

at the epoch when it was first produced by its illustrious author. "Old stories," in spite of the displeasure of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, are good to revive when they are *true* old stories.

To the documents which we named in our second article, as showing the association which has existed between Buddhism and the Brahmanic religions, particularly the worship of Siva, there should be added those given by Kœppen, in his history of Buddhism in Thibet, "Die Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche," vol. i, page 296 and following.

CHAPTER IX.

COINCIDENCES NOTED BY HUMBOLDT, LOBSCHEID, AND PRESCOTT.

Extracts from the "Views of the Cordilleras"—Similarity of Asiatic and American civilizations—The struggles of the Brahmans and Buddhists—The divisions of the great cycles—The Mexicans designated the days of their months by the names of the zodiacal signs used in Eastern Asia—Cipactli and Capricornus—Table of resemblances—The tiger and monkey found only in southern countries—The Aztec migration from the north—Resemblance between certain Mexican and Tartarian words—The cutting-stones of the Aztecs—The sign ollin and the foot-prints of Vishnu—Effects of a mixture of several nations—Changes resulting from changed circumstances and lapse of time—Analogies in religious customs—Analogy in the fables regarding the destructions of the universe—Lobscheid's reasons for thinking the American Indians to be one race with the Japanese and Eastern Asiatics—Similarity of customs—Tiles—Anchors—The route from Asia to America—Shipwrecks of fishing-boats—Head-dresses—Languages—Religion—Customs—Marriage solemnized by tying the garments together—Extracts from Prescott's "History of the Conquest of Mexico"—Analogies in traditions and religious usages—Disposal of the bodies of the dead—The analogies of science—The calendar—General conclusions.

Extracts from the "Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Nations of America"—by Alexander von Humboldt.

[1579] It is a surprise to find, toward the end of the fifteenth century, in a world that we call "new," the ancient institutions, the religious ideas, the forms of edifices which, in Asia, appear to belong to the first dawn of civilization. It is true of the characteristic traits of the nations, as of the interior structure of the vegetation scattered upon the surface of the globe, that everywhere they exhibit the imprint of a primitive type, in spite of the differences which are produced by the nature of the climates and of the soil, and by the combined influences of various accidental causes. . . .

[1580] If the languages offer but feeble proof of ancient communication between the two worlds, this communication is indisputably shown in the cosmogonies, the monuments, the hieroglyphics, and the institutions of the nations of America and Asia. . . .

[1582] If we reflect ever so little upon the epoch of the earliest Toltec migrations, upon the monastic institutions, the symbols of worship, the calendar, and the form of the monuments of Cholula, Sogamozo, and Cuzco, we perceive that Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, and Manco-Capac did not draw their code of laws from the north of Europe. Everything appears to carry us to Eastern Asia, to the nations that have been in contact with the Thibetans, the shamanistic Tartars, and the bearded Ainos of the islands of Jesso and Saghalien. . . .

[1588] A prolonged struggle between two religious sects, the Brahmans and the Buddhists, ended by the emigration of the shamans of Thibet into Mongolia, China, and Japan. If any of the tribes of the Tartarian race passed by the way of the northwestern coast of America, and from there southerly and easterly to the banks of the Gila and those of the Missouri, as the etymological researches of Vater in his work upon the peopling of America appear to indicate, it would be less surprising to find, among the semi-barbarous tribes of the new continent, idols and architectural monuments, a hieroglyphic writing, an exact knowledge of the duration of the year and traditions concerning the first condition of the world, which all recall the knowledge, the arts, and the religious opinions of the Asiatic nations. . . .

[1592] We have seen that the Mexicans, the Japanese, the Thibetans, and several other nations of Central Asia, have followed the same system in the division of the great cycles and in the names of the years that compose them. It remains for us to examine a fact which more directly concerns the history of the migrations of the nations, and which appears to have hitherto escaped the attention of scholars. I expect to be able to prove that a great part of the names by which the Mexicans designated the twenty days of their months are those of the signs of a zodiac used, from the most remote antiquity, by the nations of Eastern Asia. To make it evident that this assertion is less hazardous than it appears at first sight, I will give in a single table—first, the names of the Mexican hieroglyphs as they have been transmitted to us by all the authors of the sixteenth cent-

ury ; second, the names of the twelve signs of the zodiac among the Tartars, Thibetans, and Japanese ; third, the names of the *nakchatras*, or lunar houses of the calendar of the Hindoos. I dare flatter myself that those of my readers who will examine this comparative table attentively will be interested in the discussion into which we must enter regarding the first divisions of the zodiac.

SIGNS OF THE ZODIAC.				Hieroglyphs of the Days of the Mexican Calendar.	Nakchatras, or Lunar Houses of the Hindoos.
Hindoos, Greeks, and Eastern Nations.	Mantchoo-Tartars.	Japanese.	Thibetans.		
Aquarius.	Singueri.	Ne.	*Tchip*, rat, water.	*Atl*, water.	
Capricornus.	Ouker.	Ous.	*Lang*, ox.	*Cipactli*, marine monster.	(The *mahara* is a marine monster.)
Sagittarius.	Pars.	Torra.	*Tah*, tiger.	*Ocelotl*, tiger.	Serpent.
Scorpio.	Taoulai.	Ov.	*Io*, hare.	*Tochtli*, hare.	Reed.
Libra.	Lon.	Tats.	*Brou*, dragon.	*Cohuatl*, serpent.	Razor. [Vishnu
Virgo.	Mogai.	Mi.	*Proul*, serpent.	*Acatl*, reed.	Foot-tracks of
Leo.	Morin.	Ouma.	*Tha*, horse.	*Tecpatl*, flint (knife).	Monkey.
Cancer.	Koin.	Tsitsouse.	*Lon*, goat.	*Ollin*, path of the sun.	
Gemini.	Petchi.	Sar.	*Prehou*, monkey.	*Ozomatli*, monkey.	A dog's tail.
Taurus.	Tukia.	Torri.	*Tcha*, bird.	*Quauhtli*, bird.	
Aries.	Nokai.	In.	*Ky*, dog.	*Itzcuintli*, dog.	House.
Pisces.	Gacai.	Y.	*Pah*, hog.	*Calli*, house.	

From the most ancient times, the people of Asia have known two systems of dividing the ecliptic : one into twenty-seven or twenty-eight houses, or lunar mansions, the other into twelve parts. The opinion which has been advanced, that this last method of division existed only among the Egyptians, is erroneous. The oldest monuments of Indian literature, the works of Kalidasa, and of Amarsinh, mention both the twelve signs of the zodiac, and the twenty-seven "Companions of the Moon." From our knowledge concerning the communications which occurred several thousand years before our era, between the nations of Ethiopia, of Upper Egypt, and of Hindostan, we are justified in dismissing the supposition that all that the Egyptians transmitted to the Grecian tribes appertained exclusively to them.

The division of the ecliptic into twenty-seven or twenty-eight lunar houses, is probably more ancient than the division into twelve parts, connected with the annual movement of the sun. The phenomena which are repeated in the same order with every revolution of the moon, attract the attention of mankind more readily than changes of position, of which the cycle is completed only in the space of a year. . . .

[1593] Examining first the analogy which the names of the Mexican days offer to the signs of the Thibetan, Chinese, Tartarian, and Mongolian zodiac, the analogy is found to be very striking in the eight hieroglyphs called *atl*, *cipactli*, *ocelotl*, *tochtli*, *cohuatl*, *quauhtli*, *ozomatli*, and *itzcuintli*. *Atl*, water, is often indicated by a hieroglyph, of which the parallel lines and undulations recall the sign which we employ to designate Aquarius. The first *tse*, or catasterism, of the Chinese zodiac, the rat (*chu*), is also frequently found represented by the figure of water. At the time of the reign of the emperor *Chuen-hiu*, there was a great deluge; and the celestial sign *hiuen-hiao*, which corresponds in position with our Aquarius, is the symbol of his reign. So Père Souciet observes, in his "Researches upon the Cycles and the Zodiacs," that China and Europe agree in representing, under different names, the sign which we call *Amphora*, or Aquarius. Among the western people the water which falls from the vase of the water-bearer forms another constellation (*Hydor*), to which the beautiful stars *Fomahand* and *Deneb kaitos* belong, as is proved by several passages from Aratus, Geminus, and Scholiaste de Germanicus.

Cipactli is a marine animal. This hieroglyph presents a striking analogy with Capricornus, which the Hindoos and other people of Asia call a marine monster. The Mexican sign indicates a fabulous animal, a cetacean armed with a horn. Gomara and Torquemada call it *espadarte*, a name by which the Spaniards designate the narwhal, of which the great tooth is known by the name of the unicorn's horn. Boturini has mistaken this horn for a harpoon, and erroneously translates *cipactli* by "serpent armed with harpoons." As this sign does not represent a real animal, it is very natural that its form should vary more than those of the other signs. Sometimes the horn appears to be a prolongation of the muzzle, as in the famous fish *oxyrinque*, represented in the place of the southern fish beneath Capricornus in some Indian planispheres; in other cases the horn is lacking entirely. Casting the eyes upon figures copied from very ancient designs and reliefs, it is seen that Valadès, Boturini, and Clavigero have all erroneously represented the first hieroglyph of the Mexican days as a shark, or a lizard. In the manuscript of the Borgian Museum, the head of the *cipactli* resembles that of a crocodile; and this same name of crocodile is given, by Son-

nerat, to the tenth sign of the Indian zodiac, which is our Capricornus.

In addition, the idea of the marine animal *cipactli* is found united in the Mexican mythology with the history of a man, who, at the time of the destruction of the fourth sun, after having floated upon the water for a long time, was saved, alone, by attaining the top of the mountain of Colhuacan. We have elsewhere observed that the Noah of the Aztecs, who was usually called "Coxcox," bore also the name of "Teo-cipactli," in which the word "*god*," or "*divine*," is added to that of the sign *cipactli*. In casting the eyes upon the zodiac of the Asiatic tribes, we find that the Capricornus of the Hindoos is the fabulous fish *mahara*, or *souro*, celebrated for its exploits, and represented from the most remote antiquity as a marine monster with the head of a gazelle.

As the people of India, as well as the Mexicans, often indicate the *nakchatras* (lunar houses) and the *laquenons* (the twelve signs of the zodiac) merely by the heads of the animals which compose the lunar and solar zodiacs, it is not at all surprising that the western nations have transformed the *mahara* into Capricornus (*αἰγόκερως*), and that Aratus, Ptolemy, and the Persian Kazwini have not given it even a fish's tail. An animal which, after having lived in the water for a long time, takes the form of a gazelle, and climbs the mountains, reminds the people, of whom the restless imagination seizes upon the most distant affinities, of the ancient traditions of Menu, of Noah, and of the Deucalions celebrated among the Scythians and the Thessalians. It is true that, according to Germanicus, Deucalion, who may be considered to resemble Coxcox, or Teo-cipactli of the Mexican mythology, should be placed, not in the sign Capricornus, but in Aquarius, the sign which immediately follows it. This circumstance, however, is not surprising, as it merely confirms the ingenious view of M. Bailly regarding the ancient connection of the three signs, Pisces, Aquarius, and Capricornus or the fish-gazelle.

Ocelotl, tiger, the jaguar (*felis onca*) of the warm regions of Mexico; *tochtli*, hare; *ozomatli*, she-monkey; *itzcuintli*, dog; *cohuatl*, serpent; *quauhtli*, bird, are the catasterisms which are found under the same name in the Tartarian and Thibetan zodiac. In Chinese astronomy the hare is not only the fourth

tse, or sign of the zodiac, but the moon, since the remote epoch of the reign of *Yao*, has been figured as a disk, in which a hare, sitting upon its hind feet, turns a stick in a vessel, as if making butter ; a puerile fancy which may have had its origin in the plains of Tartary, where hares abound, and which are inhabited by pastoral tribes. The Mexican monkey, *ozomatli*, corresponds to the *heu* of the Chinese, the *petchi* of the Mantchoos, and the *prehou* of the Thibetans, three names which designate the same animal. Procyon appears to be the monkey *Hanuan*, so known in the Hindoo mythology, and the position of this star, placed upon the same line with Gemini and the pole of the ecliptic, corresponds very well with the place which the monkey occupies in the Tartar zodiac, between Cancer and Taurus. Monkeys are also found in the heaven of the Arabs. They are the stars of the constellation Canis Major, called *El-kurûd* in the catalogue of Kazwini. I enter into these details concerning the sign *ozomatli* because it is a very important point, not only in the history of astronomy, but also in that of the migrations of the tribes, to find an animal of the torrid zone placed among the constellations of the Mongolian, Mantchoo, Aztec, and Toltec tribes.

The sign *itzcuintli*, dog, corresponds with the last sign but one of the Tartarian zodiac, the *ky* of the Thibetans, the *nokai* of the Mantchoos, and the *in* of the Japanese. Père Gaubil informs us that the dog of the Tartarian zodiac is our sign Aries ; and it is very remarkable that, according to le Gentil, although the Hindoos were not acquainted with the series of signs which commences with the rat, Aries is sometimes replaced by a wild dog. In the same way, among the Mexicans *itzcuintli* designates the wild dog, for they call their domestic dog *techichi*. Mexico formerly abounded with carnivorous quadrupeds which united the qualities of the dog and the wolf, and which Hernandez has described to us but imperfectly. The race of these animals, known by the names of *xoloitzcuintli*, *itzcuintepotzotli*, and *tepeitzcuintli*, is probably not entirely extinct, but they have more likely retired into the wildest and most remote forests ; for in the part of the country which I have passed through I have never heard a wild dog mentioned.

Le Gentil and Bailly have been misled in the opinion which they have advanced that the word *mècha*, which designates our ram, signifies a wild dog. This Sanskrit word is the common

name of the ram, and it has been employed very poetically by an Indian author who, describing the combat of two warriors, says that "by their heads they were two *mèchas* (rams), by their arms two elephants, by their feet two noble coursers."

The following table shows at one view the signs of the Tartarian zodiac and the names of the days of the Mexican calendar, which are alike :

Zodiac of the Tartar-Mantchoos.	Zodiac of the Mexicans.
Pars, tiger.	*Ocelotl*, tiger.
Taoulai, hare.	*Tochtli*, hare, rabbit.
Mogai, serpent.	*Cohuatl*, serpent.
Petchi, monkey.	*Ozomatli*, monkey.
Nokai, dog.	*Itzcuintli*, dog.
Tukia, bird, fowl.	*Quauhtli*, bird, eagle.

Without connecting the hieroglyphs water (*atl*) and the marine monster (*cipactli*), which offer a striking analogy with the zodiacal signs of Aquarius and Capricornus, the six signs of the Tartarian zodiac which are also found in the Mexican calendar are sufficient to make it extremely probable that the nations of the two continents have drawn their astronomical ideas from a common source, and it is worthy of notice that the points of resemblance upon which we insist are not derived from rude pictures or allegories, susceptible of being interpreted in accordance with any hypothesis that it is desired to sustain. If we consult the works composed at the time of the conquest, by Spanish authors, or by American Indians who were ignorant of the existence of a Tartarian zodiac, it will be seen that in Mexico, from the seventh century until our era, the days have been called "tiger," "dog," "monkey," "hare" or "rabbit," as, throughout Eastern Asia, the years bear the same names among the Thibetans, the Tartar-Mantchoos, the Mongols, the Calmucks, the Chinese, the Japanese, the Coreans, and among the nations of Tonquin and Cochin-China.

It is conceivable that nations which never had any connection may have similarly divided the ecliptic into twenty-seven or twenty-eight parts, and given to each lunar day the name of the stars near which the moon is found to be placed in its progressive movement from west to east. It also appears very natural that pastoral and hunting nations should designate the constellations and the lunar days by the names of the animals which

are the constant objects of their affections or their fears. The heaven of the nomad tribes may be found to be peopled with dogs, deer, bulls, and wolves, without furnishing sufficient ground for the conclusion that the tribes have ever formerly made parts of the same nation. Traits of resemblance which are purely accidental, or which arise from a similarity of circumstances or location, should not be confounded with those which are the results of a common origin or of ancient communication.

But the Tartarian and Mexican zodiacs are not confined exclusively to animals found in the regions inhabited by these nations now ; in both, the tiger and the monkey are also found. The two animals are unknown upon the plateau of Eastern and Central Asia, to which the great elevation gives a colder temperature than that which is found in the same latitude farther east. The Thibetans, the Mongolians, the Mantchoos, and the Calmucks have therefore received from a more southerly country the zodiac which has, too exclusively, been called the Tartarian cycle. The Toltecs, the Aztecs, the Tlascaltecs migrated from the north toward the south ; we know of Aztec monuments as far north as the banks of the Gila, between 33° and 34° north latitude, and history informs us that the Toltecs came formerly from regions still farther north. The colonists coming from Aztlan did not arrive as barbarian tribes ; everything announces the remains of an ancient civilization as existing among them.

The names given to the cities which they constructed were the names of the places which their ancestors had inhabited ; their laws, their annals, their chronology, the order of their sacrifices, were modeled upon the knowledge which they had acquired in their father-land. Now, the monkeys and the tigers, which figure among the hieroglyphs of the days, and in the Mexican traditions of the four ages, or destructions of the sun, do not live in the northern part of New Spain, or on the northwestern coast of America. As a consequence, the signs *ozomatli* and *ocelotl* render it extremely probable that the zodiacs of the Toltecs, the Aztecs, the Mongolians, the Thibetans, and many other nations, which are now separated by a vast extent of country, originated at the same point in the Old World.

The lunar houses of the Hindoos, in which we find also a monkey, a serpent, a dog's tail, and the head of a gazelle, or of a marine monster, offer still other signs, of which the names re-

call those of *calli*, *acatl*, *tecpatl*, and *ollin* of the Mexican calendar.

Indian Nakchatras.	Mexican Signs.
Magha, house.	*Calli*, house.
Venu, cane (reed).	*Acatl*, cane (reed).
Critica, razor.	*Tecpatl*, flint, stone knife.
Sravana, three foot-prints.	*Ollin*, movement of the sun, figured by three foot-prints.

We can not help noticing that the Aztec word *calli* has the same signification as *kuala* or *kölla*, among the Wogouls, who live upon the banks of the Kama and the Irtish, as *atl*, the Aztec word for water, and *itels* (river) recall the words *atel*, *atelch*, *etel* or *idel* (river) in the languages of the Mongolian Tartars, the Tcheremissians, and the Tchuwassians. The denomination of *calli*, house, also designates very well a lunar station or inn (*mendzil el kamar*, in Arabian), a place of repose. So, also, among the Indian *nakchatras*, in addition to the houses (*magha* and *punarvasu*), we also find a *bedstead* and a *couch*.

The Mexican sign *acatl*, cane, is generally drawn as two reeds tied together; but the stone found in Mexico in 1790, and which offers the hieroglyphs of the days, represents the sign *acatl* in a very different manner. We recognize there a bundle of rushes, or a sheaf of maize, contained in a vase. We recall, in this connection, the fact that, in the first period of thirteen days of the year *tochtli*, the sign *acatl* is constantly accompanied by *Cinteotl*, who is the goddess of maize, the Ceres of the Mexicans, the divinity who presides over agriculture. Among the western people, Ceres is placed in the fifth of the twelve signs. We also find very ancient zodiacs in which a bundle of ears of grain fills all the place which should be occupied by Ceres, Isis, Astrée, or Erigone, in the sign of the harvests and vintages. Thus we find that, from a high antiquity, the same ideas, the same symbols, the same tendency to think physical phenomena dependent upon the mysterious influence of the stars, existed among nations the most widely separated from one another.

The Mexican hieroglyph *tecpatl* indicates a cutting-stone of an oval form, elongated toward the two extremities, similar to those which are used as knives, or which are attached to the end of a pike. This sign recalls the *critica*, or cutting-knife, of the lunar zodiac of the Hindoos. Upon the large stone (rep-

resented in a plate given in the original French edition), the hieroglyph *tecpatl* is figured in a different manner from the form ordinarily given to it. The stone is pierced in the center, and the opening appears to be intended to receive the hand of the warrior who uses this two-pointed weapon. It is known that the Americans had a peculiar method of piercing the hardest stones and of working them into shape by friction. I brought from South America, and deposited in the Berlin Museum, an obsidian ring, which had served for a young girl's bracelet, and which formed a hollow cylinder of almost seven centimetres internal diameter, and four centimetres height, and of which the thickness is not more than three millimetres. It is difficult to conceive how a vitreous and fragile mass can have been reduced to so thin a band. *Tecpatl*, however, differed in other respects from obsidian, a substance which the Mexicans called *iztli*. Under the name *tecpatl*, jade, hornblende, and flint were confounded.

The sign *ollin*, or *ollin tonatiuh*, presided, in the beginning of the cycle of fifty-two years, over the seventeenth day of the first month. The explanation of this sign greatly embarrassed the Spanish monks, who, destitute of the most elementary principles of astronomy, attempted to describe the Mexican calendar. The Indian authors translated *ollin* by *movements of the sun*. When they found the number *nahui* (four) added, they rendered *nahui ollin* by the words "the sun (*tonatiuh*) in its four movements." The sign *ollin* is made in three ways: sometimes like two interlaced ribbons, or rather like two parts of the curved lines, which intersect and have three distinct folds upon their summits; sometimes, like the solar disk, inclosed by four squares, which contained the hieroglyphs of the numbers one (*ce*) and four (*nahui*); sometimes like three foot-prints. The four squares, as we shall hereafter show, alluded to the famous tradition of the four ages, or four destructions of the world, which occurred upon the days *four tiger* (*nahui ocelotl*), *four wind* (*nahui ehecatl*), *four rain* (*nahui quiahuitl*), and *four water* (*nahui atl*), in the years *one reed* (*ce acatl*), *one flint* (*ce tecpatl*), and *ce calli*, *one house*. The solstices, the equinoxes, and the passages of the sun past the zenith of the city of Tenochtitlan, correspond very nearly to these days. The representation of the sign *ollin* by three *xocpalli*, or foot-prints, such as

are often found in the manuscripts preserved in the Vatican and in the *Codex Borgianus*, folio 47, n. 210, is remarkable from the analogy which it offers in appearance with *sravana*, or "the Three Foot-prints of Vishnu," one of the mansions of the lunar zodiac of the Hindoos. In the Mexican calendar the three foot-prints indicate either the course of the sun in its passage to the equator, and in its movement toward the two tropics, or the three positions of the sun, in the zenith, upon the equator, and at one of the solstices. It may be possible that the lunar zodiac of the Hindoos contains some sign which, like that of Libra, relates to the course of the sun. We have seen that the zodiac of twenty-eight signs may have been transformed, little by little, into a zodiac of twelve mansions of the full moon, and that some *nakchatras* may have changed their name since the zodiac of the full moon has, from a knowledge of the annual movement of the sun, become a true solar zodiac. Krishna, the Apollo of the Hindoos, is in fact nothing but Vishnu under the form of the sun, who is adored more particularly under the name of the god Sûrya. In spite of this analogy of ideas and of signs, we think that the three foot-prints which indicate *sravana*, the twenty-third of the *nakchatras*, have only an accidental resemblance with the three foot-tracks which represent the sign *ollin*. M. de Chézy, who unites a profound knowledge of the Persian to that of the Sanskrit, observes that the *sravana* of the Indian zodiac alludes to a legend which is very celebrated among the Hindoos, and which is recorded in most of their sacred books, particularly in the *Bhâgavat Pârânâ*. Vishnu, wishing to punish the pride of a giant, who thought himself as powerful as the gods, presented himself before him in the form of a dwarf, and begged him to give him in his vast empire the space which he could inclose by three of his paces. The giant smilingly granted his request; but immediately the dwarf grew so prodigiously that with two paces he measured the distance between the heavens and the earth. As he demanded a place to set his foot for the third pace, the giant recognized the god Vishnu, and prostrated himself before him. This fact explains so well the figure of the *nakchatra* named *sravana*, that it seems difficult to admit that the sign can be connected with that of *ollin*, as *cipactli* and the Mexican Noah, Teo-cipactli, are connected with the constellation Capricornus and with Deucalion, placed formerly in Aquarius.

We have thus developed the connection which exists between the signs composing the different zodiacs of India, of Thibet, and of Tartary and the hieroglyphs of the days and the years of the Mexican calendar. We have found that among the proofs of such connection the most striking and the most numerous are those which are presented by the cycle of twelve animals, which we have designated by the name of the Tartarian and Thibetan zodiac. In terminating a discussion of which the results are so important in regard to the history of the ancient communication of the nations, it remains for us to examine the last zodiac more closely, and to prove that in the system of Asiatic astronomy, with which the Mexican astronomy appears to have had a common origin, the twelve signs of the zodiac presided not only over the months, but also over the years, the days, the hours, and even the smallest divisions of the hours. . . .

[1594] Wherever we observe at the same time several divisions of the ecliptic which differ, not in the number of the signs, but in their general names, as the *tse*, the *tchi*, and the *celestial animals* of the Chinese, the Thibetans, and the Tartars, this multiplicity of signs is probably due to a mixture of several nations, which have been subjugated one by another. The effects of this mixture, particularly of the influence exercised by the conquerors upon the conquered, are especially manifest in the northeastern part of Asia, in which the languages, in spite of the great number of Mongolian and Tartarian roots which they contain, differ so essentially among themselves, that they seem to be incapable of any methodical classification. The greater the distance from Thibet and Hindostan, the greater the difference in the type of the civil institutions, in knowledge, and in culture. Now, if the tribes of Eastern Siberia, among whom the dogmas of Buddhism have evidently penetrated, show but feebly their connection with the civilized nations of Eastern Asia, we need not be surprised that in the New Continent we find only a few points of analogy in the traditions, in the chronology, and in the style of the ancient monuments, while in other respects we discern a great number of striking differences. When nations of Tartarian or Mongolian origin, transplanted to foreign shores, mixed with the hordes indigenous to America, and traced out painfully a path toward civilization, their languages, their mythology, their divisions of time, all took a character of individuality which

effaced, so to say, the primitive type of their national physiognomy. . . .

[1597] Thibet and Mexico present very remarkable traits of connection in their ecclesiastical hierarchy, in the number of their religious fraternities, in the extreme austerity of their penances, and in the order of the processions. It is impossible to fail to be struck with these resemblances, when reading with attention the account which Cortez gave to the Emperor Charles the Fifth of his solemn entry into Cholula, which he called the holy city of the Mexicans. . . .

[1598] Of all the traits of analogy which have been observed in the monuments, in the manners, and in the traditions of the nations of Asia and America, the most striking is that which the Mexican mythology presents in its fable regarding the system of the universe, of its periodic destructions and regenerations. This fable, which unites the idea of a renewal of matter supposed to be indestructible with the completion of great cycles, and which attributes to space that which appears to appertain only to time, goes back to the greatest antiquity. The sacred books of the Hindoos, especially the *Bhâgavat Pûrânâ*, speak of the four ages and of the *pralayas*, or cataclysms, which at different epochs have caused the destruction of the human species. A tradition of *five ages*, analogous to that of the Mexicans, is found upon the plateau of Thibet. It is true that this astrological fable, which has become the basis of a system of cosmogony, had its birth in Hindostan ; it is probable, also, that from there it passed to the western nations by the way of Iran and Chaldea. The resemblance between the Indian tradition of the *yugas* and the *kalpas*, the cycles of the ancient inhabitants of Etruria, and this series of exterminated generations, characterized by Hesiod under the emblem of four metals, should not be forgotten.

The nations of Culhua, or of Mexico, says Gomara, who wrote in the middle of the sixteenth century, believed, according to their hieroglyphical paintings, that before the sun which now shines upon them, there existed four others which were destroyed one after another. The "five suns" are as many ages in which our species has been annihilated by inundations, by earthquakes, by a universal conflagration, and by the effect of hurricanes. After the destruction of the fourth sun, the world was

plunged into darkness for the space of twenty-five years. It was in the middle of this profound night, ten years before the appearance of the fifth sun, that the human race was re-created. . . .

[1599] As it may cause surprise to find five ages, or suns, among the Mexican tribes, while the Hindoos and the Greeks admit only four, it is worthy of notice that the Mexican cosmogony is in accord with that of the Thibetans, who also regard the present age as the fifth. If we examine with care the beautiful fragment of an earlier tradition, preserved by Hesiod, in which he explains the Oriental system of the renewal of nature, it will be seen that this author really counts five creations in four ages. He divides the period of bronze into two parts, which make up the third and fourth creations; and it is surprising that so clear a passage has sometimes been misinterpreted.

We are ignorant as to the number of ages referred to in the Sibylline books; but we think that the analogies which we indicate are not accidental, and that it is not without interest for the philosophical history of man to see the same fables scattered from Etruria to Thibet, and from there to the Cordilleras of Mexico.

Extracts from the "Grammar of the Chinese Language"—by the Rev. W. Lobscheid.

[1759] AMERICAN INDIANS APPARENTLY ONE RACE WITH THE JAPANESE AND EASTERN ASIATICS.— . . . In passing across the Isthmus of Panama, and in Mexico, I was struck with the similarity of architecture between the Chinese and these people. Instead of excavating mountains, instead of making expensive vaults, all the principal edifices are erected on elevated ground. The tiles of the roofs are concave and convex, just as we have them in China; the anchors of their boats are the same as we find them in Japan and the north of China, i. e., with four hooks without a barb; and innumerable other manners, customs, and peculiarities of civilization agree exactly with those of Eastern Asia, as in no other country of the world.

We now come to inquire as to how these tribes could reach America. During the summer months, when the sun did not set for one whole month, the inhabitants of the extreme parts of Northeastern Asia, either pressed by hostile tribes, or from an impulse of adventure, must have crossed over to the American Conti-

nent, where, either by hunting or fishing, they could easily support themselves and provide for their wants during the coming winter. Wave after wave of immigration is likely to have rolled on ; and if only at long intervals a few returned to their native place, that was sufficient to account for a knowledge of a large Eastern Continent, floating among the Chinese, Japanese, and other Asiatics.

The large fleets of fishing-boats about the coasts of Japan and China are, we know, frequently overtaken by tremendous gales, and either destroyed or carried eastward. We know of Japanese junks having been picked up beyond the Sandwich Islands, and close to the shore of America, after an absence of more than nine months. But much more. Large fleets of war-junks, sometimes manned by as many as one hundred thousand men, have left the coast of China and Japan, and have been scattered by the northwest gales, and but few of these ever survived or returned. It is not unlikely that these junks, being well provisioned, have continued in their eastern course, until, within 28° north latitude, they fell in with the trade-wind, which compelled them to change their course, and carried them toward Mexico or Lower California, where they laid the foundation of that kind of civilization which resembles so closely that of the Chinese and Japanese. Look at the Chinese dress five or six centuries ago, and you have the head-dress of the Mexicans ; look at the monstrous uniforms and coats-of-mail, and at the head-dress of the Japanese women, and you will be struck with their similarity to the Mexicans. As all the kings, chiefs, and priests—in one word, all the creators of that peculiar civilization—were *destroyed by the Spaniards*, we need not wonder at the low ebb of education of the present race, who are merely the children of peasants and the lower classes. Were Chinese who speak the different dialects and well versed in their own literature, and Japanese of education, well furnished with ancient works, sent with scientific men to America, we may rest assured, they would soon decipher the inscriptions now fast going to ruin.

Summary of Similarity of the American Indians with the Japanese, Chinese, and Northern Asiatics.—I. Language. Monosyllabic, as spoken by the Otomi and other tribes. Hieroglyphs, or ideographic characters, on the same principle as the

Chinese; absence of the R among the tribes where the ideographic characters are found; prevalence of hissing sounds and gutturals, and most words terminating in a vowel. 2. Polysyllabic language of a syllabic character, representing, *not sound*, but *syllables*, as in Japan. Japanese words detected in the Indian language; Japanese form of the possessive case; prevalence of the R, and the termination of *every word in a vowel excepi the N.*

II. Religion. The most ancient religion of the Indians, now forming the wandering tribes, is the belief in one Great Spirit, whom they worship, like the Japanese their *Sin* (spirit), without image. In both places, long, hortatory addresses are delivered to the audience, and both exhibit profound reverence of that spirit, and deep religious feelings. The polytheistic form of worship, as found in Mexico, etc., is, according to accepted history, the most modern one, and was, if we believe Chinese legends, introduced by Buddhists and shaman priests, about the beginning of the sixth century of our era, which nearly coincides with the commencement of the Toltecan history, which is put down at A. D. 596. The dragon or serpent worship was very prevalent. That the Chinese dragon is nothing but a serpent, can be proved from the fact that at this moment serpents are kept in temples as representatives of the ancient dragon. They resembled the Chinese and (Buddhist) Japanese in their ideas of "the transmigration of the soul; in the monastic forms and discipline; in their penances, ablutions, alms-givings, and public festivals; in the worship of their household gods; in the devotions of the priests to the study of astrology and astronomy; in the admission of virgin females to the vows and rites of the cloister; in the incense and chants of their worship; in their use of charms and amulets; in some of their forms of burning their dead, and the preservation of the ashes in urns, and in the assumption of the right to educate the youth." Among other superstitious notions is the one of a celestial dragon endeavouring to devour the sun during its eclipse, and their fondness for the drum, gong, and rattle.

III. Customs. The dragon-standard; banner-lances, as we find them in Chinese Buddhist temples; ensigns and banners stuck in a ferula, fixed at the back of a warrior. A kind of heraldry as we meet among the Japanese. Some of their nuptials were symbolized by the ceremony of tying the garments of the

two contracting parties together. There was only one lawful wife, though a plurality of concubines. I have already referred to the similarity of dress, architecture, and anchors of ships.

Physiologically considered, there is not the slightest difference between these tribes and those of Japan and China, and the tribes among themselves differ no more from each other than the people of Europe of one and the same stock.

Extracts from the "History of the Conquest of Mexico"—by William H. Prescott.

[2083] An obvious analogy is found in *cosmogonal traditions* and *religious usages.* The reader has already been made acquainted with the Aztec system of four great cycles, at the end of each of which the world was destroyed, to be again regenerated. The belief in these periodical convulsions of nature, through the agency of some one or other of the elements, was familiar to many countries in the Eastern Hemisphere ; and, though varying in detail, the general resemblance of outline furnishes an argument in favour of a common origin. The fanciful division of time into four or five cycles or ages was found among the Hindoos ("Asiatic Researches," vol. ii, mem. 7), the Thibetans (Humboldt, "Vues des Cordillères," p. 210), the Persians (Bailly, "Traité de l'Astronomie," Paris, 1787, tome i, discours préliminaire), the Greeks (Hesiod, "Ἔργα καὶ Ἡμέραι," v, 108 et seq.), and other people, doubtless. . . .

[2084] "I have purposely omitted noticing the resemblance of religious notions, for I do not see how it is possible to separate from such views every influence of Christian ideas, if it be only from an imperceptible confusion in the mind of the narrator." (Quoted from Vater's "Mithridates," Berlin, 1812, Theil III, Abtheil 3, p. 82, note.) . . .

[2085] These coincidences must be allowed to furnish an argument in favour of some primitive communication with that great brotherhood of nations on the Old Continent among whom similar ideas have been so widely diffused. The probability of such a communication, especially with Eastern Asia, is much strengthened by the resemblance of sacerdotal institutions, and of some religious rites—as those of marriage and the burial of the dead ; by the practice of human sacrifices, and even of cannibalism—traces of which are discernible in the Mongol races ; and, lastly,

by a conformity of social usages and manners so striking that the description of Montezuma's court may well pass for that of the Grand Khan's, as depicted by Maundeville and Marco Polo. It would occupy too much room to go into details in this matter, without which, however, the strength of the argument can not be felt, nor fully established. It has been done by others; and an occasional coincidence has been adverted to in the preceding chapters. . . .

[2086] There are certain arbitrary peculiarities, which, when found in different nations, reasonably suggest the idea of some previous communication between them. Who can doubt the existence of an affinity, or at least intercourse, between tribes who had the same strange habit of burying the dead in a sitting posture, as was practiced to some extent by most, if not all, of the aborigines, from Canada to Patagonia? The habit of burning the dead, familiar to both Mongols and Aztecs, is, in itself, but slender proof of a common origin. The body must be disposed of in some way; and this, perhaps, is as natural as any other. But, when to this is added the circumstance of collecting the ashes in a vase, and depositing the single article of a precious stone along with them, the coincidence is remarkable. Such minute coincidences are not unfrequent; while the accumulation of those of a more general character, though individually of little account, greatly strengthens the probability of a communication with the East. . . .

[2087] A proof of a higher kind is found in the analogies of *science*. We have seen the peculiar chronological system of the Aztecs—their method of distributing the years into cycles, and of reckoning by means of periodical series, instead of numbers. A similar process was used by the various Asiatic nations of the Mongol family, from India to Japan. . . .

[2088] It is scarcely possible to reconcile the knowledge of Oriental science with the total ignorance of some of the most serviceable and familiar arts, as the use of milk and iron, for example—arts so simple, yet so important to domestic comfort, that, when once acquired, they could hardly be lost. . . . Yet there have been people considerably civilized, in Eastern Asia, who were almost equally strangers to the use of milk. . . . It is possible, moreover, that the migration may have been previous to the time when iron was used by the Asiatic nation in question. . . . Such

is the explanation, unsatisfactory indeed, but the best that suggests itself, of this curious anomaly. . . .

[2089] The reader of the preceding pages may, perhaps, acquiesce in the general conclusions—not startling by their novelty :

First, that the coincidences are sufficiently strong to authorize a belief that the civilization of Anahuac was, in some degree, influenced by that of Eastern Asia ; and, secondly, that the discrepancies are such as to carry back the communication to a very remote period—so remote, that this foreign influence has been too feeble to interfere materially with the growth of what may be regarded, in its essential features, as a peculiar and indigenous civilization.

CHAPTER X.

SHORTER ESSAYS.

"Where was Fu-sang?"—by the Rev. Nathan Brown, D. D.—Difficulties attending a decision—Horses—Grapes—Reason for thinking *Fu-sang* more distant than Japan—Length of the *li*—Distances of the route—Difficulties attending Klaproth's theory—The military expeditions of the Japanese—The introduction of the Buddhist religion—The *Hans*—*Great Han*—Identification of the *fu-sang* tree with the bread-fruit tree—Conclusion—Remarks of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg—The paper and books of the Mexicans and Central Americans—Civilization of New Mexico—Chinese boats—Animals—Mr. Leland's "Fusang"—An earlier article—Who discovered America?—J. Hanlay's essay—The *fu-sang* tree identified with the maguey—Metals—Resemblance in religion and customs—Also in features—Language—Civilization on Pacific coast—Letter of Mr. Th. Simson—The Mexican aloe—The *fu-sang* tree—Japan—Letter of E. Bretschneider, M. D.—Accounts of *Fu-sang* by the Chinese poets—"The Kingdom of Women"—Verdict of Father Hyacinth—The distance—Horses and deer—The *fu-sang* tree—The *t'ung* tree—The paper-mulberry—Metals—"The Kingdom of Women" and Salt Lake City—*Fu-sang* not Japan—*Ta-han* in Siberia—Envoys from *Fu-sang*—Contradictory fancies—Mr. Leland's criticism—Letter of Père Gaubil—Unreliability of Chinese texts—The peopling of Japan—Chinese knowledge of surrounding countries—Remarks of Humboldt—Letter of the Rt. Rev. Channing M. Williams—The Chinese "Classic of Mountains and Seas"—Fabulous stories—Translation of extracts therefrom—Remarks of M. Léon de Rosny—Passage from Asia to America—The distance—Character of the Esquimaux—An article from a newspaper of British Columbia—Discovery of Chinese coins in the bank of a creek—Evidence that they had been buried for a long time.

"Where was Fu-sang?"—by the Rev. Nathan Brown, D. D.[650]

It is not a little amusing to observe the regularity with which the discovery of an ancient connection between China and Mexico annually goes the rounds of the newspapers.

The author of the discovery is generally stated to be Professor Karl Neumann, who has lit upon some old Chinese record containing it; but no dates are given for verifying the fact, and no translation of the documents upon which he relies.

The following paragraph, from the first chapter of Riviero's "Peruvian Antiquities," translated by Dr. Hawks, is somewhat more definite. After speaking of various theories framed in reference to the colonization of America, he says:

"But the hypothesis which in importance surpasses all these is that of de Guignes, who, relying upon the chronicles of China, attributes Peruvian civilization to emigration proceeding from the 'Celestial Empire,' or the East Indies. Recent investigations would seem to confirm this opinion." . . .

Signor Riviero goes on to say there is "no doubt" that Quetzalcoatl, Bochica, Manco Capac, and other reformers of Central America were Buddhist priests. Such random assertions are a positive injury to archæological science; they destroy confidence, not only in the author who makes them, but in antiquarian researches generally. The connection of the Mexican mythology with Buddhism is a thing to be proved, not assumed as a matter beyond doubt. Buddhism is the most gentle and inoffensive of all the heathen religions; it is as unlike to the bloody religion of the Aztecs as it is to the cruel rites of the Brahmanical worshipers of Siva and Durga. If an idol is to be found in Yucatan combining these two opposite forms of worship, it is a phenomenon well worth the study of the learned. But, before attempting a solution of the enigma, we want certain proof that such a combination exists. . . .

The difficulties presented . . . are formidable, whether, with Klaproth, we suppose that the Chinese account refers to Japan, or with de Guignes, that it refers to America. The former asserts that neither the vine nor horses were known in America till after the time of Columbus, and that this circumstance alone disproves the theory of de Guignes. But such a summary disposal of the question can not be admitted. The fossil remains of this continent have not been sufficiently examined to decide that the bones of the horse are not among them. But were this point settled, it would still be very supposable that some other animal might be intended by the word translated "horses." In regard to the grape, M. Klaproth is certainly mistaken. New England, as early as the year 1000, was called by the Norwegians *Vinland*, or "the Land of Vines," from the abundance of grapes which they found there.

The narrative of *Hoei Shin* is classed by Klaproth with the

stories and exaggerations of the Chinese poets, who make *Fu-sang* their land of fables, a country lying in the remote East, where the sun rises and makes his toilet. . . .

Other passages say that beyond the Southeastern Ocean, between the *Kan-shui*, or "Sweet Rivers," lies the kingdom of *Ghi-wa-kof*, where lived the virgin *Ghi-wa*, or *Hi-ho*, who married the prince of *Ghi-wa* and gave birth to ten suns.

But these fables are rather against than in favour of M. Klaproth's theory; for the poets would have been more likely to select, as the scene of the marvelous, a remote and unknown country rather than one so near as Japan. The life-like particularity of *Hoei Shin's* account evidently raises it out of the region of fable, and compels us to regard it as a matter-of-fact description of some existing country. But where is *Ta-han?* De Guignes says this country is Kamtchatka; Klaproth says it is Taraikai, or Saghalien. . . .

The distance from the mouth of the *Hoang-ho* to the coast of North America, by a direct eastern course, would be from 6,500 to 7,000 miles; corresponding very well to 20,000 Chinese *li*, as at present reckoned. But the question arises, whether *Hoei Shin* intends to say that *Fu-sang* is equally distant from China and from *Ta-han*, or whether he means that *Fu-sang* is at the same distance from *Ta-han* that *Ta-han* is from China. The latter sense would require the translation to read: "*Fu-sang* is 20,000 *li* east of the country of *Ta-han*, and *it* [meaning *Ta-han*] is equally distant to the east of China." This would locate *Ta-han* on the road to *Fu-sang*, instead of making *Ta-han* and China the basis of an isosceles triangle, of which *Fu-sang* is the apex. It would render the account more natural and consistent; for if *Fu-sang* is in an easterly direction from both the other countries, we must infer that the three were nearly in a line.

If we adopt *Li-yan-chen's* statement of the route to *Ta-han*, whether the latter be Saghalien or Kamtchatka, we must contract our estimate of the *li*, and that will bring *Fu-sang* proportionately nearer.

As navigation in those early times was generally along the shore, with very little means of accurately measuring distances by water, it will not perhaps be unreasonable to allow, on the average, six nautical *li* to the mile, and then 20,000 *li* would just be sufficient to land us in Oregon or California. From the

southern point of Kamtchatka to Alaska the distance is about one thousand miles, and to Oregon as much farther; so that of the 20,000 *li*, or 3,300 miles, we would have a surplus of 1,300 miles to allow for the windings along the coast. The stages of the voyage would then become: From Corea to the chief port in Japan (making a very large allowance for winding course), 2,000 miles; thence to *Wen-shin* (either in Jesso or Saghalien), 1,100 miles; thence to Kamtchatka, 800 miles; thence to *Fu-sang*, a long stretch of 3,300 miles.

Thus we see there is no insuperable objection to the theory of de Guignes. On the contrary, the supposition of Klaproth, that *Fu-sang* was the southern part of Japan, involves us in inextricable difficulties.

It makes *Li-yan-cheu* and *Hoei Shin* contradict each other: one affirming that Japan is 12,000 *li* distant, the other that it is 20,000; one declaring that it is east of *Ta-han*, the other that it is directly south. Klaproth endeavours to show that the *fu-sang* tree is the mulberry, of which the Japanese make paper; but it would be very difficult to discover any resemblance between a mulberry-plant and the shoot of a young bamboo. Nor would its fruit be compared to a pear, which it does not at all resemble in form. At the period in question, the beginning of the sixth century, Japan was governed by the tyrant *Burets Teno*, who, according to the imperial annals, sent some thousands of soldiers to destroy a rival. Of course, it could not be said of such a people that "they had neither arms nor troops."

The northern and southern prisons, described by *Hoei Shin*, find no confirmation in the Japanese annals. There is no evidence that the Japanese reared stags instead of cattle; they were not without iron, nor did they esteem gold and silver of no account. Finally, as Klaproth himself acknowledges, the Buddhist religion was not introduced into Japan till the year 552, when it was brought in from Corea; consequently, the priest *Hoei Shin* could not have spoken of it as the religion of the country in the year 500.

But another supposition still remains. The *Han* were a people, rather than a country: *Ta-han*, the *Great Han*. The *Hans* were among the oldest of the Chinese races; they occupied the northern part of the empire, overspread Corea, and ultimately became masters of Japan. The Japanese historians trace back

their line of emperors to *Ku-kung*, king of *Chou*, whose great-grandson, *Wu-wang*, became emperor of China, 1122 B. C. The kings of *Chou* were of the *Han* race. Gutzlaff says "the state of *Han* [424 to 230 B. C.] was ruled by a line of kings who traced their descent from the founders of the *Chou* dynasty." ("Chin. Hist.," p. 202.) Klaproth gives us the testimony of Chinese writers that *Wu T'ai-pe*, elder son of *Ku-kung*, prince of *Chou*, founded the kingdom of *Wu*, where his descendants reigned 659 years. Being conquered and driven out by the king of *Yue*, they sailed for Japan, and became the founders of that empire: "The children, the grandchildren, and the relatives of the last king of *Wu*, put to sea, and became the *Wo* or Japanese." In the third century of our era, these *Han* rulers of Japan took possession of Corea, which, after the fall of the *Han* dynasty in China, appears to have become the general rendezvous of the *Han* races. The country was known as that of the *San-han*, or *San-kan*, the "Three *Hans*," namely, the *Ma-han*, composed of fifty-four tribes, the *Shin-han*, twelve tribes, and the *Pian-han*, also twelve tribes. It is highly probable that *Hoei Shin*, in speaking of the country of the *Great Han*, meant Japan, in distinction from Corea, the common residence of the three principal *Han* families.

It would seem, from the descriptions by other writers, of coast-wise and overland journeys to the *Great Han*, that this term was also used for a more northerly region, either the northern part of Japan (including Saghalien) or a portion of the continent. With these accounts the narrative of *Hoei Shin* has no necessary connection. It is a strong argument in favour of a Southern *Ta-han* as a point of departure for America, that it would make the deviation from an eastern course far less than by the northern route.

We must wait for a more perfect knowledge of the former flora and fauna of America before we can identify, with any certainty, the plants and animals mentioned by *Hoei Shin*. It has been suggested that the maguey, or Mexican aloe, is the *fu-sang;* but we think a more substantial tree is indicated. In many respects the description would agree better with some tree of the bread-fruit family, which includes the artocarpus, morus or mulberry, maclura, and fig. Of the bread-fruit no less than fifty varieties are enumerated as indigenous to the South Sea Islands,

and there is no reason why they should not have been abundant in the tropical regions of the American coast.* Williams, in his "Narrative of Missionary Enterprises," gives this description of the most common variety :

"Among all the trees that adorn the islands of the Pacific, the bread-fruit deserves the pre-eminence for its beauty and value. It frequently grows fifty or sixty feet high, and has a trunk between two and three feet in diameter. The leaves are broad and sinuated, something similar in form to those of the fig-tree. They are frequently eighteen inches in length, and of a dark-green colour, with a glossy surface resembling that of the richest evergreens. The fruit is oval, about six inches in diameter, and of a light pea-green." Ellis adds that "it subsequently changes to brown, and when fully ripe assumes a rich yellow tinge."

Williams continues : "The value of this wonderful tree exceeds its beauty. It is everything to the natives—their house, their food, their clothing. The trunk furnishes one of the best kinds of timber they possess. It is the colour of mahogany, exceedingly durable, and is used by the natives in building their canoes and houses, and in the manufacture of the few articles of furniture they formerly possessed. From the bark of the branches they fabricate their clothing ; and, when the tree is punctured, there exudes from it a mucilaginous fluid, resembling thick cream, which hardens by exposure to the sun, and, when boiled, answers all the purposes of English pitch. The fruit is, to the South Sea Islander, the staff of life. It bears two crops every season. Besides this, there are several varieties which ripen at different periods, so that the natives have a supply of this palatable and nutritious food during the greater part of the year."

Our conclusion is this : That the narrative of *Hoei Shin* is entitled to full credence ; that before the Anglo-Saxons invaded England ; before France became a nation ; a hundred years before the birth of Mohammed, and more than fourteen hundred

* The bread-fruit tree, like its congener, the jack-tree of India, requires care for its preservation, and its non-cultivation in a particular country at the present time does not prove its non-existence a thousand years ago. Mr. Ellis ("Polynesian Researches," chap. ii.) says the tree "is propagated by slips from the root"; but he expresses his fear that it will in a few years become scarce, as the indolent natives "are generally adverse to the planting of bread-fruit trees."

years before the daring Columbus ventured upon unknown waters in search of a new world, the Orientals were passing and repassing the broad Pacific, from China to the American coast, either by the shore line, where the current would aid in carrying them around and down the Mexican coast, or by a direct route over calmer seas, passing the Sandwich Islands and falling into the Mexican current a little north of Peru; that, previous to the year 500, there was an empire on this continent which must have rivaled China in civilization, laws, and good government; that its ruler was so powerful as to maintain his authority without the use of armies; that the people had a written language; that they used, in their reckoning of time, the Chinese cycle of sixty years; that they had domestic animals, and used wheel carriages; that among the chief productions of the country was a tree resembling or identical with the bread-fruit tree; that the Buddhist religion had been recently introduced, but had not exterminated the more ancient idolatry, which consisted in the worship of images representing spirits. These general facts we consider established on as good authority as we could ask for—that of a Buddhist priest, probably himself one of the missionaries to whom reference is made.

Remarks of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg.[13]

Without undertaking to defend here the argument of M. de Guignes regarding *Fu-sang*, recently revived by M. Gustave d'Eichthal by the article in which he ascribed the American civilization to a Buddhist origin, an argument attacked by Klaproth and more lately by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, we will, since we are upon known ground, digress sufficiently to call attention to some errors in the article of the latter in the "Année Géographique." We shall not seek to prove that either the *fu-sang* tree or any very similar tree existed in America; but it is certain that most of the books of the natives that have been preserved to our times, without counting those of the collection of M. Aubin, are made from the fibers of the bark of a tree from which the Americans made a true paper. (See Gomara, "Conquista de Mexico," t. i, p. 424; Landa, "Relacion de las Cosas de Yucatan," p. 44; Humboldt, "Vues des Cordillères," t. ii, pp. 269, 304.) Such are, among others, the "Dresden Manuscript," the manuscript of the Imperial Library, called "Mexican Manuscript, No. 2," the

"Codex Troano," etc., which, it may be observed, in passing, are written in alphabetical characters. M. Vivien de Saint-Martin in his article says that writing, properly so called, or alphabetical writing, does not exist in America; nevertheless, it was well known in 1865 that alphabetical writing really existed, and nothing more is necessary to prove this than the work of Landa, which the scholarly geographer cites, two pages farther on, which, if not sufficient to satisfy him of its existence, should at least have deterred him from stating the contrary in a manner so absolute.

He adds that "it has never been stated that the miserable savages of the northwest coast had a method of writing or made paper." There may, however, have been other nations upon these coasts at an earlier date who were in possession of these two arts; for it is known, says M. von Humboldt ("Vues des Cordillères," t. ii, p. 96), that in the last century, "among the inhabitants of Nutka, the Mexican month of twenty days was found in use," which conveys the idea of a state of civilization passably advanced. The remains of gigantic edifices have also been found from time to time in these quarters, certainly the works of a people more advanced in civilization than the miserable savages in question.

In spite of Klaproth's skillful refutation of the hypothesis of de Guignes, it has been reproduced several times, says Alexander von Humboldt, by the pens of a number of estimable scholars, who think that they have found in the *Vinland of Asiatic explorers* more than one characteristic trait of America.

It is now unquestionably established, moreover, from the accounts of the first Spanish explorers, which have been studied upon the spot by the Americans of our days, that the countries situated in the center of the American Continent, and upon its western coasts, from the banks of the Rio Gila to the copper mines of Lake Superior, were formerly inhabited by tribes which were scarcely inferior in civilization to those of Mexico proper. They existed only in a state of decadence at the time of the Spanish conquest, and the remains of this civilization are found even now in the villages of houses of several stories in New Mexico.

As to Chinese or Japanese voyages to the northwestern coasts: from time to time their traces have been thought to be found in the ports of California (Bradford, "American Antiq-

uities," p. 233); and Gomara states that, at the time of the expeditions of Cortez and Alarcon in these regions, "they heard of boats which had pelicans of gold and silver at the prow, which were loaded with merchandise, and which they thought to come from Cathay and China, because the sailors of these boats caused it to be understood by signs that their voyage had taken thirty days."

There also exists a well-known tradition, among the inhabitants of the Pacific coast of North America, that men of distant nations came formerly from beyond the sea to trade at the principal ports of the coast (Bustamante, "Supplement to Book III of the Work of Sahagun"). It is also known that the northern tribes were much more peaceable than the Mexicans, and that in their country there exist "plains covered with trees, among which there are vines, mulberries, and rose-bushes." (See, in the collection of Ternaux-Compans, Castañeda's "Relation du Voyage de Cibola en 1540," p. 126.)

They also possessed great numbers of dogs, which carried their effects, and perhaps even the bison may have been used as a draught animal and beast of burden; and it is certain, at least, that the chiefs of the country had quite large herds of tame deer and domestic bisons (see letter written by the Adelantado Soto, etc., in the "Collection of Narrations regarding Florida," edited by Ternaux-Compans, p. 47, and in the "Relation of Biedma," p. 101); and, according to the accounts of various authors, it is probable that they were used much as are our domestic animals.

Gomara, in his "Hist. Gen. de las Indias," in several places mentions the accounts of travelers of his days, and those of the conquerors, who speak of numerous herds of domestic bisons existing among the northern tribes, and which furnished them with clothing, food, and drink. Humboldt and Prescott remark that the drink must have been their blood, for the natives of these countries appear to have this, in common with those of China and Cochin-China, that they make no use of milk ("Tableau de la Nature," trad. Galuski, Paris, 1863, p. 213). It is known that other Indians in the northern part of the United States, and in Canada, used certain large deers as draught animals for their sledges, in the same way that, at the present day, elks are used by the Indians of the country north of Canada.

M. de Saint-Martin says that, before the arrival of the Spaniards, neither draught animals nor beasts of burden were known in America. What can he call the vicunas and llamas of Peru, which are used as beasts of burden exactly as camels are in Asia? (See Cieça de Leon, "Cronica del Peru," cap. cx and cxi; and as for North America, consult Gomara, who was the chaplain of Cortez.) "There are also great dogs, capable of fighting with a bull, and which carry two arrobas weight (fifty pounds) upon a sort of saddle when they go to the chase." ("Hist. de las Indias," p. 289; see also Casteñada, "Relation de Cibola," p. 190.)

In any case, before pronouncing so positively as to what is known or not known regarding the Americans, it seems to us to be prudent to wait; for every day, it may be said, throws some new light upon the diverse ancient civilizations of the continent discovered by Columbus. The "Old Stories Set Afloat" are not always as improbable as may be thought, and M. Gustave d'Eichthal may be right in his reply to the scholarly editor of the "Année Géographique," that "old stories are good things to revive when they are *true* old stories." . . .

[94] The Abbé de Bourbourg says, in his introduction to the "Popol-Vuh": "It has been known to scholars for nearly a century that the Chinese were acquainted with the American Continent in the fifth century of our era. . . . Readers, who may desire to make comparisons between the Japanese description of *Fu-sang* and some country in America, will find astonishing analogies in the countries described by Castañeda and Fra Marcos de Niza in the province of Cibola." . . . [91] Speaking of the Mexican religion, he is constrained to say: "Asia appears to have been the cradle of this religion, and of the social institutions which it consecrated."

The book, entitled "Fusang; or, the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century," by Charles G. Leland (12mo, London, 1875).

This work opens with a memoir of Carl Friedrich Neumann. This is followed by a translation of Professor Neumann's argument regarding *Fu-sang*, which is succeeded by a chapter of comments and suggestions by Mr. Leland. Then follows a chapter regarding the navigation of the North Pacific, and embody-

ing a letter from Colonel Barclay Kennon, setting forth the ease with which a voyage may be made from Asia to America, by way of the Aleutian Islands, even in an open canoe, and calling attention to the frequency with which this voyage is made by the natives of those regions. Next come a chapter of remarks upon Colonel Kennon's letter and a chapter detailing the venturesome travels of other Buddhist priests. The affinities of Asiatic and American languages are next considered, the possible connection of the Mound-builders with the Mexicans is then discussed, and attention is called to the wide distribution of images of Buddha. The arguments of de Guignes, Klaproth, and d'Eichthal are next reviewed. Then follow two letters from Theos. Simson and E. Bretschneider respectively, with comments by Mr. Leland. An appendix, describing the Ainos, and discussing the resemblance between the American Indians and the tribes of Northeastern Asia, closes the work.

It should be remarked that this book is an amplification of an article written by Mr. Leland, which appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine" many years before, and Professor Williams is, therefore, wrong in stating that Mr. Bancroft's digest of the arguments upon the subject preceded Mr. Leland's argument.

As the article from which the following extracts are taken was credited by the "Chinese Recorder" (from which it is here copied) to the "Gentleman's Magazine," it is probably Mr. Leland's early argument.

Who discovered America? Evidence that the New World was known to the Chinese fourteen hundred years ago. [1711]

. . . There are among the Chinese records, not merely vague references to a country to the west of the Atlantic, but there is also a circumstantial account of its discovery by the Chinese long before Columbus was born.

A competent authority on such matters, J. Hanlay, the Chinese interpreter at San Francisco, has lately written an essay on this subject, from which we gather the following startling statements, drawn from Chinese historians and geographers.

Fourteen hundred years ago, even, America had been discovered by the Chinese, and described by them. They stated that land to be about twenty thousand Chinese miles distant from China. About five hundred years after the birth of Christ,

Buddhist priests visited there, and brought back the news that they had met with Buddhist idols and religious writings in the country. Their descriptions, in many respects, resemble those of the Spaniards a thousand years later. They called the country "*Fu-sang*," after a tree that grew there, whose leaves resemble those of the bamboo, of whose bark the natives made cloths and paper, and whose fruit they ate. These particulars correspond exactly and remarkably with those given by the American historian, Prescott, about the maguey-tree in Mexico. He states that the Aztecs prepared a pulp for paper-making out of the bark of this tree. Then, even its leaves were used for thatching; its fibers for making ropes; its roots yielded a nourishing food; and its sap, by means of fermentation, was made into an intoxicating drink. The accounts given by the Chinese and Spaniards, although a thousand years apart, agree in stating that the natives did not possess any iron, but only copper; that they made all their tools for working in stone and metals out of a mixture of copper and tin; and that they, in comparison with the nations of Europe and Asia, thought but little of the worth of silver and gold. The religious customs and forms of worship presented the same characteristics to the Chinese fourteen hundred years ago as to the Spaniards four hundred years ago.

There is, moreover, a remarkable resemblance between the religion of the Aztecs and the Buddhism of the Chinese, as well as between the manners and customs of the Aztecs and those of the people of China. There is also a great similarity between the features of the Indian tribes of Middle and South America and those of the Chinese, and, as Hanlay, the Chinese interpreter of whom we spoke above, states, between the accent and most of the monosyllabic words of the Chinese and Indian languages.

The writer gives a list of words which point to a close relationship, and infers therefrom that there must have been emigration from China to the continent at a most early period, as the official accounts of the Buddhist priests fourteen hundred years ago notice these things as existing even at that time. Perhaps now, old records may be recovered in China, which may furnish full particulars of this question.

It is, at any rate, remarkable, and confirmative of the idea of emigration from China to America at some remote period, that

at the time of the discovery of America by the Spaniards, the Indian tribes on the coast of the Pacific, opposite to China, for the most part enjoyed a state of culture of ancient growth, while the inhabitants of the Atlantic shore were found by the Europeans in a state of original barbarism. . . .

Letter of Theos. Simson.[2315]

"'Buddhist Priests in America.' Under this heading,"[719] a querist in the last number of 'Notes and Queries' submits to inquiry a statement of Professor Carl Neumann, of Munich, respecting the supposed entry of Buddhist priests into the American Continent some thirteen hundred years ago, and their passage into the land of the Aztecs, which they called *Fu-sang*, 'after the Chinese name of the American aloe.'

"Now, in the first place, this statement, if true, inferentially proves much more than it asserts; the Mexican aloe is a native of Mexico only, and it is manifest, therefore, that if these supposed Chinese travelers named the country after the Chinese name of the Mexican aloe, that plant must have been well known to them before the period of their visit to its native country; hence, we are carried further back, to a time when the Mexican aloe must have been known in China, and we must allow a considerable period for it to have become so well known as to suggest to the travelers a name for a newly discovered—or, as it must needs have been in this view, a rediscovered—country. This consideration takes us back into the question of the original peopling of the American Continent, to the age of stone or bronze, perhaps, which is beyond the intended scope of the querist's quotation.

"At the period 'when the land of *Fu-sang* is first mentioned by historians,' China, exclusive of the neighbouring 'barbarous tribes,' over whom she held sway, was not so extensive as she is at present, but comprised only what we now call the Northern and Central Provinces. Does the Mexican aloe grow in that part of the country at all? I am inclined to think not, though I can not speak positively upon the point. In Canton it is said by the Chinese to have been introduced from the Philippine Islands, and is called Spanish (or Philippine) hemp, its fibers being sometimes employed in the manufacture of mosquito-nets.

"But the *fu-sang* (or, more correctly, *the fu-sang tree*), as

described in Chinese botanical works, appears to be a malvaceous plant; at any rate, whatever it may be, it certainly is not the Mexican aloe, or anything similar to it.

"The land of *Fu-sang* is described by Chinese authors as being in the Eastern Sea, in the place where the sun rises. Considering the geographical limits of China at the time referred to (some thirteen hundred years ago), surely we need not look farther than Japan for a very probable identification of the *Fu-sang* country according with this description, which indeed appears to be embodied in the more modern name *Jih-pen-kwoh*, 'Japan,' which is translatable as the 'Country of the Rising Sun.' It is a matter of fact, too, that Buddhism was introduced into that country some thirteen hundred years ago; and this by no means extraordinary event is a very much more probable version of the incident referred to than the marvelous story given by Professor Neumann."

"*Fu-sang; or, Who Discovered America*"—*by E. Bretschneider, M. D.* [774]

"In the May number of the 'Chinese Recorder' there is an article, reproduced from the 'Gentleman's Magazine,' in which it is sought to be proved that the Chinese had discovered America as early as 500 A. D. . . . I have not read the dissertations of M. Paravey. . . . I am also equally unacquainted with the article of Mr. Neumann . . . I believe, however, that the Chinese notices about *Fu-sang* are all derived from one and the same source, and each and all rest upon the statements of a lying Buddhist priest, *Hui-shên*, who asserts that he was in *Fu-sang*. . . .

"In later times the Chinese poets, who seem to be gifted with a much livelier imagination than some of our *savants*, have developed and richly embellished the reports with regard to the land of *Fu-sang*, and have made out of it a complete land of fables, where mulberry-trees grow to a height of several thousand feet, and where silk-worms are found more than six feet in length. The statements about *Fu-sang* given by M. Léon de Rosny, in his 'Variétés Orientales,' from a Japanese Encyclopædia, are probably borrowed from the Chinese. I have not, however, read M. Rosny's work. (Cf. 'Notes and Queries,' vol. iv, p. 19.)

"In order to place the credibility of the Buddhist priest *Hui-*

shên in the proper light, I will yet mention what he further relates of his journeys. He asserts, namely (*loco citato*), that there is a kingdom, 1,000 *li* east of *Fu-sang*, in which there are no men, but only women, whose bodies are completely covered with hair. When they wish to become pregnant, they bathe themselves in a certain river. The women have no mammæ, but tufts of hair on the neck, by means of which they suckle their children.

"Upon these vague and incredible traditions of a Buddhist monk, several European *savants* have based the hypothesis that the Chinese had discovered America 1,300 years ago. Nevertheless, it appears to me that these Sinologues have not succeeded in robbing Columbus of the honour of having discovered America. They might have spared themselves the writing of such learned treatises on this subject. It appears to me that the verdict passed upon the value of the information of the Buddhist monk *Hui-shên* by Father Hyacinth is the most correct. This well-known Sinologue adds the following words merely, after the translation of the article '*Fu-sang*,' out of the 'History of the Southern Dynasties': '*Hui-shên* appears to have been a consummate humbug.' (Cf. 'The People of Central Asia,' by F. Hyacinth.)

"I cannot, indeed, understand what ground we have for believing that *Fu-sang* is America. We can not lay great stress upon the asserted distance, for every one knows how liberal the Chinese are with numbers. By tamed stags we can, at all events, only understand reindeer. But these are found as frequently in Asia as in America. Mention is also made of horses in *Fu-sang*. This does not at all agree with America, for it is well known that horses were first brought to America in the sixteenth century. Neumann appears to base his hypothesis on the assumption that the tree *fu-sang* is synonymous with the Mexican aloe. Mr. Sampson has already refuted this error. ('Notes and Queries,' vol. iii, p. 78.)

"According to the descriptions and drawings of the tree *fu-sang*, given by the Chinese, there is no doubt that it is a malvacea. In Pekin, the *Hibiscus rosa Sinensis* is designated by this name, while *Hibiscus Syriacus* is here called *mu-kin*. These names seem to hold good for the whole of China. The description which is given in the *Pun-tsáo-kang-mu* of both plants (xxxvi, pp. 64 and 65) admits of no doubt that by the tree *fu-sang*, *chu-kin*, *chi-kin*,

ji-ki, is to be understood *Hibiscus rosa Sinensis.* It is also mentioned that this tree has a likeness to the *mu-kin* (*Hibiscus Syriacus*). Its leaves resemble the mulberry-tree. Very good drawings of both kinds of hibiscus are found in the *Chi-wu-ming-shi-tu-k'ao* (xxxv, pp. 58 and 34). The Buddhist priest *Hui-shên* compares the tree *fu-sang* with the tree *t'ung.* Under this name the Chinese denote different large-leaved trees. In the *Chi-wu-ming-shi-tu-k'ao* (xxx, p. 46), the tree *t'ung* is represented with broadly ovate, cordate, entire, great leaves, and with great ovoid, acuminate fruits. Hoffman and Schultes ('Noms Indigénes des Plantes du Japon et de la Chine') have set down the tree *t'ung* as *Paulownia imperialis.* This agrees quite well with the Chinese drawing.

"The tree *t'ung* must not be confounded with the *yu-t'ung* tree (synonyma, *ying-tsŭ-t'ung*, *jĕn-t'ung*), from whose fruit is furnished the well-known and very poisonous oil *t'ung-yu*, which the Chinese employ in varnish and in painting. It should be the *Dryanda cordata;* according to others, *Elæococca verucosa.* I have not seen the tree, but it is known to occur very abundantly in Central China, and especially on the *Yang-tse-kiang.* There is a Chinese description in the *Pun-t'sao* (xxxv, p. 26), and a drawing of it in the *Chi-wu-ming-shi-tu-k'ao* (xxxv, p. 26).

"There is also a tree which the Chinese call *wu-t'ung* (synonyme, *chên*). This tree has already been mentioned by Du Halde ('Description de l'Empire Chinois') as a curiosity, in which the seeds are found on the edges of the leaves. This phenomenon is also described in the drawings of the *Chi-wu-ming-shi-tu-k'ao* (xxxv, p. 56). Compare, further, the description in the *Pun-t'sao* (xxxv, p. 25). It is the *Sterculia plantanifolia*, a beautiful tree with large leaves, lobed so as to resemble a hand, which is cultivated in the Buddhist temples near Pekin. The Chinese are quite right in what they relate about the seeds. The seed-follicles burst, and acquire the form of coriaceous leaves, bearing the seeds upon their margin.

"The leaves of all the trees just now mentioned allow themselves to be compared, as is done by the Chinese, with those of the hibiscus, or other plants of the malvaceous family, but have not the slightest resemblance with the Mexican aloe, or maguey-tree (*Agave Americana*), which has massive, spiny-toothed, fleshy leaves. Mr. Hanlay ('Chinese Recorder,' vol. ii, p. 345), of San

Francisco, can not, therefore, succeed in proving that the Buddhist priest *Hui-shên* understood by *fu-sang* the Mexican aloe.

"*Finally*, I have to mention a tree which, as regards its appearance and usefulness, corresponds pretty much with the description given by *Hui-shên* of the *fu-sang* tree. I am speaking of the useful tree *Broussonetia papyrifera*, which grows wild *in the temperate parts of Asia*,* especially in China, Japan, Corea, Mantchooria, etc., and is, besides, found on the islands of the Pacific; while, as far as I know, it does not occur in America. The leaves of this tree are remarkable for their varying very much in shape. The same tree produces at once very large and quite small leaves. They are sometimes entire, sometimes many-lobed. The fruit is round, of a deep scarlet colour, and pulpy. It is a well-known fact that, in the parts where the tree grows, its bark is used for the making of paper and the manufacturing of clothing material. From ancient times it has been known to the Chinese under the name *ch'u* (synonyma, *kou*, *kou-sang*, *kou-shu*: cf. *Pun-ts'ao-kang-mu*, xxxvi, p. 10). An excellent engraving of the tree is found in the *Chi-wu-ming-shi-tu-k'ao* (xxxiii, p. 57). *Hui-shên, in his botanical diagnosis, perhaps made a mistake with regard to the fu-sang tree, and confounded broussonetia with hibiscus.*

"Just as little as the Mexican aloe, does the non-existence of iron in the country *Fu-sang* prove that America is to be understood, for there were many countries in ancient times which possessed copper, but where the art of working iron was unknown. The Chinese report also that the natives of the Loochoo Islands did not possess iron, but only copper.

"Mr. Hanlay (*l. c.*) appears to have received the discovery of America by the Chinese with the greatest enthusiasm. Perhaps I have furnished him, by means of the above notice about 'the Kingdom of Women,' *which Hui-shên visited*, a new proof for his view of the case. *Fu-sang* lies, according to *Hui-shên*, directly east from China, more than 20,000 *li*, thus about the situation of San Francisco at the present day. The celebrated Women's Kingdom lies 1,000 *li* farther toward the east, thus about the country of Salt Lake City, where, at the present day, the Mormons are, which, if not a women's country, is nevertheless

* Saghalien, where Mr. Bretschneider would put Fu-sang, can hardly be called temperate.—Note by C. G. Leland.

a country of many women, and where—to the disgrace of the United States—prostitution is carried on under the mask of the Christian religion.

"I do not agree with Mr. Sampson ('Notes and Queries,' vol. iii, p. 79) in supposing that *Fu-sang* must be identified with Japan—日本, *Ji-pen*, 'the Land where the Sun rises'; *for Japan has been well known to the Chinese since several centuries before our era*, under another name. I avail myself of this opportunity to add a few words about the earliest accounts which the Chinese have of Japan. This country was primitively known to them under the name *Wo*, which occurs for the first time in chapter cxv of the 'History of the Posterior *Han*,' (A. D. 25–221). I can not afford to give here a translation of the whole article, and shall, therefore, only touch upon some of the most important points. The kingdom *Wo*, it is said, is situated on a group of islands in the Great Sea, southeast of *Han* (in the southwestern part of Corea), and is composed of about a hundred principalities. Since the conquest of *Chao-sien* (Corea) by the Emperor *Wu-ti*, 108 B. C., about thirty of these principalities entered into relations with China. The most powerful of the rulers has his capital in *Ye-ma-t'ai*. It is mentioned that neither tigers and leopards, nor oxen, horses, sheep, and magpies exist. As far as I know, this last remark is not true at present, at least as far as horses and oxen are concerned; it is true, however, that sheep can not thrive in Japan, and the attempts of the Europeans to acclimatize them have been, until now, unsuccessful.

"In the reign of *Kuang-wu*, A. D. 25–58, envoys came from the *Wo-nu* with presents to the Chinese court. They stated that their country was the southernmost of the kingdom. . . .

"A *Nü-wang-kuo*, a 'Country of Women,' is spoken of in the southern part of Japan. This statement is confirmed by the Japanese annals. (Cf. Klaproth, 'Annales des Empereurs du Japon,' p. 13.) The Japanese call this country *Atsowma*.

"The land *Ta-han* must have been a province in Siberia. *Fu-sang* is said to lie to the east of *Ta-han*. Supposing, then, that a country, *Fu-sang*, really existed, and was not an invention of a Buddhist monk, it does not necessarily follow that it is to be sought on the other side of the ocean. Let me here observe that this monk mentions in no place in his account having passed over a great sea. Klaproth, in assuming that *Fu-sang* is meant

for the island of Saghalien, is, I believe, more near to the truth than the other Sinologues.

"In 'Notes and Queries' (vol. iv, p. 19) there is a passage, cited out of the '*Liang-ssŭ-kung-ki*,' that the kingdom of *Fu-sang* had sent envoys to China. This would, of course, prove that the so-called country of *Fu-sang* had political intercourse with China; but it makes it more unlikely that America was here meant. We will, *therefore*, in the mean time, still consider *Fu-sang* as a *terra incognita nec non dubia*, and bestow upon Mr. Burlingame the double honour of having been the first American embassador at the Chinese court, and the first Chinese embassador in America.

"The contradictory fancies about China that originate in the brains of European *literati* are truly astonishing. Some maintain that the Chinese discovered America 1,300 years ago; while a well-known Frenchman, Count Gobineau, some years ago asserted that the Chinese had immigrated from America. In his 'Essay upon the Inequality of Human Races,' vol. ii, p. 242, Count Gobineau says: 'Whence came the yellow nations? From the great Continent of America. This is the answer both of physiology and philology.'

"All these unfounded hypotheses have much the same value as the supposed discovery of America by the Chinese."

This letter, and that of Mr. Simson, are copied, by permission, from the work of Mr. Charles G. Leland, entitled, "Fusang; or, the Discovery of America." Mr. Leland's criticism is short, but sharp:

1721 "In brief, Dr. Bretschneider asserts that there was no *Fu-sang*—it being all the invention of a lying priest; but that it was in Siberia. There was never any such place; but still Mr. Simson is wrong in placing it in Japan, and Klaproth is right in declaring it was at Saghalien. There was no *fu-sang* tree either; but the monk who saw it meant the *kou-sang*, describing more accurately, however, a Mexican plant. Klaproth refuted de Guignes, and exposed his errors by proving that *Fu-sang* was also in Japan; only, in Dr. Bretschneider's opinion, it was elsewhere. And it is certainly curious that the writers who utterly discredit the very existence of *Fu-sang*, and all that is said of it, have each a theory as to where it really was."

Extract from a letter written by Père Gaubil to M. de l'Isle,[1409] *dated Pekin, August 28th, 1752:*

"The translation made by M. de Guignes from the *Wen-hian-t'ung-k'ao* concerning the nations *Wen-shin*, *Ta-han*, etc., situated a great distance to the northeast of Japan, may have led you to believe that in the times of the *Liang* dynasty (or even more than three hundred years earlier) the Chinese were acquainted with America.

"All these texts prove nothing, however, when they are carefully examined, and corrected by the clearer writings of earlier and more trustworthy authors.

"From similar vague accounts, and from the distances indicated by several authors, it might be concluded that at the beginning of the Christian era, or even earlier, the Chinese were acquainted with Europe, as, for instance, Italy, France, etc. Now, this is certainly not the case. All these texts should be carefully examined; and the thing is not at all difficult. Before the days of M. de Guignes, a number of missionaries had sent to Europe translations of texts similar to those of his; but there were numerous mistakes in the texts, and there was especially shown in them a lack of critical judgment, which should have been sufficient to prevent the occurrence of any misunderstanding based upon them.

"I can not admit your idea that America, or at least North America along the coast of California, may have been peopled by the tribes of Northeastern Chinese Tartary.

"The ancient and modern Chinese authorities agree in the following statements:

"First, that under the dynasty *Cheu*, before the Christian era, Japan was peopled by the Southern Chinese; and,

"Second, that the last emperor of the *Hia* dynasty, after having been dethroned by *Ching-tang*, his son, fled to Tartary with a great number of Chinese, and founded the different Tartarian powers to the north and northeast of China.

"It is certain that at the time that the Russians concealed their establishments in Kamtchatka, the court of Pekin had a knowledge of that country; and it also seems certain that long before the present dynasty the Chinese had known Jesso, and, in general, the countries to the northeast, including Kamtchatka, but not fully or in detail."

Humboldt makes the following observation in regard to this letter :[1607]

"According to the learned researches of Father Gaubil (found in an astronomical MS. of the Jesuits, preserved in the 'Bureau des Longitudes' at Paris), it appears doubtful whether the Chinese ever visited the western coast of America a thousand years before that period (the eighteenth century), as was advanced by M. de Guignes, the justly celebrated historian."

"*Concerning Fu-sang*"—*from the* "*Magazine of American History*" *for April, 1883.*[2483]

The question, "Where was *Fu-sang?*" has long excited interest, and some have supposed that *Fu-sang* was the western coast of America, which had been discovered by the Japanese. The literature of the subject is extensive, but unsatisfactory in the extreme. An almost unknown book, or rather essay, on *Fu-sang* was put out somewhat privately, a few years ago, by the Rev. William Brown, D. D., who is now in Japan translating the Bible into the Japanese tongue. One of the later efforts in connection with the subject is Leland's "Fusang ; or, the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century," London, Trübner & Co., 1875. About all that concerns the bibliography of *Fu-sang* may be traced in this work. We have frequently been treated to pretended extracts from the chronicles containing the voyage to "*Fusang*," wherever it may have been ; but, having a desire to learn the exact facts from a known American scholar, we addressed a note to the Rt. Rev. Channing M. Williams, Bishop of Japan, asking for information, who, in reply, kindly wrote as follows :

"It is only within a day or two that I have been able to procure the information that you wish. The *Shan Hai King* ('Mountain and Sea Classic'—which the Japanese pronounce *San Gai Kio*) is a very old Chinese work, many of the accounts of which are entirely fabulous. It treats largely of dragons and fanciful beings of all sorts — men with ten heads or one eye, creatures with bodies of animals, birds, snakes, and insects, and heads of men, etc.

"I have, however, gotten one of the best scholars I know to examine the work ; and he has found three places in which reference is made to the *fu-sang* (Jap., *fu-soo*) tree. These I have

translated quite literally, and herewith inclose. The Japanese think the reference is to their country, and one of the names which have been given to it is *Fu-soo-koku.* There is a Japanese work I have seen which speaks of the *fu-soo* (Chinese, *fu-sang*) tree in the island of *Ki-shu,* which was 9,700 feet in length, and dark, petrified wood is said to be now dug up where the tree is supposed to have stood.

"The subject has, I see by the Shanghai papers, been brought before the North China branch of the Asiatic Society, and Dr. Macgowan promised to read a paper at the autumn meeting proving that the Chinese did not go to America.

"Yours, very truly,

"C. M. Williams.

"Vol. 4. 'To the south the water goes 500 *li* (three Chinese *li* make a mile), the flowing sand 300 *li* (when you) reach the *Wu-ko* Mountain. To the south (you) see the *Tu* Sea. To the east (you) see the *fu*-tree—also *fu-sang.* No trees or grass (but) great wind (on) this mountain.

"Vol. 9. 'North of this * is *Heh Chi Kwok* (Black Teeth Country). The people of *Heh Chi Kwok* are black, eat rice, use snakes, colour of which is red. Below there is a hot-water valley. Above the hot-water valley is the *fu-sang* (tree). The place where the ten suns bathe is to the north of the *Heh Chi Kwok.* (They) dwell in the water. Nine suns dwell in the lower branches. One sun dwells in the upper branches.

"Vol. 14. 'Within the great uncultivated waste is a mountain called *Nie Tao Kiun Li.* On it is the *fu*-tree. Its height is 300 *li.* The leaves are like mustard. There is a valley called Warm Spring Valley. Above this hot-water valley is the *fu*-tree. Just as one sun reaches (or arrives) another sun comes forth. All bear (lit., cause to ride) a crow.'"

"P. S.—Since writing the above, I have looked at Klaproth's introduction to 'Nipon o dai itsi ran,' and find that he has translated a little freely one of the passages from the '*Shan Hai King.*' The longer account of *Fu-sang,* which he gives in a note, is translated from another Chinese work, called '*Nan Szu*' ('Histoire du Midi')."

* A place which can not be identified.

Extract from the Remarks of M. Léon de Rosny upon a Note of M. Foucaux "Regarding the Relations which the Buddhists of Asia and the Inhabitants of America may have had with Each Other at the Commencement of our Era." [2151]

"It is true that the passage from Asia to America, by the way of Behring's Straits, does not offer any difficulty; that the fleets of the Esquimaux resort annually from Kamtchatka to the country known until recently as Russian America. But it should be remarked that the tribes which go from the deserts of Asia to the deserts of America belong to a race that is purely boreal, which lives only in a certain circle, which neither in Asia nor in America extends its excursions to the south. Between China, Japan, and civilized Asia, on the one side, and Kamtchatka, on the other, there are immense distances to be passed. Great distances also separate the peninsula of Alaska from the warm regions in which were located the ancient civilized states of Central America.

"How can we suppose that the Esquimaux, who always shun precisely these warm regions, can have served as the medium of connection between China and Mexico, Japan and Peru? And what kind of people are these Esquimaux? The most miserable of all races. Living in their inhospitable climate, in the lowest stage of civilization, they are contented with the poorest shelter, and with food that is gross and repugnant. Buried for whole months under the snow, and having only the most elementary rudiments of human culture, how can we suppose that these guzzlers of the oil of cetaceans can have been the creators of the high civilizations of Mexico, of Yucatan, and of Peru; the authors of the colossal monuments of Uxmal or of Palenque?" *

The accompanying newspaper article is given as having a possible connection (although I can not say that I have much

* It is sufficient to say, in reply to M. de Rosny, that he is combating a man of straw. The theory is, not that the Esquimaux made the journey to Mexico, but that the Buddhist priests went from Asia to Mexico *via* the home of the Esquimaux; and that, as the most difficult part of the journey, the trip from Asia to America, by way of the Aleutian Islands, is not too difficult a voyage for the Esquimaux, the difficulty of the route can not be fairly claimed to be so great as to make the theory of such a voyage by the five Buddhist priests incredible or improbable.—E. P. V.

confidence in the truth of the story) with some visit in ancient times from Asia to America :

("*The Weekly Colonist*," *Victoria, B. C., Wednesday, October 25th, 1882.*)

"THE OLDEST INHABITANTS.—WERE THE CHINESE HERE 3,000 YEARS AGO?

"What if antiquarians are able to prove that the Chinese were the earliest settlers of this continent? That from the loins of the children of the 'Flowery Kingdom' are descended the native tribes whom the white pioneers found possessing the land? This theory has been often advanced. A few weeks ago a party of miners, who were running a drift in the bank on one of the creeks in the mining district of Cassiar, made a remarkable find. At a depth of several feet the shovel of one of the party raised about thirty of the brass coins which have passed current in China for many centuries. They were strung on what appeared to be an iron wire. This wire went to dust a few minutes after being exposed; but the coins appeared as bright and new as when they first left the Celestial mint. They have been brought to Victoria, and submitted to the inspection of intelligent Chinamen, who unite in pronouncing them to be upward of three thousand years old. They bear a date about twelve hundred years anterior to the birth of Christ. And now the question arises, how the coins got to the place where they were found. The miners say there was no evidence of the ground having been disturbed by man before their picks and shovels penetrated it; and the fact that the coins are little worn goes to show that they were not long in circulation before being hidden or lost at Cassiar. Whether they were the property of Chinese mariners who were wrecked on the north coast, about three thousand years ago, and remained to people the continent; or whether the Chinese miners who went to Cassiar seven or eight years ago deposited the collection where it was found, for the purpose of establishing for their nation a prior claim to the land—may never be known. But the native tribes of this coast resemble the Mongolian race so closely, that one would not be surprised at any time to hear of the discovery of yet more startling evidences of the presence of Chinese on this coast before the coming of the whites."

CHAPTER XI.

REMARKS OF MM. VIVIEN DE SAINT-MARTIN AND LUCIEN ADAM.

"An Old Story Set Afloat"—The route to *Fu-sang*—Identity of the Ainos with the *Wen-shin*—*Ta-han* near the mouths of the Amoor River—Route of Buddhist missionaries to the Amoor—Civilization of Buddhist origin—Pillars with Buddhist inscriptions—Necessity of accurate translation—Twenty thousand *li* signify only a very great distance—The *fu-sang* tree—Warlike habits—Lack of draught animals—Civilization of Mexico—Difficulty of the voyage—Conclusion—Remarks of M. Adam—Chinese acquainted with America—Ease of the journey—Travels of Buddhist monks—Points characteristic of American civilization—Ten-year cycle—The *fu-sang* tree—The *tung* tree—The hibiscus—The *Dryanda cordata*—The maguey, or agave—Zoölogical objections—Punishments—Slave children—Absurdities—Legend of Quetzalcoatl—He came from the East—The legend a myth—Colleges of priests—Practice of confession—The alleged figure of Buddha—The elephant's head—Lack of tusks—America for the Americans—Theory that *Hwui Shān* repeated the stories of Chinese sailors—Remarks of M. de Hellwald and Professor Joly.

"An Old Story Set Afloat"—by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin.[2466]

CONDENSED TRANSLATION.

It was the scholarly and industrious de Guignes, the justly renowned author of that monument of Oriental erudition entitled "The History of the Huns," who was the first to make the name of *Fu-sang* known in Europe. . . . An erroneous opinion on this subject does not diminish the merit of his great works, any more than it is affected by his other idea, equally strange, of the Egyptian origin of the Chinese. . . .

As the route from *Leao-tong* to *Fu-sang* passes by way of Japan, *Wen-shin*, and *Ta-han*, the precise situation of the country of *Ta-han* becomes of interest in considering the true location of *Fu-sang*. This can not be determined with certainty from the statements of the historian. The point in Japan which is touched *en route* is not specified, the directions are but vaguely

noted, and, worse than all, the distances that are indicated can not be relied upon, for we are not only ignorant as to the length of the *li* (an extremely variable measure) which is referred to in the account, but it should be remembered that the Chinese sailors can have had but very imperfect means of measuring the distances, and their figures can therefore be taken as nothing more than rough approximations.

Hence, we can be guided only by the general indications. Fortunately, there are several which prevent us from straying far from the true course. The Hairy Men among the mountains of Northern Japan, and the *Wen-shin*, or Painted (or Tattooed) Men, are clearly the Ainos; from which it follows that the country of the *Wen-shin* must be looked for along the shores of the Sea of Japan (lying between the Japanese Archipelago and the coast of Tartary), either at the northern extremity of the great island of Niphon, or in the island of Jesso (which is also called Matsmaï), or, finally, upon some point of the Asiatic Continent (Mantchooria) which borders the Japanese Sea on the west.

From the land of the *Wen-shin*, a maritime route conducts us to the country designated by the name of *Ta-han*. Neither the distance (five thousand *li*) nor the direction (toward the east) can be of much service to us in looking for this last point. Fortunately, there is another document, which furnishes us with indications so precise as to remove all doubts, which are not scattered by the account of the Chinese coasting voyage. The result, as will be seen, is to place *Ta-han* near the mouths of the Amoor, perhaps in the great island of Saghalien (or Tarakai), which lies opposite them, but more probably upon the Asiatic Continent.

This document is a description of the journey, written by Buddhist missionaries of the time of the *T'ang* dynasty (618 to 907 A. D.), who went to preach their doctrine among the barbarous hordes and half-savage tribes of Central and Eastern Asia. It is to this dissemination of the Buddhist religion, dating at least as far back as the first half of the fifth century of our era, that the shamanism of the nomadic tribes of Central Asia is due. The Buddhist missionaries of China, who undertook this voyage, set forth from the great bend which the *Hoang-ho* makes west of Pekin, and crossed the desert of Gobi, thus gaining the principal encampment of the Turkish *Hoei-khe*, from which they

afterward reached the celebrated Mongolian city of Caracorum, of which the ruins may still be seen, not far from the sources of the Orkhon, about one hundred and fifty leagues to the south of Lake Baikal. From that point the route continued to this lake, and, turning to the east, they, after having visited a number of Turkish and Mongolian tribes of the Daourian region, and of the high valleys of the Amoor, reached the country of the *Yuche*, a people whom the Mantchoos (who pronounce their name "*Djourdje*") regard as the parent tribe of their nation. This country lies about half way down the Amoor River.

Here we are upon known ground. During the ten years that the Russians have had possession of this vast basin of the Amoor, it has been thoroughly explored, maps and descriptions of the country have been published, and the land and its people have become familiar to us. The indigenes are miserable tribes of semi-savages, living by the chase and by fisheries. They belong to the nation of the Tunguses, which is a branch of the race of the Mantchoos. There are some tribes, however (the Ghiliaks), spread along the sea-shore, which belong to the insular race, and differ but slightly from the Ainos, whose long beards, and the singular development of whose hairy system, not less than their physical appearance and the combination of their physiognomical traits, distinguish them broadly from the beardless Tartarian races which are confined to the continent.

The few germs of rudimentary civilization, of which the trace is found among the tribes of the Amoor, are of Buddhist origin ; they undoubtedly appertain to several different epochs ; but the oldest are connected with the missions of the sixth century and the three following centuries, which are mentioned in the texts which de Guignes was the first to describe. This is a real service, among many others, which the scholarly author of the "History of the Huns" has rendered to science, and of which his error as to the location of *Ta-han* does not at all diminish the merit. A very curious discovery, made some ten years ago, upon the banks of the lower portion of the Amoor River, by one of the first Russian explorers, confirms the accuracy of the old accounts collected by the Chinese historians. Near the Ghiliak "Village of the Tower," the remains of pillars were found, having Chinese and Mongolian inscriptions, containing Buddhist formulas. The pillars are delineated, and the inscriptions copied,

in the interesting volume published at Paris in 1861 by M. de Sabin (from recent Russian material) under the title, "The Amoor River; its History, Geography, and Ethnography." One of the inscriptions, if the translation is exact, is of the time of the *Yuan* (Mongolian) dynasty, which reigned in China from 1260 to 1338 A. D.; but there were older establishments there, for the inscription itself speaks of a *re-established* convent.* We therefore now have direct proof that the missionaries of the religion of Buddha (or of *Fo*, as the Chinese write his name) not only introduced shamanism throughout all Central Asia, but pushed to the east and descended the valley of the Amoor to the shores of the Eastern Sea; while other propagators of this worship, so distinguished for its proselyting spirit, overspread (by the maritime route) all the shores of that sea enclosed between the Japanese Archipelago and Mantchooria, which our maps designate by the name of the Sea of Japan. The country of *Ta-han*, at which the two parties of missionaries arrived, one from the west by land, and the other from the south by sea, and which was, for both, the extreme limit of their journeys, can be found nowhere else than near the mouth of the Amoor. The maritime voyage carries us in this direction, and the terrestrial route can lead us nowhere else. It is, in fact, said of the *Yu-che* (the Tunguses of the valley of the Amoor, near the middle of its course) that by a ten days' journey to the north the country of *Ta-han* may be reached. . . .

Arrived at *Ta-han*, we are, as it were (in spite of the distance), upon the threshold of *Fu-sang*, the final point of our search; for the single Buddhist traveler, who made the name of the mysterious country of *Fu-sang* known to the Chinese, set forth from *Ta-han*, and no intermediate country is mentioned.

But, in this controverted question, it is a matter of the first importance to have a translation free from suspicion. Although we do not wish to cast any doubt upon the general accuracy of de Guignes's translation, which has, in addition, been criticised by Klaproth, nevertheless, in order to have all possible assurance of freedom from error, we have had recourse to the inexhaustible kindness of M. Stanislas Julien, and give the literal version with which this scholar kindly favoured us. It may be depended upon that he has given a scrupulously faithful tran-

* Sabin, p. 158.

script of the Chinese text. (This translation is given in Chapter XVI.)

A few short remarks will suffice to show that it is quite impossible that the country of *Fu-sang* could have been located in America. To the reasons, sufficiently decisive, which were given by Klaproth, it is now possible to add others more direct and more convincing.

First, as to the distance. We have already seen how dangerous it is to rely upon statements of this nature contained in Chinese books, especially when they relate to great distances in countries that are known but little or not at all; and, when they are given by men who are generally ignorant, they are without any guarantee whatever of even approximate accuracy. Assuredly this is the case as to the account which we are now considering. It is evident that, in the mouth of the Buddhist missionary to whom the Chinese are indebted for their only knowledge of the country of *Fu-sang*, twenty thousand *li* signify nothing more than a very great distance. Nevertheless, if we adhere to the letter of his account and to the direction, "to the east," where are we conducted? Leaving the neighbourhood of the lower Amoor, turning past the island of Saghalien, passing by the way of the Kurile Islands and along the long chain of the Aleutian Islands (i. e., following the line the most favourable to the American hypothesis), we scarcely reach beyond the peninsula of Alaska, and are placed in the midst of a region having a climate that is almost polar, and of which the miserable indigenous population does not correspond in any way with the statements of the text.

For those who have thought that *Fu-sang* might be sought for as far as Mexico, we would simply observe that the part of the American coast to which the twenty thousand *li* conduct us is distant more than fifty degrees, or at least twelve hundred leagues, from the Mexican coast.*

This first argument would seem sufficient; but other impossibilities are revealed by merely reading the text.

The description of the *fu-sang* tree, and of its uses, is absolutely foreign to America, either to Mexico, or to the northwest coast. Klaproth very justly remarked that the description, by

* This argument falls to the ground, if *Ta-han* is located either in the Aleutian Islands or in Alaska.—E. P. V.

confusion, or from some other cause, appears to apply to the *Morus papyrifera*, although the tree commonly known in China by the name of *fu-sang* must be the Rose of China, the *Hibiscus rosa Chinensis.*

It has never been said that the miserable savages of the northwestern coast of America had a method of writing, or that they made paper; and it could not be said of the more southerly tribes, or of the nations of Mexico, whose whole life was always a combat, "that they did not make war."

The cattle (if this term is applied to the bisons) have never been employed as draught animals by any of the indigenous tribes of America. The aboriginal Americans have never had carts drawn by horses, cattle, or deer, for two excellent reasons: first, because the Americans, before the arrival of the Spaniards, had no horses; and, second, because they knew no more of draught animals than of beasts of burden. The tribes of America had no idea of raising animals for their milk; they knew nothing either of milk or of the articles made from it, and therefore made no cheese.

It seems useless to insist further on these radical points of difference between *Fu-sang* and America. Those who seek for *Fu-sang* in Mexico should reflect that, at the time of the old Toltec monarchy (according to the historic traditions, which are our only guides), it then had, in its local civilization, religious monuments, palaces, and numerous cities, of which it is surprising that the Buddhist account says not a word. So that, on one side, no part of the story is applicable to any country or tribe whatever of America, and, on the other side, the account says not a single word of the only things which would most strike a stranger coming into Western America in the times of the Toltec monarchy.*

We have said nothing of the difficulties, or rather the material impossibilities, of a navigation, going and returning, between the Sea of Japan and America, at the time spoken of in the Buddhist account; as contradictions and radical impossibilities have accumulated, it would appear too fastidious to insist upon fur-

* M. Vivien overlooks the fact that the Toltec civilization may have been founded mainly upon the teachings of the Buddhist monks, and that, therefore, the religious monuments, palaces, etc., may not have existed until after the date of their arrival.—E. P. V.

ther details. It should be noted that reference is made, not to an accidental voyage, but to a communication, regular, and, as it seems, habitual.* That de Guignes may have believed in the possibility of such a communication, in the state in which the ideas of Europe then were in regard to the northwestern coast of the American Continent above California, can be conceived. In order to see how far the general notions prevailing a hundred years ago were from the truth, it is only necessary to cast our eyes upon the map made by Philippe Buache to accompany the memoir of de Guignes. This map, it is true, would make d'Anville smile; but Buache was not a d'Anville, and it is not necessary to go back a hundred years to see how frequently it is the case that men, otherwise sagacious, have but a vague idea of the important part which the study of positive geography should have in the solution of scientific questions.

It would remain to seek the true situation of *Fu-sang*, if this question had the least importance; but its sole interest lies in its having been attached to the complicated question of the origin of the Americans; which has given rise to as many vain hypotheses as useless and false speculations. Like all problems in which the effort is to penetrate the depths of the centuries in order to find the half-obliterated traces of events anterior to history, this question presents a powerful attraction; but such researches have their conditions and their limits, to which scarcely any attention has been paid in the investigations regarding America. *Fu-sang* has nothing to do with American questions. From that which the Buddhist priest tells us, it is evident that he speaks of a country in which there existed a certain degree of civilization —which excludes all the savage countries of Asia to the north of *Ta-han* (Eastern Siberia and Kamtchatka). It is therefore necessary to look in some other direction. The disposition of the insular countries of Eastern Asia leaves only one: that to the southeast or the south. Klaproth thought that *Fu-sang* might be a part of Niphon, the largest island of the archipelago; and this supposition is, as has been said, the most probable. It becomes a certainty, if, as Klaproth affirms, *Fu-sang* is in fact one of the names which Japan has borne.

I will add only a word on the subject of the memoir of M. Gustave d'Eichthal. The essay of this scholarly author is an at-

* I can find no authority for this statement.—E. P. V.

tempt to prove that the Mexican civilization not only comes from Asia, but that it has a Buddhistic origin. It is for this reason, evidently, that he has warmly taken in hand the defense of the ideas of de Guignes, which, in fact, if they could be sustained, would furnish a direct explanation of the analogies which, as some believe, have been discovered between certain delineations figured upon the Aztec monuments and some of the monuments of India.

Whether well founded or not, these analogies have no necessary connection with the question of *Fu-sang*. This question is entirely one of geography, and it is only from this stand-point that I have regarded it. The other question has an archæological side, of which the examination should be conducted by those more competent than myself.

Condensed Translation of an Article read by M. Lucien Adam before the International Congress of Americanists, at Nancy, 1875.[17]

It is not my intention to fully go over the discussion regarding the Chinese account of the country of *Fu-sang* (dating from the fifth century), which discussion has been going on from 1761 to the present time ; but it is plain that the advantage remains with de Guignes, at least as far as regards the geographical determination of the location of this country.

The elements of this first part of the problem are in substance as follows :

Li-yen, a Chinese historian who lived during the first part of the seventh century, speaks of a country called *Fu-sang*, distant more than twenty thousand *li* from China, toward the east. He said that, in order to reach that country, it was necessary to set forth from the coast of the province of *Leao-tong*, situated to the north of *Pe-kin;* that, after traveling twelve thousand *li*, Japan, properly so called—that is to say, Niphon—was reached; that from there, after a voyage of seven thousand *li* to the northeast, the country of the *Wen-shin* was reached; and that five thousand *li* from this last-named country, toward the east, the country of *Ta-han* was found, from which the country of *Fu-sang* could be reached, which lay twenty thousand *li* farther east. The total distance from *Leao-tong* to *Fu-sang*, touching

successively at Niphon, *Wen-shin*, and *Ta-han*, was therefore forty-four thousand *li*.

Of these five terms two are known, *Leao-tong* and Niphon. De Guignes and Klaproth agree in placing the third in the island of Jesso. But while de Guignes identifies *Ta-han* with Kamtchatka and *Fu-sang* with California, Klaproth thinks that the fourth country named must be the island of Krafto, and the fifth the southeastern coast of Niphon.

I agree with Messrs. Neumann, de Paravey, Perez, d'Eichthal, Godron, and Leland, that upon these two points de Guignes has the best of the argument as against Klaproth, and that in fact the Chinese have known, at least from the sixth century, of the existence of the New World; since discovered in the year 1000 by the Icelander Leif Erikson, in 1488 by Jean Cousin of Dieppe, and in 1492 by Christopher Columbus.

I think it important to add the fact mentioned by Commander Maury and Colonel Kennon,* an old officer of the United States Navy, that it is possible to go from China to America by way of the islands of Japan, the Kurile Islands, the coast of Kamtchatka, the Aleutian Islands, and Alaska, without ever losing sight of land for more than a few hours, and that the discovery of America would not present any very serious difficulty to Chinese sailors.

After having established the fact of this discovery, by the geographical article of the historian *Li-yen*, de Guignes published a description of *Fu-sang*, borrowed by him from *Ma Twan-lin*, which was published for the first time in a portion of the "Great Annals of China," entitled *Nan Szu*.

The story of the Buddhist monk is rendered the more probable from the established fact that in the fifth century of the Christian era numerous Buddhist monks, actuated entirely by religious motives, accomplished voyages nearly as long as, and certainly more dangerous than, that from *Leao-tong* to the coast of California. Again, at the time when the predecessors of *Hoei Shin* visited *Fu-sang*, Samarcand, situated almost in the center of Asia, was incontestably one of the principal centers of Buddhist propagandism.

* Mr. Leland has, in his book entitled "Fusang," inserted a letter from Colonel Kennon, who, during the years 1853–'56, was connected with the expedition sent out for the purpose of surveying the shores of Behring's Strait.

From this double point of view, it is far from being improbable that, coming into the country lying in the neighbourhood of the Amoor River, the monks of Samarcand should have heard a country mentioned as lying far to the east, and that these apostles should have sailed in the direction of the rising sun, coasting along by the way of the islands which connect the Old World with the New.

For the rest, it is necessary to determine whether the description of *Fu-sang* given by *Hoei Shin* is applicable to any particular portion of the American Continent with a precision such that we will be compelled to consider the Chinese monk as an eye-witness.

To this question I answer, without hesitation, that a very small number of the details reported by *Hoei Shin* present a character that is truly American ; that the remainder are purely fanciful and absurd, and that the story as a whole can not be considered as testimony worthy of credit.

The lack of iron, the paper made from bark, and the absence of metallic money, are indeed points that are characteristic of America ; but it should also be borne in mind that the same facts were found in the history of several other countries situated to the east of China, notably in the Loo Choo Islands.

The cycle of ten years is used in Peru ; but *Fu-sang* can not be placed in South America, and Mr. Leland, who does not wish to lose the benefit of the decennial cycle, supposes that in the fifth century Mexico may have been inhabited by the ancestors of the present Peruvians !

Except these four statements—of which the first three are not exclusively American, and the last is not applicable to the civilization of North America—I can not see anything worthy of credit in the account of *Hoei Shin*.

In the first place, the *fu-sang* tree described by this monk can not be the maguey, or great American aloe. "I do not know," said Dr. Godron, speaking in 1868, "to what botanical species the tree mentioned by the Chinese narrator can be referred." The scholarly botanist has not changed his opinion, and has kindly written me a note which settles the question definitely :

"The Buddhist monk, *Hoei Shin*, describes, as existing in the country of *Fu-sang*, a tree of which the fruit is red and pear-

shaped, and which produces this fruit all the year round; its leaves being similar to those of the tree *t'ung*, and its sprouts to those of the bamboo. Some have believed that in this plant they recognized the *Hibiscus rosa Sinensis* or the *Hibiscus Syriacus*. The second is out of the question, since it is a native of no other country than Syria. It is cultivated as an ornamental tree in our gardens. The first grows spontaneously in China, as well as in Cochin-China, according to Laureiro; it is cultivated in all the gardens of the two peninsulas of India, and may also be seen in our orangeries. These two species of hibiscus do not have red or pear-shaped fruit. Their fruit is surrounded by large bracts, which envelop it; it is capsular, and opens at maturity.

"It has also been said that the *fu-sang* tree is the *Dryanda cordata*. This plant, of the family of the Euphorbiaces, is a tree of little height, which grows wild in Japan. The fruit is a globular and woody capsule of the size of a walnut with its husk; it contains several kernels, from which a very acrid poisonous oil is extracted, which is much used as an oil for lamps, and which in China bears the name of *Mu-yeu*. The leaves are large, and disposed in tufts at the ends of the branches; they have a leaf-stalk, are heart-shaped, and do not in any way resemble (any more than those of the *Hibiscus rosa Sinensis* and *Syriacus*) the leaves of the bamboo, which are shaped like those of the grasses. The bamboos appertain to an entirely different grand division of the vegetable kingdom from the Malvaces and the Euphorbiaces. But *Hoei Shin* was no botanist.

"The maguey, or *Agave Americana*, answers still less to the description of the Buddhist monk; its fruit is neither red nor pear-shaped, but is a hexagonal capsule, and its extremely large leaves form a rosette about the roots.

"Of the plants to which that mentioned by the Buddhist monk has been compared, none are American, with the exception of the agave, and, moreover, it seems as impossible to reconcile any plant of China or Japan with the description, as any plant of the New World. The question seems to us, up to the present time, to be insoluble."

I remark, upon the subject of the *fu-sang* tree, that *Hoei Shin* does not mention the long thorns which characterize the maguey,

and does not say anything of the alcoholic liquor which is extracted in Mexico from the heart of the plant.

The zoölogy of the Buddhist monk is no more correct than his botany, for horses were brought to America from Europe in the sixteenth century; and it is well known that at the time of the conquest the inhabitants of the New World had neither beasts of burden nor draught animals. The pretended herds of deer of *Fu-sang* are evidently herds of reindeer; and as to the cattle, or bisons, they have been found domesticated, not upon the coast of the Pacific, where we would naturally look for *Fu-sang*, but rather in the ancient country of Cibola—that is to say, in the region now known as New Mexico, where the houses are constructed of unburned bricks, and where the Indians, called Pueblo Indians, live in fortified towns, in order to defend themselves against the incursions of the red-skins.

Messrs. d'Eichthal and Leland have ingeniously sought to explain this part of the account of *Hoei Shin* by substituting, for horses, animals of a great height, and with branching horns, which the Spaniards call "horse-deer," and by transporting *Fu-sang* into the interior of the continent, because of the bisons found in Cibola. But the details given by the monk, relative to the construction of the houses, to the cities, and to the military weapons, absolutely exclude New Mexico, Arizona, and California itself.

M. d'Eichthal has endeavoured to explain the idle tale of the two prisons, by the dogmas as to future punishment held by the Mandans: the prison of the north being understood as hell, and that of the south as paradise. What, then, becomes of the marriages contracted by the prisoners, and the children sold as slaves, the boys at the age of eight years and the girls at that of nine? Evidently *Hoei Shin* speaks of temporal punishment and of prisons in the present life.

Of the ceremonies of marriage, the punishments inflicted on criminals of the different classes of society, and of the country inhabited by white women, I can see nothing to say, except that it is all imaginary, and stamped with the imprint of manifest absurdity.

I now hasten to discuss the most important question raised by the account. Is it certain, or even credible, that *Hoei Shin* found *Fu-sang-America* converted to Buddhism, as he expressly

declared? If the apostles, who came from Samarcand, spread abroad the worship of Buddha, and with it the sacred books and holy images of that religion, we should expect to find something of all this in their traditionary history (since writing was unknown), and in their monuments.

History, properly so called, is absolutely mute concerning any religious revolution of the fifth century. It is true, however, that this silence might be explained by claiming that the natives formerly had books, which have been destroyed. Let us, therefore, examine their traditions, and see whether, as has been thought by some, Quetzalcoatl, the god of the city of Cholula, may not have been one of the five monks of Samarcand.

According to Motolinia, Quetzalcoatl was a white man, of good height, having a large forehead, and great eyes; his hair was long and black; he wore a large beard, trimmed to a round shape. He was chaste and peaceable, and very moderate in all things. So far was he from asking that the blood of men, or even of animals, should be shed in sacrifice, that he held no offerings as agreeable except those of bread, flowers, or perfume; he prohibited all acts of violence, and detested war. Finally, he lacerated his body with the thorns of the agave, and recommended the practice of the most severe penances.

I admit that the resemblance is specious; but if there is one point upon which the legend is particularly plain, it is that Quetzalcoatl came from a country situated to the east of America, and that, when he took leave of his disciples on the eastern coast, he told them that white men, bearded like himself, would come by sea from the east and subdue the entire country. It is said that the cause of Montezuma's ruin was his blind faith in this prophecy. To this first reason for doubting that Quetzalcoatl can have been a Buddhist priest, there may be added a second, which I think decisive. Quetzalcoatl, who, according to the legend, came from Tula to Cholula—that is to say, from one Toltec capital to another—appeared as the ideal representative of the Toltec race; but before he was invested with this marvelous form, under which there was poorly concealed an energetic protest of the vanquished nation against the belligerent disposition and sanguinary tastes of the Aztecs, Quetzalcoatl had been a god similar in appearance to all the rest. At Tula his visage was hideous. At Cholula his body was that of a man, and his head

that of a bird with a red beak. Finally, at a much older period, Quetzalcoatl had been, in the north, purely and simply a bird, representing the hieroglyphical sign of the air ; and, in the south, sometimes an aërolite, and sometimes a serpent.

The Quetzalcoatl of the legend is, therefore, a personage not less fabulous than the Saturn of the Latins, than Bochica, the legendary white man of the Musca Indians, or Manco Capac, the legislator of the Incas.*

In America, as in Europe, the golden age, or age of peace, has been a popular fancy, and it may be affirmed that during the fifth century the New World was the theatre of incessant wars, which is, moreover, attested by the immense defensive works discovered in the valleys of the Gila, the Colorado, the Ohio, and the Mississippi. As to the colour of the personage in whom the ideal of the golden age is incarnated, it should be remarked that Quetzalcoatl has often been represented with a red visage, and that among all nations, not belonging to the Caucasian race, whiteness of the skin has been considered a sort of blessing, implying a divine mission or a superior nature.

The existence in Mexico of religious orders or of colleges of priests, of which the members took vows of asceticism, of poverty, and of mortification of the body, does not necessarily imply the preaching either of Buddhism or of Christianity, for America is not the only country in which men who were not connected with either of these two great religions have united themselves to practice frightful austerities in common. As for the voluntary tortures esteemed as honourable by the Mandan Indians, some of them bear a close resemblance to the tortures which the fanatics of East India inflict upon themselves ; but, as has been very judiciously remarked by M. Foucaux, these practices point us to Brahmanism rather than to Buddhism. Finally, it is notorious that the races of the New World have, in their life as hunters, and in their perpetual wars, acquired an incredible power of supporting suffering stoically, and that most of them systematically submit their young warriors to the most cruel trials of their endurance.

The practice of auricular confession by the natives of Mexico

* The same course of reasoning in regard to the myths that in New Mexico and Arizona have gathered about the name of Montezuma, would prove, quite as conclusively, that no such chieftain ever lived.—E. P. V.

would be an argument more conclusive than the preceding, if it had not been superabundantly established that the avowal of faults is a custom that is almost universal.

For the rest, the traditions and beliefs of the ancient races of America constitute a field in which all investigators find almost everything that they desire ; and I can oppose to the opinion of M. d'Eichthal, where he recognizes Buddhist influences, the opinions of others who think that they see Christian influences—of which the agents were the apostles Saint Bartholomew and Saint Thomas—or the colonists of Great Ireland or those of *Hvitramannaland.*

It remains, therefore, to verify the uncertain data of tradition by the examination of monuments and antiquities.

In the belief of M. G. d'Eichthal, the results of the Buddhist preaching of the fifth century are visible upon the walls of the Palace of Palenque, and the House of the Nuns at Uxmal.

It may be objected to the view of d'Eichthal that the bas-relief described by him is identical with others found in Buddhist temples ; that, according to Dupaix, Lenoir, Catlin, de Waldeck, and M. Viollet-le-Duc, Palenque was built much later than the fifth century of our era. But this is a question that is still undecided, and I must recognize the fact that, in the opinion of Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft, the date of the construction of Palenque can only be uncertainly fixed as some time between the first and the eighth century of the Christian era.

It should be observed, moreover, that Stephens, who copied the bas-relief, saw no trace of Buddhism in it. M. Lenoir has confined himself to saying that there is an analogy between the attitude of the principal figure and the usual pose of Buddha. M. d'Eichthal, however, does not hesitate to raise a simple analogy in the position into a complete identity, doing this without paying any attention to the statements of Stephens : that the character of the principal personage is the same as that of personages represented elsewhere in the palace ; that the pretended worshiper is sitting cross-legged, and not upon his knees ; that the offering does not consist of a flower, either of the lotus or of the cacao-tree, but of a bunch of plumes, an ornament essentially American, which is lacking in the headdress of the principal personage ; that similar plumes are associated with the figures of other divinities of Palenque ; and,

finally, that the ruins of this stone-built city are situated in the Atlantic state of Chiapas, and not in the kingdom of Cibola, or upon the western coast. M. Lenoir, when he spoke of analogy, had nothing else in mind than the pose of the principal personage, sitting with legs crossed. Now, there exists at Copan a bas-relief in which four personages, incontestably American, are represented in this same attitude.

Of the figure seated in the niche of the wall of the House of Monks at Uxmal, Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft assures us that it is not certainly known whether this figure, which has now disappeared, was copied from nature or drawn from the more or less uncertain descriptions of the Indians. In any case, it is true that M. de Waldeck, who was looking for Buddhist resemblances, did not himself recognize the figure as that of Buddha, and this is a very important fact.

Mr. Leland does not share in what I may be permitted to call the Buddhistic illusions of M. Gustave d'Eichthal. "Images resembling the ordinary Buddha have been found," says he, "in Mexico and Central America, but they can not be proved to be identical with it." This is the truth. The ancient monuments of America sometimes present, in certain details, analogies with the principle of Grecian art, Assyrian art, Egyptian art, and Hindoo art; but these points of resemblance are purely accidental, and are owing to the unity of the human mind, and, from the mere fact that the conclusions drawn from them are contradictory between themselves, it is evident that no important historical point can be determined by their means.

Mr. Francis A. Allen, who also admits the authenticity of the tale of *Hoei Shin*, believes that he has found upon the walls of the temples of Central America an ornament that is very common in Buddhist countries. I mean the head and trunk of the elephant, an animal unknown in the New World since the last glacial period. This time the argument appears to be without reply. The following is a short extract on this subject, from the recent work of Mr. Hubert H. Bancroft, on "The Native Races of the Pacific States":

"At Uxmal, above one of the doors of the 'House of the Governor,' there is a sculptured decoration, the central portion of which is a curved projection, supposed by more than one traveler to be modeled after the trunk of an elephant. It pro-

jects nineteen inches from the surface of the wall. This protruding curve occurs more frequently on this and other buildings at Uxmal than any other decoration, and usually with the same or similar accompaniments which may be fancied to represent the features of a monster of which this forms the nose. It occurs especially on the ornamented and rounded corners, being sometimes reversed in its position. The same ornament is found in the ruins of Zayi, at the angle of the façade of the *Casa Grande*, and at Labna at the corner of a palace, where the supposed trunk is superposed upon the mouth of an alligator inclosing a human head. . . . Finally, the head-dress of one of the personages represented upon a bas-relief of the Palace at Palenque presents a somewhat striking resemblance to an elephant's trunk."

The projection described by Mr. Bancroft reproduces, to a certain extent, the curve of the trunk of the elephant; but it should be noted that the tusks of the animal are lacking. In the absence of this characteristic part, it may be legitimately supposed that, if the artist attempted to copy the nasal appendage of any animal (which is not at all evident), his model may have been the American tapir.*

That which I said above regarding the traditions of the ancient Americans is equally applicable to their monuments. Every one interprets them in the sense that serves his theories the best, and I dare say that too often the archæology of the New World is studied to find an argument for the defense of preconceived theories, or to extend and systematize analogies that are entirely accidental.

While I lived in the United States, I often heard the claim that America was made for the Americans; which I am far from wishing to contradict. It is to be desired that this formula should be introduced into the study of American antiquities, to serve as a fundamental rule, and that, for the future, we should not seek in America for India, Egypt, Assyria, or Greece, but for America itself.

Returning to *Fu-sang:* I think that the Chinese had a knowledge of America, at least in the seventh century, but I

* But the proboscis of the tapir is hardly noticeable, and it never takes the curve characteristic of the elephant's trunk, shown in these Central American decorations.—E. P V.

reject absolutely the tale of *Hoei Shin*. I understand thereby that this missionary had collected fables, mixed with a very little truth, from the mouths of the Chinese sailors; that he played upon his compatriots by boasting that he had visited this American *Fu-sang;* and that he was induced to tell this falsehood by the pious desire to aggrandize the kingdom of Buddha in their eyes.

M. Frederick de Hellwald said that the question of *Fu-sang* recurs periodically, and is obstinately reproduced from time to time, just as certain journals occasionally repeat the different tales regarding the apparition of the sea-serpent : and as it is a fact that no one has been given an opportunity to study this monstrous animal zoölogically, just so no one has ever given scientific proof of the discovery of America by the Chinese. In 1871 the "Athenæum," of London, related this account of the discovery of America by the yellow men as a thing entirely new. Dr. Bretschneider at that time amply refuted this fable ; but this has not prevented an English book from taking the subject up again recently. It is to be feared that the refutation of Messrs. de Rosny and Lucien Adam will not prevent a re-appearance of the monster. The Congress of Americanists will render a true service to science by declaring that it holds *Fu-sang* as a scientific sea-serpent, and by prohibiting it from infesting the regions of American studies.

Professor Joly, of Toulouse, could understand this impatience for a solution of the problem, but did not share in it. Before rejecting the Asiatic hypothesis, should not the proofs bearing upon the subject which can be furnished by the auxiliary sciences be exhausted? Do we know enough of American archæology, zoölogy, anthropology, and craniology to be able to decide authoritatively? Is it too much to ask that the attempt to solve the question be postponed, at least until a later sitting of the Congress?

Returning to the subject of the herds of tame cattle and of deer, mentioned by *Hoei Shin*, M. Joly asked whether these so-called cattle might not be understood to be the largest of the domestic quadrupeds of Central America, the *llama*, which is used as a pack animal and to draw loads of goods.

M. Lucien Adam observed that the llama inhabits only

South America, particularly Peru. *Fu-sang* is at one time supposed to be Mexico; presently it is moved to Arizona, in order to find the bison there; and then to Russian America, in order to find the reindeer: now we descend to Peru, in order that we may find a sufficiently imperfect representative of cattle in the llamas of that country.

M. Joly thought that paleontology might furnish a better solution of the question of the communication between America and Eastern Asia. Could not the representations of the elephant upon the walls of Palenque be explained by a knowledge, on the part of the natives, not of a contemporaneous elephant, but of some one of the primitive elephants—the mammoth or the mastodon? Might not the Mexicans have discovered some skulls of the *Elephas primogenius* which existed in America during the glacial period? Might not the figure of this animal have been preserved in some prehistoric design, as in France the image of the reindeer or the cave-bear has been preserved graven upon fragments of deer-horns? It is denied that *Hoei Shin* could have found horses in America. Undoubtedly the horse was imported by the conquering Spaniards; but may not an indigenous equine race have existed in America?

Have not beds of the bones of horses been found in the Bad Lands? Until the soil of America has been more thoroughly examined, and more fully studied, so that it shall have delivered up its paleontological secrets, M. Joly asked that caution should be exercised regarding this Asiatic hypothesis.

CHAPTER XII.

D'HERVEY'S NOTES.

Bibliography—The name of the priest—The city of *King-cheu*—*Ta-han*—*Lieu-kuei*, a peninsula—Earlier knowledge of *Fu-sang*—The construction of the dwellings—The lack of arms and armour—The punishment of criminals—The titles of the nobles—The title *Tui-lu* found in Corea—The colours of the king's garments—The cycle of ten years—Peruvian history—The long cattle-horns—The food prepared from milk—The red pears—Grapes—The worship of images of spirits of the dead—Its existence in China—Cophène—The "Kingdom of Women"—The legumes used as food—*Wen-shin*—The punishment of criminals—The name *Ta-han*—The country identified with Kamtchatka—Two countries of that name—One lying north of China, and one lying east—Unwarlike nature of the people.

Notes of the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys on Ma Twan-lin's Account of Fu-sang, Wen-shin, Ta-han, and the "Kingdom of Women." [1547]

Ma Twan-lin's account of *Fu-sang* is of exceptional interest, for it has raised the important question as to whether the Chinese knew of America, not only in the fifth century of our era, as is indicated by the account of *Hoei Shin*, but back to the most remote antiquity, as I propose to demonstrate a little farther on. The Oriental scholar de Guignes was the first to find in the works of *Ma Twan-lin* (which had never been investigated before by any European student) the mention of the country of *Fu-sang;* which he recognized as belonging to North America, and which he thought might be identified with California; being led to this conclusion by studying the route followed by the Chinese vessels, which the currents had borne to the shores of that country. He set forth this opinion in a very justly celebrated memoir; the assertions contained in which were opposed by a critic who was very much disposed to deny everything that he had not discovered himself. But the feeble-

ness of his refutation became a powerful argument in support of the opinion advanced by de Guignes, for no one was better able than Klaproth to expose errors of the kind which he accused de Guignes of having committed; and when the poverty of his contradictory pleas is exposed, as well as the manifest inaccuracy of the statements that he makes, the conclusion is natural that the author of the "History of the Huns" has the best of the argument. D'Eichthal, the Chevalier de Paravey, Professor Neumann, and M. Perez have in turn defended de Guignes's memoir with much force, by adding numerous new proofs in support of those which had been given by that scholar. Finally, in a volume full of facts, entitled "Fusang, or the Discovery of America," an American author, Mr. Charles G. Leland, has very recently devoted himself to the confirmation of the identification of *Fu-sang* with California or Mexico, by means of more recent documents borrowed from the latest researches concerning the navigation of the Pacific and the ethnography of the American tribes. Dr. Bretschneider alone declares his confidence in the judgment of Klaproth; undoubtedly from the robust faith with which there is proof that he was inspired, since he very fairly admits that he has read nothing that has been written in opposition to his views. Lack of space prevents any analysis of the works which I have cited, and which it appears sufficient to point out to the reader. I shall take pains to call attention successively to the passages of this notice which have been the subject of controversy, and to several expressions which have been interpreted in very different ways by de Guignes, Klaproth, Neumann, and Bretschneider. I have endeavoured to make my version as literal as possible, so that specialists who are not Sinologues may easily obtain an accurate idea of the original text. The same desire to aid in clearing up the question as to *Fu-sang* induces me to place in an appendix several documents from Chinese sources which relate to it, and which I believe have never before been published in any European language.

The name of the Buddhist priest, 慧深, Neumann writes *Hoei Shin*, and Dr. Bretschneider, *Hui-shên*. This appellation signifies "very sagacious," or "very intelligent" (not "*universal compassion*," as Neumann has translated it; I can not imagine why), and is a religious name, from which no indication can be drawn as to the true nationality of the bonze who bore it. Mr.

Leland writes: "Klaproth says, 'a native of the country,' and by 'the country' he means *Fu-sang;* but in the German version of the same passage, given by Neumann, 'the [or this] country' refers to China." If Neumann, whose German version I have not seen, otherwise than in the English translation which Mr. Leland has made (adding that it has been revised by Neumann himself), gives it to be clearly understood that *Hoei Shin* was a native of China, he is surely in error. The characters of the Chinese text, 其國, "*of that kingdom*" (otherwise, "of this country"), relate to *Fu-sang*, and not to China. It is true that there is nothing in the Chinese text to indicate whether *Hoei Shin* had become a bonze in *Fu-sang*, or whether he was a native of that country. This question it is necessary to reserve, and my version is absolutely literal.

To arrive at the city of *King-cheu*, which was situated in what is now called *Hu-kuang*, and upon the banks of the *Yang-tse-kiang*, *Hoei Shin* would be compelled to ascend the river, passing *Kien-kang*, or *Nan-king*, which was the capital of the empire of the *Tsi* dynasty.

De Guignes believed that he was able to identify the country of *Ta-han* with Kamtchatka, and also with the place of exile called *Lieu-kuei* by the Chinese. Klaproth thinks that *Ta-han*, which he also recognizes as the same country as *Lieu-kuei*, must be the island of Saghalien, otherwise called Tarakai, or Karafto. He adopts this hypothesis arbitrarily, without making any allowance for the fact that *Ma Twan-lin* says that *Ta-han* lies more than 5,000 *li* to the east of *Wen-shin*, and this in turn more than 7,000 *li* northeasterly (not northerly) from Japan, and without making any attempt to reconcile his opinion with that statement, or with the geographical treatise *Long-wei-pi-shu*, which says that *Lieu-kuei* could be reached by land, and that the sea surrounded this country on three sides only. ("*Lieu-kuei* is to the north of the Northern Sea, and is surrounded by the sea on three sides.") Dr. Bretschneider places the country of *Ta-han* in Siberia, abandoning Klaproth's opinion on this point; and Professor Neumann, with whom Mr. Leland agrees, affirms that he believes the American peninsula of Alaska to have been intended by this designation. The kingdom of *Ta-han* is the object of special mention, a little farther on, and I therefore defer, for discussion in that connection, several documents which I

would be obliged to repeat if they were inserted here, merely remarking for the present that *Ma Twan-lin*, and other Chinese writers, treat separately the countries described by them under the name of *Lieu-kuei* and *Ta-han*, and class the first among the regions of the north, and the second among the regions of the east. In any case, whatever may be the exact and definite identification of *Fu-sang*, it should not be overlooked that when the bonze *Hoei Shin*, who arrived in the empire of the *Tsi* (the dynasty then ruling a large portion of China) by way of the Great *Kiang*, described *Fu-sang* as being at the same time to the east of *Ta-han* and of China, he should be understood as speaking, not of a land of limited extent, but of a true continent.

I can not allow the phrase of the account of Hoei Shin—reading, "It [the country of *Fu-sang*] contains many *fu-sang* trees, and it is from this fact that its name is derived"—to pass, without repeating an observation which I made some years ago (in the preface of my translation of the *Li-sao*), and without demonstrating that if the bonze *Hoei Shin* is the first who made the manners of the people of *Fu-sang* known to the Chinese, there was a knowledge among the Chinese, centuries before him, of the existence of such a country. Even during the life-time of *Kiu-yuen*, the author of the poem entitled the *Li-sao*—that is to say, in the third century before our era—the name of *Fu-sang* was employed by the poets to designate the countries to the extreme east. Now, the fact that this denomination of *Fu-sang* was not an imaginary one, but a name drawn from a peculiar product of a particular country, necessarily implies a real knowledge, previously acquired, of the existence of the country so designated.

The passage relating to the construction of their dwellings Klaproth translates: "The planks of the wood [of the *fu-sang*] are used in the construction of their houses"; and Neumann, according to Mr. Leland's English version, "The houses are built of wooden beams." This last translation is the most exact, since the Chinese text does not expressly indicate that the planks which were used in the construction of the houses were made from the wood of the *fu-sang* tree.

Klaproth has translated another passage: "They have neither arms nor troops"; Neumann, "The people have no weapons"; and Bretschneider, "Arms and war are unknown." No one of these three versions is strictly exact; for the expression "*kia-ping*" con-

veys the idea of *soldiers and their military armament*, but without excluding them from the bow and arrow for hunting (which would be included in the collective term "arms") and of which it is not said that the inhabitants of *Fu-sang* were destitute.

The statement is made that, "when a crime is committed by a person of elevated rank, the people of the kingdom assemble in great numbers, place the criminal in an excavation, celebrate a banquet in his presence, and take leave of him as of a dying man, when he is surrounded with ashes." This is not clear, and leaves much in doubt as to the exact punishment of the criminal, of which this ceremony appears to be merely a preliminary, intended to give it more solemnity. It has been supposed that he was then sent to either the northern or the southern prison. Neumann says, "He is covered with ashes," which appears to signify that he was buried alive, as de Guignes also understood this passage; but the meaning of the character 繞 is "*to surround*," and never "*to cover*."

The passage relating to the degrees of crime and their punishments, Mr. Leland translates, following Neumann: "If the offender was one of the lower class, he alone was punished; but, when of rank, the degradation was extended to his children and grandchildren. With those of the highest rank, it attained to the seventh generation." This interpretation is absolutely inadmissible. The word of the Chinese text, 重, which should be understood of the gravity, literally of the *weight*, of a crime, can not be used in the sense of the rank, more or less elevated, of the criminal. Klaproth did not commit this error.

In the following sentence in regard to the designations of the king and the nobility, the title of the nobles of the first class is given as 對盧, *Tui-lu*. In the great collection, entitled *Ku-kin-tu-shu-tsi-ching*, the text of the "History of the Liang Dynasty," from which this account is borrowed, is reproduced, and this passage reads, 大對盧, *Ta Tui-lu* (Great *Tui-lu*), in opposition to 小對盧, *Siao Tui-lu* (Petty *Tui-lu*, or *Tui-lu* of the Second Rank), an honourary title, which is mentioned immediately below. It is therefore probable that the character, 大, *ta*, has been inadvertently suppressed in my editions of the *Wen-hien-tong-kao;* and this was the opinion of de Guignes, who translated this passage, "Great and Petty *Tui-lu*." This detail is of little importance, but it is deserving of attention (inasmuch as the remark must be new,

since the notice of *Ma Twan-lin* regarding Corea has not been translated into any European language before) that the title given to the highest dignitaries of *Fu-sang* is precisely the same as that borne by the first dignitaries of *Kao-kiu-li* (Corea).[1546] "The mandarins of *Kao-li* are called 大對盧, *Ta Tui-lu*." Eleven other titles, by which lower ranks are called, are also given. "The care of the management of the internal and external affairs of state is divided among these twelve ranks of functionaries. The mandarins, called *Ta Tui-lu*, are elected and deposed by the members of this rank, by their own authority, without consultation either with the king or his ministers."

In regard to the colour of the king's garments, it should be noted that the Chinese often confound blue and green. The character 青, employed here, designates equally the azure of the sky and the light green of plants commencing to sprout.

In this connection, reference is made to a cycle of ten years, represented by the cyclic characters 甲 *kia*, 乙 *y*, 丙 *ping*, 丁 *ting*, 戊 *ou*, 己 *ki*, 庚 *keng*, 辛 *sin*, 壬 *jin*, and 癸 *kouei*, which the Chinese use in the formation of their cycle of sixty years, associating additional characters with them. Neumann, who found a great affinity between the Mongolian Tartars and Mantchoos and the Indians of North America, cites in this connection the remark of Père Gaubil: "I do not know where the Mantchoo Tartars learned to express the ten *kan* [or years of the decennary cycle] by words which signify colours"; and he gives this curious information of his own: "The two first years of the decennary cycle are called by the Tartars *green* and *greenish*, the two following years *red* and *reddish*, and the other years, in their order successively, *yellow* and *yellowish*, *white* and *whitish*, and *black* and *blackish*." Finally, Mr. Leland establishes a very close analogy between the institutions of Peru at the time of the Spanish conquest and the picture of the manners of *Fu-sang* sketched by *Hoei Shin*, and thinks that the same civilization formerly reigned in the two Americas. He treats this subject with much interest (pages 49–59), and makes the following observations regarding the passage to which this note refers:

"The change of the colour of the garments of the king, according to the astronomical cycle, is, however, more thoroughly in accordance with the spirit of the institutions of the Children of the Sun than anything which we have met in the whole of

this strange and obsolete record ; and it is indeed remarkable that Professor Neumann, who had already indicated the southern course of Aztec, or of Mexican, civilization, and who manifested, as the reader may have observed, so much shrewdness in adducing testimony for the old monk's narrative, did not search more closely into Peruvian history for that confirmation which a slight inquiry seems to indicate is by no means wanting in it. Thus, with regard to the observations of the seasons, Prescott tells us that the 'ritual of the Incas involved a routine of observances as complex and elaborate as ever distinguished that of any nation, whether pagan or Christian. Each month had its appropriate festival, or rather festivals. The four principal had reference to the sun, and commemorated the great periods of his annual progress, the solstices, and equinoxes. Garments of a peculiar wool, and feathers of a peculiar colour, were reserved to the Inca.' I can not identify the blue, red, yellow, and black (curiously reminding one of the alchemical elementary colours, still preserved, by a strange feeling for antiquity, or custom, in chemists' windows) ; but it is worthy of remark that the rainbow was the Inca's special attribute or scutcheon, and that his whole life was passed in accordance with the requisitions of astronomical festivals ; and the fact that different colours were reserved to him, and identified with him, is very curious, and establishes a strange analogy with the narrative of Hoei Shin."

The translation by Klaproth of the sentence, which he gives as, "The cattle have long horns, upon which burdens are loaded which weigh as much sometimes as twenty *ho*," is absolutely inadmissible. The reference is, not to cattle upon the heads of which burdens are loaded, but to the hollow horns of the cattle, which serve as receptacles. The *ho* is a measure of capacity, containing ten *teu*, or Chinese bushels, and the capacity of the Chinese bushel has, it is said, varied from one litre thirty-five to one litre fifty-four centilitres. We might be in doubt of the existence of horns so extraordinary, but we read, in "L'Histoire de la Conquéte du Mexique par les Espagnols," that Montezuma showed them, as a curiosity, cattle-horns of enormous dimensions ; and, in his "Tableaux de la Nature," A. von Humboldt says that, in making excavations in the southwestern part of Mexico, ancient ruins were found, and cattle-horns were discovered which were truly monstrous.

I have not translated literally the phrase which refers to the food which the people make from milk, owing to the difficulty of determining the exact meaning of the character 酪, *lo*, which is used to designate the alimentary preparation of which the hind's milk furnished the base. The true meaning of the character is *curdled milk*, and also *cream*. It also indicates a sort of *liquor* which the Tartars make from fermented mare's milk. This last sense is adopted by Dr. Bretschneider ; de Guignes has translated it *butter*, and Neumann has imitated him. Klaproth thinks that *cheese* should be understood ; and M. de Rosny, who has translated from the Japanese an abridged reproduction of this notice regarding *Fu-sang*, says that the inhabitants made *creamy dishes* from the milk of their domesticated hinds. I have preferred to leave the expression somewhat vague, since it can not be determined just what was meant by the character used in the original.

The version of the Encyclopædia, *Ku-kin-tu-shu-tsi-ching*, cited above, offers the variation, "They have the pears of the *fu-sang* tree," etc., instead of the reading in our text, "They gather the red pears, which are preserved for an entire year."

In the sentence, reading, "They also have *to pu-tao*" (many grapes), de Guignes translates the characters 多蒲桃, *to pu-tao*, "a great quantity of iris-plants and peaches," by giving their isolated value to the characters *pu* and *tao*, and by giving to the first (*pu*, reeds) a signification which is exceptional, to say the least. He could not have been ignorant that the compound *pu-tao* signified *grapes ;* but he also knew that the word, in recent times at least, demands a different orthography. Klaproth has asserted that the two characters of the expression *pu-tao*, employed by *Ma Twan-lin*, following the "History of the Liang Dynasty," are nothing but the old form of the orthography more recently adopted. It has, moreover, been established that these characters are merely used to render phonetically in Chinese a word of foreign origin ; and this makes the ideography of their composition of less importance than it would otherwise be. I have felt myself compelled to adopt this view; but it is indeed surprising to see Klaproth seek, in the existence of the vine in *Fu-sang*, to find an argument for affirming that that country could not be America ; as if the Scandinavians had not given to just this land of North America, where they landed, a name

which was suggested by the abundance of wild vines which they found. Neumann has preferred to follow the opinion of de Guignes in regard to translating the characters *pu-tao* separately, instead of as a compound. He renders the phrase, "apples and rushes *from which the inhabitants make mats.*" This last statement is in all respects a more-than-free translation, since the phrase in italics does not occur in the text, and the word *tao* should not have the meaning of *apple*—the fruit of which the Latin name is *malum* (*persicum*).

The version of *Ku-kin-tu-shu-tsi-ching* offers quite an important variation in the phrase relating to the image that is set up on the death of a member of the family. In place of 設坐神像, "*the image of a spirit is set up,*" that version reads, 設靈爲神像, that is to say, "*the image of the spirit which represents the soul of the deceased is set up*" or *exposed.* It is remarkable that this custom has existed among the Chinese from a great antiquity, as may be read in the chapter *Ou-tse-chi-ko* of the *Shu-king.* Klaproth made the translation from the version of *Ma Twan-lin*, and Neumann from that of the *Ku-kin-tu-shu-tsi-ching*, which accounts for their difference in the rendering of this passage. But neither of these two scholars appears to me to have correctly expressed the letter and spirit of the Chinese text in the interpretation of the complementary member of the phrase, which immediately follows: 朝夕拜奠, literally, "*Morning and night, prostrations are made and oblations offered.*" Klaproth says, "Prayers are addressed (to the images of the spirits) morning and night"; and Neumann, "They (the relatives of the deceased) remain from morning to night absorbed in prayer before the image of the spirit of the dead." 拜, *pai* (*to salute, to prostrate one's self*), and 奠, *tien* (*to offer oblations or libations to spirits*), are expressions which do not convey, otherwise than indirectly, the idea of addressing prayers, and the meaning of the author may be altered, in an account of this nature, by modifying thus the expressions which he uses.

As to the country from which the Buddhist priests came, *Ki-pin*, 罽賓, Klaproth writes, in parenthesis, *Cophène.* The author of the Japanese Encyclopædia, *San-sai-dzou-ye*, from which M. de Rosny extracted and translated an abridgment of *Hoei Shin's* account, adds in a note, after the word *Ki-pin*, "*Ki-pin* is one of the western countries (*Si-yu*); it is *San-ma-œll-kan* (Samar-

cand)." Mr. Leland says, "The land of *Ki-pin*, the ancient Kophen, is now called Bokhara, the country of Samarcand. Samarcand, at the times of which we are speaking, was one of the great strongholds of Buddhism."

The nature of the facts reported in regard to the "Kingdom of Women" has served for an argument to impeach the veracity of *Hoei Shin;* but it is impossible to fail to distinguish between the account of this bonze concerning *Fu-sang*, a country in which he had resided, and his story about a *Kingdom of Women*, of which he knew nothing himself but the marvelous tales which he had heard related. It may be remarked that all the ancient nations have had some tradition of Amazons, or kingdoms of women; and M. d'Eichthal has made the curious fact known that entire tribes of North America have borne the name of "women" as a national name. It may also be noted that the Chinese authors mention several *kingdoms of women*, entirely distinct from each other, which fact arose, without doubt, because the Chinese, among whom the women lived retired in the inner apartments, without playing any active part in public life, would naturally give the appellation of *Kingdom of Women* to those countries of which the manners contrasted with those of the "Middle Kingdom" in this respect. Those which have been mentioned above are situated to the west of China. The *Long-wei-pi-shu* speaks of as many as ten, and in the notice which we translate here the *Wen-hien-tong-kao* mentions two which should not be confounded. Finally, under the name of 女人國, *Niu-jin-koue*, an insignificant variation, the Encyclopædia *San-tsai-tu-hoei*, published in the *Ming* dynasty, speaks also of an island in the South Sea where the women showed themselves in force and made prisoners of almost all the sailors of a Chinese vessel which winds and tempests had driven upon that distant shore.

The expression which I render, "These islanders fed upon small legumes," is very difficult to translate by an exact equivalent, for the botanical classifications of the Chinese are very different from ours. The Chinese give the name of 豆, *teu*, to all vegetables having distinct grains enveloped in a pod, shell, or husk. De Guignes, while translating this phrase "little beans," thought it possible that maize might be meant.

The short notice which follows, regarding the country of *Wen-shin*, or of "Tattooed Bodies,"[1550] does not vary, except by

a few different readings, from the account contained in the portion of the *Nan-sse*, or "Annals of the South," inserted in my article on Japan.[1552] *Ma Twan-lin* has, however, suppressed here the closing sentence concerning the punishment of criminals, and the trials to which they were subjected. De Guignes and Klaproth have thought that this country of *Wen-shin* might be the island of Jesso. Neumann, who places the kingdom of *Ta-han* in the peninsula of Alaska, thinks that the *Wen-shin* inhabited the Aleutian Islands. This last opinion appears very difficult to reconcile with the account, that is given farther on, of the abundance of provisions among the *Wen-shin*, and of the sumptuous palace of their king. In the "Chinese Recorder" [774] Dr. Bretschneider wrote: "*Wên-shen*, the country in which the people tattoo themselves, lies 7,000 *li* northeast from Japan. The inhabitants make large lines upon their bodies, and especially upon their faces. By a stretch of the imagination we might suppose North American Red Indians to be here meant. It is known, however, that the Japanese have also the habit of tattooing themselves." Without daring to attempt to decide the question of the identification of the country of *Wen-shin*, I will call attention to the following paragraph regarding *Ta-han*, or rather regarding the two different countries of that name. It will be seen that the manners of the people of *Ta-han of the East* were similar to those of the inhabitants of *Wen-shin*, and that there were also affinities between the people of this land and those of *Fu-sang*, which therefore seem to show a relationship between the three nations.

The name of the country of *Ta-han* is too extraordinary in itself not to excite attention. *Ta-han* (大 漢) signifies literally "Great Chinese" (*han*, Chinese, *vir fortis*), and *Ta-han-kwoh*, "Kingdom of the Great Chinese," or "Great Chinese Kingdom," which de Guignes attempted to explain as follows: "That part of Siberia called Kamtchatka is the region which the Japanese call *Oku-yeso*, or 'Upper Jesso.' They place it upon their maps to the north of Jesso, and represent it as being twice as large as China, and extending much farther to the east than the eastern shore of Japan. This is the country which the Chinese have named *Ta-han*, which may signify 'as large as China,' a name which corresponds with the extent of the country, and to the idea which the Japanese have given us of it." Neumann, on the

contrary, who locates *Ta-han* in the peninsula of Alaska, supposes that the Chinese have called this country *Great China*, or a great country comparable to China, because they had knowledge of the vast continent which exists beyond it. These two explanations are ingenious, without doubt; but we find another, much simpler, in the Chinese Encyclopædia *Yuen-kien-lui-han*, regarding at least *one* of the *two* countries called *Ta-han* of which that work makes mention. The *Yuen-kien-lui-han* deserves to be carefully examined, since it may give proof of the correctness of Dr. Neumann as to the identification of the country of *Ta-han* situated on the route to *Fu-sang*, and at the same time confirm the assertion of de Guignes as to the kingdom of *Ta-han* situated in Kamtchatka or somewhere else in Eastern Siberia, as MM. Perez and Bretschneider have thought. Neumann has, in support of his opinion, the express statement of *Li-yen* and of *Ma Twan-lin*, that the *Ta-han* at which vessels touched on the way to *Fu-sang* was an Oriental country, situated to the east, and not to the north, of *Wen-shin*. De Guignes, on his side, produces a very precise account of the route which Chinese travelers followed when they went by land to the country of *Ta-han*, an itinerary which can not be disputed. Here is what we read in the Encyclopædia *Yuen-kien-lui-han*—First: *Kiuen* 231, fol. 46: "TAHAN OF THE EAST.—This kingdom is to the east of that of the *Wen-shin* more than 5,000 *li*. Its people have no arms and do not wage war. Their manners are the same as those of the *Wen-shin*, but their language is different" (exactly the same notice as that which the *Wen-hien-tong-kao* gives us). Second: *Kiuen* 241, fol. 10: "TAHAN OF THE NORTH.—We read in the *Sing-tang-shu* ('Supplement to the History of the Tang Dynasty'—a work published in the eleventh century of our era by imperial order): The *Ta-han* (of the north) live to the north of the kingdom of *Kio*, or *Kiai*. They raise many sheep and horses. The men of this kingdom are robust and of a great height, from which fact the name *Ta-han* ('Great Chinese,' or, in common language, 'Tall Fellows') is derived. They are neighbours of the *Ke-kia-sse* (natives who live upon the shore of the lake *Pe-hai*, or Baikal). In former times they had no relations with the empire (of China), but in the years *ching-kuan* and *yong-hoei* (627–655) embassadors from their nation came once or twice offering horses and martens' furs as tribute." The kingdom of

Kïo, or *Kiai*, is situated 500 *li* to the northeast of the territory of the *Pa-ye-ku*, one of the most easterly tribes of the great nation of the *Hoei-he* (Ouigours), which extends as far as the country of the *Shi-wei*, or *She-goei*, occupying the northeastern part of Siberia. These last natives of *Ta-han* (whom *Ma Twan-lin* calls *Ta-mo*, and whom he also classed among the nations of the north) are those whom de Guignes thought to be located in Kamtchatka; but the immediate consequence of this verification is to make it impossible to find a place in Asia for the "*Ta-han of the East*," in which we are solely interested. None of the scholars who have studied this question have suspected the existence of two countries called *Ta-han;* and this fact has compelled them to make great efforts to bring into agreement the accounts of the two routes to *Ta-han*, one by land and the other by water, which led, in fact, to two different countries. Neumann, whose judgment seems the least reliable, has therefore very probably been the most inspired. Although the notice of *Tahan of the East* is very short, it contains the proof of a characteristic and very extraordinary fact, of which the importance should not be overlooked. The people of *Ta-han*, we are told, have no arms and know nothing of war. This fact would be inexplicable regarding a tribe of upper Asia, exposed to the attacks of the ferocious and belligerent nations whom they had upon their frontiers, and it reveals a civilization analogous to that of the people of *Fu-sang*, to whom the same peculiarity is attributed.

CHAPTER XIII.

D'HERVEY'S APPENDIX.

Difference between *Hoei Shin's* story and other Chinese accounts—An earlier knowledge of *Fu-sang*—The poem named the *Li-sao*—The *Shan-hai-king*—The account of *Tong-fang-so*—The immense size of the country—The burning of books in China—The origin of the Chinese—The writer *Kuan-mei*—The arrival of *Hoei Shin* in 499—The civil war then raging—The delay in obtaining an imperial audience—The "History of the Four Lords of the Liang Dynasty"—An envoy from *Fu-sang*—The presents offered by him—Yellow silk—A semi-transparent mirror—This envoy was *Hoei Shin*—The stories told by *Yu-kie*—The silk found upon the *fu-sang* tree—The palace of the king—The Kingdom of Women—Serpent-husbands—The Smoking Mountain—The Black Valley—The animals of the country—The amusement of the courtiers—The poem *Tong-king-fu*—The route to *Fu-sang*—*Fu-sang* east of Japan—*Lieu-kuei*—The direction of the route.

Appendix to the Account regarding Fu-sang—by the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys.[1548]

The relation of the bonze *Hoei Shin* has, for more than a century, served as the foundation for all that has been written for the purpose of attempting to decide the question whether *Fu-sang* was America or not. This account, so clear and precise, possessed, in the eyes of the Chinese, a character of authenticity which distinguished it from quite a large number of other documents relating to *Fu-sang*, which were furnished by authors with more or less inclination for the marvelous. Ma Twan-lin contented himself, for this reason, with merely repeating it without adding anything to it. Ma Twan-lin never undertook to unite in his accounts all that the Chinese authors had related regarding the subject of his work, but confined himself to mentioning only what appeared to him to be the most worthy of credit. The merit of his compilation, taken as a whole, results mainly from this work of elimination, accomplished by judicious

criticism. But if it is attempted to clear up an obscure point by means of the comparison of different accounts and by investigations of all kinds, the most fabulous stories, and little points, apparently the most trivial, sometimes contain the clew to the wished-for knowledge. Hence it appears that, in an effort to decide as to the true location of *Fu-sang*, the contrary method should be followed and no means of information should be neglected. I have, therefore, grouped here all the documents which I have been able to collect relating to this interesting question; some much anterior to *Hoei Shin's* account, and others forming, to a certain extent, the corollary of the declarations of this priest.

The first show that, if we admit it to be a fact that Buddhist missionaries of the fifth century visited America, this is far from proving that they were the first who discovered the country; the second permit us to detect the origin of the introduction of supernatural elements into the authentic account of the bonze *Hoei Shin*, and justify Ma Twan-lin in adhering to the strict letter of *Hoei Shin's* account, and in declining to leave it for a comparison of the different statements, by means of which the true elements of these accounts might, some day, be separated from the false.

It is proved that the idea of the existence of a great country, covered with vast forests made up of a particular species of trees called *fu-sang* trees, and situated beyond the eastern seas, was an old tradition, even to the Chinese authors of the third century before our era, this fact being attested by the *Li-sao*. *Kiu-yuen*, the author of this celebrated poem, traveled in thought to the four extremities of the universe. In the north he perceived the land of long days and long nights; in the south the boundless sea attracted his attention; in the west he perceived the sun descend and sink in a lake, which has been supposed to be Lake Tingry, or the Caspian Sea; and, finally, in the east—in spite of the immensity of the Pacific Ocean, and, in spite of the thought, which would naturally occur to him, that the sun also rose from the midst of the waters—he caught a glimpse of distant shores receiving the first gleams of the dawn. It is in a valley in a land shaded by the *fu-sang* tree that he places the limits of the extreme east. The *Shan-hai-king*, a work of uncertain date, but of incontestable antiquity, contains an analogous reference to

this land. An author, almost contemporaneous with *Kiu-yuen*, *Tong-fang-so* (whose text is supposed to have suffered some alterations, but at an epoch much anterior to that of *Hoei Shin*), expresses himself thus: "At the east of the Eastern Sea, the shores of the country of *Fu-sang* are found. If, after landing upon these shores, *the journey is continued by land toward the east for a distance of ten thousand li, a sea of a blue colour* (*pi-hai*) *is reached, vast, immense, and boundless.* The country of *Fu-sang* extends ten thousand *li* upon each of its sides. It contains the palace of *Tai-chin-tong-wang-fu* (the God who Presides over the East). Great forests are found, filled with trees of which the leaves are similar to those of the mulberry, while the general appearance of the trees is similar to that of those which are called *chin* (certain coniferous trees). They attain a height of several times ten thousand cubits, and it takes two thousand people to reach their arms around one of them. These trees grow two and two from common roots, and mutually sustain each other; hence their name of *fu-sang* (*sese sustinentes mori*—mulberry-trees which sustain each other). Although they grow tall and straight, like the conifers, their leaves and their fruit are similar to those of the mulberry of China. The fruit, of exquisite flavour and of reddish colour, appears but very rarely, the tree which produces it bearing it but once in nine thousand years. The anchorites who eat the fruit become of the colour of gold, and acquire the power of hovering in celestial space."

The exaggeration of the proportions of the *fu-sang* tree is evidently nothing but hyperbole; but it may be remarked that this tree is described as resembling the mulberry or the *tong* tree in its leaves, and the *chin* tree in its form; this last being a species of conifer of which the wood is used in the manufacture of arrows. This description, although not having great botanical precision, reminds one involuntarily of the gigantic *Wellingtonia* of California, which may be the last remains of an immense forest.*

* The Mexicans noticed a resemblance between the century-plant, or agave (the plant which *Hwui Shăn* called the *fu-sang* tree), and the conifers; for they called the fir-tree [620] "oya-metl," [1915] a term meaning *the false* or *counterfeit agave;* and, in fact, the flowering-stalk of the century-plant—often forty feet in height and eight inches in diameter at the base—with its numerous branches of flowers, springing out, almost horizontally, from its upper half, is very similar in form and general appearance to a fir or pine tree.—E. P. V.

The indication of a breadth of ten thousand *li* for the country of *Fu-sang* shows that it was a true continent; and, if we do not believe that this curious account of another ocean, found to the east, beyond the vast territory, should be applied to the Atlantic, it still may be thought that America was better known to the Chinese before the Christian era than it could be even from the narration of *Hoei Shin* himself. In any case, the Buddhist missionaries who again found the route to *Fu-sang* were certainly guided in their voyage by the light of old traditions.

I ventured the following observations when publishing my translation of the *Li-sao*, some years ago:

"The general burning of books, two hundred and thirteen years before our era, was far from being as destructive as has been imagined; but still it caused a sensible diminution of the sum of acquired knowledge. A great number of texts were preserved in the memory of scholars or by the secretion of manuscripts, and were thus finally restored, but many others were lost or altered. Moreover, the Chinese people, at the same time that they raised the great wall, isolated themselves in other ways, in order to preserve their unity. No surprise should therefore be felt at finding that the Chinese in very ancient times were possessed of ideas more just and extensive, regarding a multitude of subjects, than the Chinese of the following centuries; so that, to reach reliable accounts, it is necessary to go back as far as possible into that antiquity which, perhaps, there is good reason for vaunting so highly.

"I have sometimes thought that a great mystery might be concealed in the origin of the old Chinese with black hair, who arrived from the north (it is not known from what country) at the banks of the Yellow River—not as primitive men, but as the representatives of a ripened civilization—who avoided any intermixture with the native population, and who always turned themselves toward their father-land to seek for light. If it should be unquestionably proved that *Fu-sang* is indeed America, and if the first ideas which the Chinese had of that region should appear lost in the most remote antiquity, would not a strange enigma be presented to us for solution?"

Mr. Leland's book has shown me that the thought which dictated these lines has also presented itself to several scholars who have made a specialty of the study of subjects relating to

America; and the *Long-wei-pi-shu* cites an opinion of the Buddhist writer *Kuan-mei*, which demonstrates to what great antiquity some idea of the existence of *Fu-sang* went back among the Chinese, if their statements on the subject are to be believed: "It is in *Fu-sang* that *Hwang-ti's* astronomers resided (who were charged with the observation of the rising sun)", says *Kuan-mei*. "In the first year *yong-yuen*, of the *Tsi* dynasty, there was a bonze named *Hoei Shin*, who arrived from that country, and who made it known" (literally, by whose narration it commenced to be known—k., I, fol. 10), an expression which should be understood here merely as referring to a knowledge renewed after the lapse of centuries. *Hwang-ti* is the first sovereign of the times reputed historical, and the first cycle of the Chinese commenced in his reign, in the twenty-seventh century before our era. We may assuredly entertain a doubt as to whether the astronomers of this celebrated emperor, to whom the Chinese attribute the invention of the astronomical globe and the institution of their cycle, established an observatory in *Fu-sang*. Nevertheless, I believe the fact to be established that there was some account of *Fu-sang* current among the Chinese long before the time of *Hoei Shin*, and this is what I first proposed to make evident.

Let us now examine the circumstances under which *Hoei Shin's* report was made, and attempt to decide what connection there was between this bonze and the five Buddhist priests who went to *Fu-sang* in 458; why *Hoei Shin* ascended the Grand Kiang to *King-cheu*, instead of stopping at *Nan-king*, then the capital of the empire; and, finally, consider what should be thought of an embassy from *Fu-sang*, which, according to the work entitled *Liang-sse-kong-ki* ("Memoirs of the Four Lords of the Liang Dynasty"), came to visit the Chinese court in the years *tien-kien*, which commenced in the year 502, that is to say, at an epoch very near to that of the arrival of *Hoei Shin*—a coincidence which should not be overlooked. We will finally consider the account of the route to *Fu-sang* as given by the historian *Li-yen*, and the light furnished in this respect by several passages of Ma Twan-lin, hitherto inedited.

We read in the *Ku-kin-tu-shu-tsi-ching:* "In the time of *Tong-hoen-heu*, the first year *yong-yuen* (499), the bonze of the kingdom of *Fu-sang*, named *Hoei Shin*, came to China. Never-

theless, the official annals of the *Tsi* dynasty make no mention of him, and it is the books of the *Liang* dynasty which contain the account of *Hoei Shin* regarding *Fu-sang*, in a section devoted to the eastern countries."

The year 499, designated as the date of the arrival of *Hoei Shin* upon the banks of the Kiang, was a year of civil war, which preceded the downfall of the *Tsi* dynasty, and during which that shadow of an emperor, called *Tong-hoen-heu* ("Prince of the Disorders of the East"), remained a prisoner in his palace, besieged by his own brother. This brother was declared "Protector of the Empire," and he resided at the same city of *King-cheu*, to which we see that *Hoei Shin* repaired. This brother soon mounted the throne, and was almost immediately deposed by the founder of the *Liang* dynasty, known by the name of *Liang Wu-ti*, in the first month of the year 502. Now, if we suppose that *Hoei Shin* came from *Fu-sang* and intended to visit the emperor of China—a favour which could never be obtained except after long entreaties—these circumstances explain why it was that he was compelled to remain at *King-cheu*, until the complete overthrow of the *Tsi* dynasty, without being able to obtain an imperial audience. The accession of *Liang Wu-ti*, a prince who was a believer in the Buddhist religion, must, on the contrary, have insured him a favourable reception by the new ruler of the empire.

I now come to the statements of the *Liang-sse-kong-ki*, and am convinced that others, like myself, will be struck by the vivid light which they throw upon the story. The four princes, or feudal lords, of whom the book contains the memoirs, were named *Ho-tchin*,* *Yu-kie*, *Sho-tuan*, and *Chang-ki*. Nothing is said as to how they were connected with one another; but their memoirs tell us that in the years *tien-kien*, that is to say, in the first years of the reign of *Liang Wu-ti*, an envoy from the kingdom of *Fu-sang* presented himself, and, having offered to the emperor divers objects of his country, the emperor charged *Yu-kie* to interrogate him regarding the customs and the productions of *Fu-sang*, the history of the kingdom, its cities, its rivers, its mountains, etc., as was the custom in similar cases whenever a foreign embassador visited the court.

* In the "Ethnography," edited by the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, this name is written *Hoei-tchin;* while in the same author's "Memoir" it is given as *Ho-tchin*. The Marquis d'Hervey states that this last form is correct.—E. P. V.

"The envoy from *Fu-sang* wept, and responded with respectful ardour," says the text—a singular phrase, which appears to give the idea of an old man affected at finding himself again in his native land after long years of absence. "The offering which he presented consisted principally of three hundred pounds of yellow silk, spun by the silk-worm of the *fu-sang* tree, and of an extraordinary strength. The emperor had an incense-burner of massive gold, of a weight of fifty *kin*. [The *kin* weighs a little more than 600 grammes.] This could be lifted and held suspended by six of these threads without breaking them. There was also among the presents offered to the emperor a sort of semi-transparent precious stone, cut in the form of a mirror, and of the circumference of more than a foot. In observing the sun by reflection by means of this stone, the palace which the sun contains appeared very distinctly." (Mention of these mirrors has been made in the "Notes and Queries," and Mr. Leland presents some very remarkable observations upon this subject. "Discovery of America," p. 184.)

There is but little probability that *Hoei Shin* was a native of *Fu-sang*, although all the texts agree in calling him "a bonze of that country." It may be suspected that he had left China, when very young, in company with the five priests of *Ki-pin*. This can not be considered as anything more than a conjecture; but that which appears to me to be beyond doubt is, that *Hoei Shin* and the envoy from *Fu-sang*, the bearer of the presents offered to the emperor *Wu-ti*, were one and the same person. To the presumption which is raised by the agreement of the dates, and the circumstances, as mentioned above, should be added the convincing fact that the prince *Yu-kie*, when speaking at length of *Fu-sang* and other regions of the extreme east, as is recorded in the *Liang-sse-kong-ki*, sometimes, as we shall see, based his declarations upon the statements of the envoy whom he had had the charge of interrogating, and sometimes upon the relation given by *Hoei Shin*, without indicating that there was any difference between the two sources of his information. It is here, moreover, that we find the source of all the extravagancies which have been mixed with *Hoei Shin's* narration, and which have resulted in casting suspicion upon even his simplest statements.

The account quoted by Ma Twan-lin was probably the official

record of the statements made by *Hoei Shin*, in his quality of envoy of the kingdom of *Fu-sang*, in answer to the questions of *Yu-kie*, who was delegated for the purpose by the emperor. The compilation of this account is similar to that of a great number of analogous documents contained in the notices of the *Wen-hien-tong-kao*. Nothing is found which approaches the domain of fable, any more than there is in the description of the presents offered to the emperor, and the precision of the details gives to the whole an appearance of truth which can not be mistaken; but the lord *Yu-kie* wished to amuse the court in regard to his conferences with a person who had excited such general curiosity.

Let us return to the study of the *Liang-sse-kong-ki*. The truth will thus be established.

"One day, when the attendants at court were amusing themselves with stories of foreign countries, the lord *Yu-kie* took up the subject, and spoke in the following terms: 'At the extreme east is *Fu-sang*. Silk-worms are found there which are seven feet long and as much as seven inches in circumference. Their colour is golden. It takes a year to raise them. On the eighth day of the fifth month they spin yellow silk, which is extended upon the branches of the *fu-sang* tree, for they make no cocoons. This silk is naturally very weak; but it is cooked in lye prepared from the ashes of the wood of the *fu-sang*, and thus acquires such strength that four threads twisted together are sufficient to raise a weight of thirty Chinese pounds. The eggs of these silk-worms are as large as swallow's eggs. Some were taken to *Kao-kiu-li* (Corea); but the voyage injured them, so that nothing issued from them but silk-worms as small as those of China.

"'The palace of the king is surrounded by walls of crystal, which appear clearly before daylight; but the walls become quite invisible during an eclipse of the moon.'

"The lord *Yu-kie* said besides: 'At the northwest, about ten thousand *li*, there exists a Kingdom of Women, who take serpents for husbands. Moreover, these reptiles are inoffensive. They live in holes, while their wives or concubines live in houses and palaces, and exercise all the cares of state. In this kingdom there are no books, and they know nothing of the art of writing. They believe firmly in the efficacy of certain forms of prayers or maledictions. The women who act uprightly prolong their lives, and those who swerve from the right are imme-

diately cut off. The worship of spirits imposes laws that none dare to violate. To the south of *Ho-cheu* (the Island of Fire) [probably 火, *hwo*, "fire," and 州, *cheu*, "an island or district"], situated to the south of this country, is the mountain *Yen-kuen* (Burning Mountain) [probably 烟, *yen*, "smoke," and 崑, *kwun*, "a peak, a high mountain"], the inhabitants of which eat locusts, crabs, and hairy serpents, to preserve themselves from the heat. In this land of *Ho-cheu*, the *ho-mu* (trees of fire) [probably 火, *hwo*, "fire," and 木, *muh*, "wood, a tree"] grow; their bark furnishes a solid tissue. Upon the summit of the mountain *Yen-kuen* there live *fire rats* (*ho-shu*) [probably 火, *hwo*, "fire," and 鼠, *shu*, "a rat, mouse, weasel, squirrel, or similar animal"], the hair of which serves also for the fabrication of an incombustible stuff, which is cleansed by fire instead of by water. To the north of this Kingdom of Women is the Black Valley (*He-ko*) [probably 黑, *hoh*, "black," and *kuh*, 谷, "a ravine, gully, gorge, cañon"], and north of the Black Valley are mountains so high that they reach to the heavens. Snow covers them all the year. The sun does not show itself there at all. It is there, it is said, that the dragon *Cho-long* (the Luminous Dragon) resides. [Probably 燭, *chuh*, "an illumination, a torch, to illumine," and 龍, *lung*, "a dragon."] At the west is a fountain that inebriates, and has the taste of wine. In these regions there is also found a sea of varnish, of which the waves dye black the feathers and furs that are dipped in them, and another sea of the colour of milk. The territory surrounded by these natural marvels is of great extent and extremely fertile. Dogs, ducks, and horses of a great height live in it, and, finally, birds which produce human beings. The males born of these birds do not live. The daughters only are raised with care by their fathers, who carry them with their beaks or upon their wings. As soon as they commence to walk, they become mistresses of themselves. They are all of remarkable beauty and very hospitable, but they die before reaching the age of thirty years.

"'The rabbits of this country are white and as large as horses, their hair being a foot long. The sables are as large as wolves. Their hair is black and of extraordinary thickness.'

"The attendants of the court were much amused at these stories. *They all laughed and clapped their hands, and said that better stories had never been told.*

"A minister of the emperor, named *Wang-yun*, interrupted *Yu-kie* with this bantering objection: 'If we believe the official accounts which have been collected regarding the *Kingdom of Women*, situated to the west of the country of *Tsan-yai* and to the south of the Kingdom of Dogs (*Keu-kwoh*), it is merely inhabited by barbarians of the race of the *Kiang-jong*, who have a woman as their sovereign; but there has never been any question of serpents filling the office of husbands. How do you account for that?' *Yu-kie* responded with pleasantry with a new explosion of extravagancies, in the midst of which there appeared here and there a true idea, burlesqued for diversion."

This curious fragment shows that the Chinese of the sixth century were not as credulous as might be believed; that they knew how to distinguish between the true and improbable, and that the extravagancies of their story-tellers, at which they were the first to laugh, does not diminish the merit of the writers that they respected.

The *Ku-kin-tu-shu-tsi-ching* is very explicit in this respect; citing several poets who in their works make allusions to *Fu-sang*, it makes the following statement: "We read in the poem entitled *Tong-king-fu*, 'I ascended to the source of day and thus arrived at *Fu-sang*.' *Hwai-nan-tse* has written, 'The sun issues from the valley *Yang-ko* (the *Luminous Valley*) [probably 暘, *yang*, "the rising sun," and 谷, *kuh*, "a ravine, valley, gully"],* and rises in the midst of the *fu-sang* trees.' *Yang-kiang* says, 'Beyond the great sea is *Fu-sang*,' and *Li-tai-pe* writes, 'At the extreme west is the *jo-mo* tree; at the extreme east, the *fu-sang* tree.'" "From all this," continues the book from which we cite, "it follows that *Fu-sang* lies to the east of China. Some understand that the sun really comes out of this country, or that *Fu-sang* is the sun itself; but this is mere ignorance on their part. When it is said that the sun comes forth from *Fu-sang*, it simply means that the sun rises in the extreme east."

I will conclude with some remarks regarding the description of the route from China to *Fu-sang*, given by the historian *Li-yen*, who lived at the beginning of the seventh century of our era, and regarding the conjectures to which this itinerary has

* Williams's "Chinese Dictionary," p. 1071, defines "Yang-kuh," "the valley of sunrise in the extreme east, probably in Corea, where *Yao* worshiped the sun at the vernal equinox."

given rise. According to *Li-yen*, the route sets out from the coast of *Leao-tong*, skirts along Japan, touches at the country of the *Wen-shin*, and then reaches the kingdom of *Ta-han*, from which the route to *Fu-sang* is quite direct, the distance being almost equal to the entire distance already traveled. The total length of the journey is about 44,000 *li*, and each of the intermediate distances is specified. The length of the *li* can not serve as the basis for any certain calculation as to the exact distance, because of the variations which it has suffered. The inductive labours of the scholars, who have attempted to determine the situation of *Fu-sang* from the statements of *Li-yen*, have heretofore consisted in proceeding from the known to the unknown, by attempting to determine the length of the *li* from its value in the distance between *Leao-tong* and Japan, so as to obtain a proportionate measure which would furnish the means for the identification of the more distant regions designated by the names of *Wen-shin*, *Ta-han*, and *Fu-sang*. This very reasonable method meets two great difficulties in its practice—one resulting from the fact that the particular point in Japan to which the measure was taken is not clearly indicated; and the other from the fact that the estimate of distances by sea in a voyage of this kind can only be approximate. Thus, de Guignes and Neumann, who agree in placing the country of *Wen-shin* in Jesso, have differed regarding the identification of *Ta-han*, which the first thinks to be in Kamtchatka, and the second upon the peninsula of Alaska, and this has resulted in their placing *Fu-sang* more or less to the south. But neither of these two scholars, nor M. d'Eichthal, the Chevalier de Paravey, M. José Perez, or Mr. Leland, has hesitated to acknowledge that *Fu-sang* must be sought upon the American Continent. I do not hesitate to declare that it seems to me impossible to seek elsewhere for a region of a thousand leagues in extent, situated beyond the great ocean, *to the east of Japan*, and the new documents which I have been permitted to collect attest this to be its true location.

The mention regarding the extent of *Fu-sang* is in the fragment of the *Shi-cheu-ki*, cited above; that of the situation of *Fu-sang* to the east of Japan is found in the preface of the "Ethnography of the Eastern Nations," by Ma Twan-lin, where it is distinctly said, "Japan is situated directly to the east of China, and *Fu-sang* is situated directly to the east of Japan"

(*Kiuen*, 324, fol. 1, line 6). Ma Twan-lin adds that about thirty thousand *li* separate China from this country of the extreme east; an assertion which does not in any way contradict the estimate of forty thousand *li* made by *Li-yen*, since the distance here spoken of is that in a direct line, and not the distance by a roundabout route.

This positive statement of Ma Twan-lin's would be sufficient to destroy the singular hypothesis of Klaproth, who imagined that the Chinese had confounded Japan with *Fu-sang*, if this paradoxical theory did not crumble of itself at all points, as it is easy to demonstrate that it does.

Klaproth does not dispute either the sincerity of the statements of *Hoei Shin*, or the veracity of the Chineses writers who have spoken of *Fu-sang*, and confines himself to commenting upon their statements from his point of view. The best way of exposing his attempted refutation of de Guignes's memoir is to show how he has proceeded in his interpretation of the Chinese authors.

The Prussian scholar commences by admitting, with de Guignes, that the country of *Wen-shin* must be Jesso, so that he is obliged to accept as the length of the *li*, in the time of the historian *Li-yen*, a measure proportionate to the number of *li* which this writer concedes between *Leao-tong* and the island of Jesso. Then, immediately, in order to bring the remainder of the itinerary into accordance with his fancy, he supposes the *li* to be less than half as long, and so small that it can not be applied to any of the measures of distance indicated by the Chinese geographers of any epoch. M. d'Eichthal has described this contradiction very clearly; but that which he has not said is, that, in order to place *Ta-han* in the island of Karafto, or Tarakai, the same land according to him as *Lieu-kuei*, Klaproth ignores or pretends to be ignorant, on the one side, that the land of *Lieu-kuei* is described by the Chinese books as a peninsula and not as an island ("*Long-wei-pi-shu*," *Kiuen*, 4, fol. 7; "*Wen-hien-tong-kao*," *Kiuen*, 347, fol. 4), and, on the other side, that the countries of *Lieu-kuei* and *Ta-han* are described *separately* in the two works above named, with the important distinction that *Lieu-kuei* is described among the regions of the *north*, and *Ta-han* among those of the *east;* this last country being located to the *east* of the *Wen-shin*, while *Lieu-kuei* is to their *north*.

The question of the orientation troubled the scholarly author of the "Tableaux de l'Asie" very little, it is true; and, as the direction toward the east, on leaving the island of Karafto, or Tarakai, incommoded him, he, in order to arrive at his conclusion, changed this direction, so precisely given by the Chinese texts, and, without ceremony, turned it arbitrarily toward the south. In such manner was he carried away by his imagination, that he concluded by supposing that the Chinese navigators of the seventh century thought that they were visiting *Fu-sang* when they landed upon the southeastern coast of Japan—that is to say, in a country which had been known to them, and which had had constant relations with China, for more than five centuries. If such reasoning had been published by an Orientalist of less reputation than Klaproth, it would be almost superfluous to expose it.

Attention should be called, in conclusion, to the fact that Klaproth is the only critic who has opposed the identification of *Fu-sang* with America; since no attention should be paid to the unsupported opinion of those who with closed eyes declare that they agree with him.

Such is the additional information drawn from the examination of a number of Chinese authors—information which I have thought should be added to the notice of Ma Twan-lin. For a statement of all that has been published hitherto in European languages on the question of *Fu-sang*, as also for the latest information concerning the ethnography of North America, and the navigation of the Pacific, Mr. C. G. Leland's book may be profitably consulted.

CHAPTER XIV.

PROFESSOR WILLIAMS'S ARGUMENT.

"Notices of Fu-sang and other Countries lying East of China"—The origin of American tribes—The work of H. H. Bancroft—Mr. Leland's book—Ma Twan-lin—His "Antiquarian Researches"—Hwui-shin's story—Cophène—No later accounts of Fu-sang—The titles of the nobility—The ten-year cycle—Red pears—The fu-sang tree—No mention of pulque—Brocade—Fables—Account of the *Shih Chau Ki*—The article of the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys—Criticisms thereon—*Păng-lai*—The distance of Japan and Fu-sang—The name Fu-sang sometimes applied to Japan—Mention of the fu-sang tree in a Chinese geography—Expeditions sent to search for Fu-sang—Comparison with Swift's "Voyage to Laputa"—The Kingdom of Women—Mention by Maundevile and Marco Polo of a land of Amazons—The country of Wăn Shăn—Tattooing—Its existence among the Esquimaux—Quicksilver—Two kingdoms of Ta Han—Lieu-kuei and the Lewchew Islands.

Notices of Fu-sang and Other Countries lying East of China—by Professor S. Wells Williams.[2581]

The origin of the various nations and tribes inhabiting the American Continent is a question that has attracted the attention of antiquarians ever since the discovery of the continent four centuries ago. The general designation of "Indians," given by Columbus to the people whom he met, shows the notion then entertained of their Asiatic origin, not less than his ignorance of their true position. Since that time, numerous antiquarians have given us their ideas and researches upon this obscure subject. Some have combined many scattered facts so as to uphold their crude fancies; while others have formed a theory, and then hunted over the continent for facts to prove it. When their various works are brought together, comparison only shows how little which can lead to a definite conclusion has yet been really ascertained. The digest of the most careful of these travelers, and the candid analysis of the works of antiquarians and

philologists, given by H. H. Bancroft in the fifth volume of his laborious work on the "Native Races of the Pacific States" (pp. 1–136), fully upholds his concluding sentence as to the present state of this question : "To all whose investigations are a search for truth, darkness covers the origin of the American peoples and their primitive history, save for a few centuries preceding the conquest. The darkness is lighted up here and there by dim rays of conjecture, which only become fixed lights of facts in the eyes of antiquarians whose lively imaginations enable them to see best in the dark, and whose researches are but a sifting out of supports to a preconceived opinion."

Since the publication of this work, in 1875, attention has been again directed to a hypothesis as to the origin of the native races—namely, that America was peopled from China—by the issue of Mr. C. G. Leland's book, entitled "Fusang, or the Discovery of America by Chinese Buddhist Priests in the Fifth Century." Mr. Bancroft had already collected the leading data upon this particular point (volume v, pp. 34–51), and Mr. Leland adduces no new facts.* He brings together in a convenient form what he has collected from de Guignes, Neumann, and d'Eichthal in favor of his theory ; while he analyzes and criticises the remarks of Klaproth, Sampson, and Bretschneider against it.

I have thought that a translation of the sections describing the lands lying to the east of China, found in the work of Ma Twan-lin, would tend to place his notice of Fu-sang in its true light, and help us to guess where that country should be looked for. This distinguished Chinese author belonged to a literary family, and spent his life in collecting and arranging the materials for his great work, the *Wăn Hien Tung Kao*, or "Antiquarian Researches," which was published about the year 1321, by the Mongol emperor Jin-tsung, a nephew of Kublai Khan. Ma Twan-lin's life was passed amid the troublous times of the conquests of the Mongols, and his father held a high office at the court of the emperors of the Sung dynasty at Hangchow. He was busily engaged with these labors during the whole period of the residence of Marco Polo in China (1275–1295), and their deaths probably occurred about the year 1325.

* Attention has already been called to the fact that an earlier and shorter argument by Mr. Leland preceded Mr. Bancroft's work by many years.—E. P. V.

The "Antiquarian Researches" now contains 348 chapters (*küen*), arranged, without any natural sequence, under twenty-five different heads, as Chronology, Classics, Religion, Dynasties, etc. The last title is called *Sz' I Kao*, or "Researches into the Four Frontiers." In it are gathered together, in twenty-four chapters, all the information that the author could collect respecting foreign kingdoms and peoples. He himself seems never to have traveled outside of his own land; and during the ruthless wars of the Mongols he was probably glad to escape all molestation by staying quietly at his home at Po-yang, in Kiangsi province. The eight volumes containing these notices of other countries must consequently be regarded only as the carefully written notes of a retired scholar, who was unable to test their value or accuracy by any standard, either of his own personal observation, or of the criticisms of those among his acquaintances who had gone abroad. The energy and skill of the great Khan, so unlike the effete and ignorant rule of the native monarchs at Hangchow, must have developed much mental and physical vigor among his subjects. An author like Ma Twan-lin would therefore be stimulated to gather all the information he could, no matter whence it came, to enrich his work. His design was more like that of Hackluyt or Purchas than that of Rollin or La Harpe; and in carrying it out he has done a good service for the literature of his native land.

In his survey of lands beyond the Middle Kingdom, he commences on the east, and goes around to the south and west, describing each country without much reference to those near it. Having no data for ascertaining their distances, size, or relative importance, he makes no distinction between islands, peninsulas, and continents; for all such things his countrymen are even now just beginning to learn. . . .

[The first section of Ma Twan-lin's work, translated by Professor Williams, is that relating to *Hia-i*, the land of the "Shrimp Barbarians." These are shown to be the Ainos, and it does not seem necessary to copy the account here. Then follows his translation of the account regarding Fu-sang, which is given elsewhere; upon which Professor Williams makes the following observations:]

Ma Twan-lin makes no comment on this narrative, nor does he tell us whence Hwui-shin got it; he did not feel obliged to

discuss its veracity, or explain its obscurities. The first impression made upon one who reads it, with the idea that Fu-sang lay somewhere on the American Continent, is that it proves rather too much, judging by what we yet know of the nations and tribes who once dwelt there. I do not mean that the notices it gives of the houses, unwalled cities, curious mode of judging prisoners, and mourning customs, could not have applied to the natives of Mexico or Peru ; but it has not the air of the narrative of a man who had actually lived there. It is easy to reply that all traces of the people mentioned have been lost, so that our present ignorance of their early civilization proves nothing either way. Still, this account reads more like the description of a land having many things in common with countries well known to the speaker and his hearers, but whose few peculiarities were otherwise worth recording. The shaman Hwui-shin may have been one of the five priests who went to Fu-sang from *Ki-pin* only forty years before his arrival at Kingchau, the capital of the Tsi dynasty. *Ki-pin* is the Chinese name for *Cophène*, a region mentioned by the Buddhist traveler Fa-hien (chap. v) under that name, and by Strabo and Pliny as situated between Ghazni and Candahar, along the western slopes of the Suleiman Mountains, in the upper valleys of the Helmond River. These priests had probably traveled far north of China in their missionary tour, as described by de Guignes and d'Eichthal, and lived in Fu-sang until it had become familiar to them. I think that Ma Twan-lin inserts Hwui-shin's account next to that of Hia-i, from an idea that both kingdoms lay in the same direction. He seems to have found no accounts of a later date, and the long interval of seven centuries had furnished nothing worth recording about a land so insignificant as Fu-sang. We can hardly imagine that such would have been the case with a country to be reached by a long sea-voyage, one where stupendous mountains, great rivers, well-built cities or citadels, and people with black or dark-red complexions, would each make a deep impression upon an Asiatic. It is just as likely that junks drifted across the Pacific Ocean in the sixth century as in the nineteenth ; but Hwui-shin is as silent respecting the manner in which he returned from Fu-sang, as of the way he reached it. If the five priests had traveled toward Okotsk, and beyond the river Anadyr, till they reached Beh-

ring's Straits, and then slowly found their way down to warmer climes, this would naturally form part of the story. Silence on all these points makes one hesitate in coming to the conclusion that Fu-sang formed any part of America.

The internal evidences to be deduced from what is stated are still more opposed to that conclusion. In our present state of knowledge of the ancient American languages, so far as I can learn, it would be a vain search to look for any words among them suggesting the names of *yueh-ki* for king; *tui-lu* for a high noble; *siao tui-lu* for a secondary grandee; and *no-chasha* for those of the lowest rank. It is not possible at this date to be quite sure what sounds were intended by the priest, or by the historian, to be represented by the Chinese characters used in transliterating the three foreign words; but those here given are the present sounds in the court dialect, and probably near their originals.

But the next statement, respecting the changes required every two years in the color of the king's dress, carries with it altogether too much likeness to Chinese ritualism to be overlooked. It needs a little explanation to be made clear. The sexagenary cycle, used in Eastern Asia from remote times, is made by repeating ten stems six times in connection with twelve branches repeated five times; the two characters united form the name of a year. The ten years containing the ten stems begin with the first year of the sixty. Consequently, the first and second years, the eleventh and twelfth, the twenty-first and twenty-second, and so on to the last decade, will contain the same two stems—*kiah yueh* five times over; in these two years the king's dress must be *tsing*, or azure color. In the next two, the third and fourth in each decade, the stems *ping ting* require it to be *chih*, red or carnation. In the next two the stems *wu ki* require it to be *hwang*, yellow; in the fourth binary combination, the stems *kăng sin* require it to be *peh*, white. Lastly, the two stems *jin kwei*, denoting the ninth and tenth years of each decade, close the series, and then his robes are to be *heh*, black. These five are the primitive colors of Chinese philosophy.

Nothing analogous to this custom has ever been recognized among the Aztec, Peruvian, or Maya people. The ten stems in these five couples indicate among the Chinese and Japanese the operation of the five elements, wood, fire, earth, metal, water,

in their active and passive exhibitions; each one destroys its predecessor, and produces its successor, in a perpetual round of evolutionary forces. The mention of such an observance in Fusang seems to fix its location in Eastern Asia, where the sexagenary computation of time has long been known. It was a curious usage, which would strike a priest familiar with the Chinese ritual.

The same may be said of the worship of ancestral manes and images, and of the three years' mourning by the new king. The efforts to explain the big horns of the oxen, the red pears which will keep a year, and the vehicles drawn by horses, have each their difficulties if applied to anything yet known of the nations of ancient America along the Pacific coast, but may be applied to Northern Asia with some allowances. I think the red pears may denote persimmons, which are dried for winter use, and to this day form a common article for native ships' stores.

The identification of the tree *fu-sang*, on which the notice chiefly turns, is not yet complete. Klaproth refers it to the *Hibiscus rosa sinensis;* but I agree with Dr. Bretschneider in making it to be the *Broussonetia papyrifera*, or paper-mulberry, a common and useful tree in Northeastern Asia. The use asserted to be made of the bark in manufacturing paper and dresses does not apply to the Hibiscus nearly so well, though that plant also produces some textile fibers, as does also another large tree not yet entirely identified, belonging to the family Tiliaceæ or lindens. The further statement, too, that its shoots are eatable like those of the bamboo, is inapplicable to the agave of Mexico as well as to the Hibiscus, the linden, or Broussonetia, none of which are endogenous. It is one of the inaccuracies of the description, and can not be reconciled with either plant. The *maguey* made from the agave is better fitted for threads and cloths than for making paper. The fruit or berry of the Broussonetia is reddish, indeed, but no one would liken it to a *li* or pear. If the agave is intended, as Mr. Leland urges, it is very probable that Hwui-shin would have said something about the intoxicating drink called *pulque*, obtained from the leaves, rather than have likened them to the *tung*, as he has done. This last tree is either the *Æleococca* or *Pawlonia*, both well known in China and Japan; so that an omission to speak of the *pulque* becomes rather an evidence against the agave being the *fu-sang* tree.

The remark about the fibers being woven into brocade is also true of the Broussonetia. A beautiful fabric is made in Japan by weaving them with a woof of silk; but nothing of this sort could be made from the weak agave fibers. Moreover, the Broussonetia has not been found in Mexico, although Neumann thinks that it once existed there. . . . The word *kin* (錦), applied to the curious paper-silk brocade manufactured from the *fu-sang* bark, according to Ma Twan-lin's text, is also applied to embroidery and parti-colored textures. It is not so much the damask-like figure that is the essential point; but among the Chinese the *kin* always has a variety of colors. This seems to have attracted the attention of Hwui-shin, and the remarkable iridescence of some specimens of this Japanese mulberry silk still excites admiration. Professor Neumann says that in the year-books of Liang he found the reading to be *mien* (綿), "floss"; but the textual character *kin* has more authority in its favor, and is found in the Yuen Kien Lui Han. He translates the sentence: "From the bark they prepare a sort of linen which they use for clothing, and a sort of ornamental stuff." The word *pu*, here rendered *linen*, is now confined to cotton fabrics; but the distinction aimed at in the two terms used seems to have been that of a plain fabric and a brocaded one, like the Japanese *nisiki*.

It may be added, lastly, that many fables have gathered around the tree and the country of Fu-sang, which increase the difficulty of their identification. For instance, the *Shih Chau Ki*, quoted in the native lexicon *Pei-wăn Yin Fu*, says: "The *fu-sang* grows on a land in the *Pih Hai*, or Azure Sea, where it is abundant; the leaves resemble the common mulberry (*sang*), and it bears the same kind of berries (*shin*, 椹); the trunk rises several thousand rods (*chang*), and is more than two thousand rods in girth. Two trunks grow from one root, and lean upon each other as they rise; whence it gets the name *fu-sang*, i. e., supporting mulberry."* The use of the technical word *shin* for the fruit of the *fu-sang* is a very strong argument for its being the Broussonetia, and shows that its affinity to the silk mulberry (*Morus*) had been noticed.

* This is evidently a philological myth; as one of the meanings of the character FU is "to prop up, support," [2314] the name FU-SANG was supposed to mean "the *supporting* mulberry," and the tale given above was probably invented to account for it. It appears, however, that there is a species of double maguey, or

Since the publication of Mr. Leland's book, the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, who has succeeded Stanislas Julien in the Chinese Professorship at Paris, has contributed a paper in the Transactions of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Letters for 1876, which contains some additional notices of Fu-sang. Among these is an extract translated from the *Liang Sz' Kung Ki*, or "Memoirs of Four Lords of the Liang Dynasty," which throws some light on the times in which Hwui-shin lived, and the circumstances attending his arrival at King-chau. The marquis shows that it was just at the overthrow of the Tsi dynasty that the priest came as envoy from Fu-sang, and had to wait three years before the Emperor Wu-ti, of the Liang dynasty, could receive him. The section in Ma Twan-lin he justly regards as a copy of the official report made to his superiors by Yu Kieh, one of these four lords, obtained from Hwui-shin, the envoy. It is quite unlike the usage in such cases that nothing is said in the official annals of the presents offered by him; these, if they had come from America, would have been different from anything before seen, and therefore likely to be recorded. Such a list, however, did not necessarily fall within Ma's purpose when describing Fu-sang. The marquis notices some of the presents offered, which are spoken of in the "Memoirs of the Four Lords," and also some popular notions of that day concerning Fu-sang. He identifies the envoy with the shaman Hwui-shin, and concludes, with reason, that he was one of the five priests who went in the year 458 from Ki-pin. I have no copy of the *Liang Sz' Kung Ki*, and therefore quote his translation:

"At the commencement of the year 502,* an envoy from the kingdom of Fu-sang was introduced, and, having offered different things from his country, the emperor ordered Yu Kieh to interrogate him on the manners and productions of Fu-sang, the history of the kingdom, its cities, rivers, mountains, etc., in

that the plant sometimes throws out two flowering-stalks instead of one; as Sahagun refers to it in the following words:[2200] "The god Xolotl took to flight and hid himself in a field of maize, where he metamorphosed himself into a stalk of that plant, having two lower portions with separate roots, which the labourers call *xolotl*; but having been discovered among the maize, he fled a second time and hid himself among the magueys, where he changed himself into a *double* maguey, which is called *mexolotl* (from *metl*, maguey, and *xolotl*)."—E. P. V.

* This clause should read, "At the commencement of the years called *tien-kien*," i. e., about the year 502.—E. P. V.

conformity to the usage practiced at court whenever a foreign envoy visited it. The envoy from Fu-sang wept, and replied with a respectful animation, says the Chinese text, such as an old man would exhibit when he found himself in his own country after a long absence.* The presents which he offered consisted especially of three hundred pounds of yellow silk, produced by worms found on the *fu-sang* tree, and of extraordinary strength. The censer of the emperor, made of solid gold, weighed fifty catties (between fifty and sixty pounds), and three† threads of this silk held it up without breaking. Among the presents was also a kind of semi-transparent stone, carved in the form of a mirror, in which, when the sun's image was examined, the palace in the sun distinctly appeared. . . .

"One day, while he was entertaining the court about foreign countries, the magnate Yu Kieh began to speak thus: 'In the extreme east is Fu-sang. A kind of silk-worm is found there, which is seven feet long and almost seven inches around. The color is golden. It takes a year to raise them. On the eighth day of the fifth moon the worms spin a yellow silk, which they stretch across the branches of the *fu-sang*, for they wind no cocoons. This native silk is very weak; but, if it be boiled in the lye made from the ashes of *fu-sang* wood, it will acquire such strength that four strands well twisted together are able to hold up thirty catties. The eggs of these silk-worms are as big as swallows' eggs. Some of them were taken to Corea; but the voyage injured them, and when they hatched out they were ordinary silk-worms. The king's palace is surrounded with walls of crystal. They begin to be clear before daylight, and become all at once invisible when an eclipse of the moon occurs.'

"The magnate Yu Kieh proceeded to say: 'About ten thousand *li* northwest of this region there is a Kingdom of Women; they have serpents for husbands. The serpents are‡ venomous and live in holes, while their spouses dwell in houses and palaces. No books are seen in this kingdom, nor have the people

* The pamphlet, from which Professor Williams translated, might leave it to be inferred that the phrase, "such as an old man would exhibit when he found himself in his own country after a long absence," was contained in the Chinese text. It is, however, merely a comment, made by M. d'Hervey de Saint-Denys.—E. P. V.

† The word "three" should be "six."—E. P. V.

‡ This clause should read, "The serpents are *not* venomous."—E. P. V.

any writing. They firmly believe in the power of certain sorceries. The worship of the gods imposes obligations which no one dares to violate. In the middle * of the kingdom is an island of fire with a burning mountain, whose inhabitants eat hairy snakes to preserve themselves from the heat ; rats live on the mountain, from whose fur an incombustible tissue is woven, which is cleaned by putting it into the fire instead of washing it. North of this Kingdom of Women there is a dark valley ; and still farther north are some mountains covered with snow whose peaks reach to heaven. The sun never shines there, and the luminous dragon dwells in this valley. West of it is an intoxicating fountain whose waters have the taste of wine. In this region is likewise found a sea of varnish whose waves dye plumes and furs black ; and another sea having the color of milk. The land surrounded by these wonders is of great extent, and exceedingly fertile. One sees there dogs and horses of great stature, and even birds which produce human beings. The males born of them do not live ; the females are carefully reared by their fathers, who carry them on their wings ; as soon as they begin to walk they become mistresses of themselves. They are remarkably beautiful and very hospitable, but they die before the age of thirty. The hares of that land are as big as the horses elsewhere, having fur a foot long. The sables are like wolves for size, with black fur of extraordinary thickness.'

"The courtiers were greatly amused with these recitals, laughing and clapping their hands, while they assured the narrator that they had never heard better stories. One minister interrupted Yu Kieh by a bantering objection : 'If one can put any trust in the official reports collected in relation to this Kingdom of Women, it might be all simply inhabited by savages who are governed by a woman ; there would then be no question respecting this matter of serpents acting as husbands. How would you then arrange this matter?'

"Yu Kieh answered pleasantly, that he had nothing more to say on that point ; and then he went on from one strange story to another still more strange, in which one part truth was mixed with nine parts invention."

The whole paper from which this extract is taken does credit to its author's researches into this matter, however much we may

* For "In the middle" read "At the south."—E. P. V.

differ from his inferences. On a previous page he adduces further proof from two early Chinese authors, who mention Fusang. One of them is Kiuh Yuen, who flourished about B. C. 300, and wrote the poem *Le Sao*, or "Dissipation of Sorrows," which has since become a classic among his countrymen. In it, the marquis says, "he traveled in thought to the four quarters of the universe. On the north he perceived the land of long days and long nights; on the south, the boundless ocean met his view; on the west, he saw the sun set in a lake, perhaps the Tengiri-nor or the Caspian Sea; on the east, in spite of the vastness of the Pacific, and of the idea which would naturally present itself to his mind as the sun rose from the abyss of waters, he beheld the far-off shores receive the beams of Aurora, and in a valley, on a land shaded by the *fu-sang* tree, he places the limits of the extreme east."

He also calls in another author to fortify the poet, namely, Tung Fang-soh, whose work, the *Shin-i King*, or "Record of Strange Wonders," was extant in the Han dynasty, but was afterward lost. That now bearing his name has been manipulated by subsequent authors, and Mr. Wylie regards it as a production of the fourth or fifth century, and "the marvelous occupies so large a portion that it has never been received as true narrative." But the marquis does not so regard it: "The works of Tung Fang-soh, which treat of regions most remote from China, have undergone some slight alterations at the dictum of the Chinese literati, who inform us that the alterations which they suspect date back to the fourth century after Christ. Their criticism, far from diminishing for us its authority, becomes, on the contrary, a valuable testimony of its authenticity at that date. This it what it says: 'East of the Eastern Ocean is the country of Fu-sang. When one lands on its shores, if he continue to travel on by land still further east ten thousand *li*, he will again come to a blue sea, vast, immense, and boundless.' I think that I hazard nothing in saying beforehand that it is impossible to apply these indications of Tung Fang-soh to any other country than America."

Fu-sang and *Păng-lai* are still used among the Chinese for fairy land, and are referred to by the common people very much as the Garden of the Hesperides and Atlantis were among the ancient Greeks. In Hankow, when a shopkeeper wishes to praise

the quality of his goods, he puts on his sign that they are from one or other of these lands. The latter is perhaps the more common of the two, for it has become associated with the conqueror Tsin Chi Hwangti, who sent an expedition, about B. C. 220, easterly to find it and two other islands, called *San Sien Shan*, or Three Fairy Hills, where the genii live. Păng-lai is now the name of a district in the province of Shantung (better known from the prefectural city Tăngchau, west of Chefu), which commemorates this expedition after the fairies. Nothing was more natural to people living along the Yellow River, in the days of Kiuh Yuen and Tung Fang-soh, when Shantung was inhabited by wild tribes, than to regard all that little known region in the utmost east as the abode of whatever and whoever were wonderful. To quote such legends as corroborative history or travel, needs the support of some authentic statement to begin with; and Hwui-shin would be as likely to connect his account with something his hearers would recognize as existing in that direction, as to make up a story. I do not infer that neither the Chinese nor Japanese of the sixth century had any knowledge of the American Continent from other sources, for it was as easy then for vessels to drift across the Pacific as they still do; but they could not drift back again, and, when once landed anywhere between Alaska and Acapulco, the sailors were not likely to try a second voyage to reach their homes.

There is, furthermore, an unexplained point, how the name of the tree *fu-sang* came to be applied to the kingdom Fu-sang. If the Broussonetia be the plant denoted, and everything confirms this deduction, one would have expected its identity or likeness to the *chu shu*, its Chinese name, to have been mentioned. It is, however, quite as probable that the tree got its name from the country, for the manufacture of paper from its bark does not seem to have been known in the days of Kiuh Yuen.

Yu Kieh's pleasant account of Fu-sang and its silk-worms tends rather to show that in his day it was a region which every one could people with what he chose. The use of silk among the people on the Pacific coast was, according to H. H. Bancroft, mostly confined to the Mayas in Central America; it was by no means a common product, and mostly used in combination with cotton. This reference by Yu Kieh, although so exagger-

ated, tends to show that Fu-sang was regarded as on the western side of the Pacific Ocean ; and I am inclined to place it in Saghalien Island.

De Guignes lays much stress on the alleged distance of Fu-sang from Ta-han, and ingeniously reduces the 20,000 *li*, or 7,000 miles, to an actual estimate of the road taken by Hwui-shin (Leland, p. 128) to get there. In the introduction to his accounts of all these eastern countries, in chap. 324, Ma Twan-lin places the Flowery Land in the center of the universe, and then adds : "East of China lies Wo-kwoh, also called Japan ; east of Wo-kwoh, farther on, lies Fu-sang, about 30,000 *li* from China." These figures are much too hap-hazard to depend on in settling this point, and carry less weight than such internal evidence as we can analyze. If compared with other distances applied to those regions by this author, we soon find how valueless they all are. No one in the sixth century had any means of measuring long distances, or taking the bearings of places, so as to make even a rough guess as to their relative positions, if he had tried to make a map. For an illustration of this remark, see Dr. Bretschneider's article in "Transactions of North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society," No. X, 1876, where he gives an example of Asiatic map-making in A. D. 1331, to show the divisions of the Mongol Empire. It looks like a checker-board.

The position of Fu-sang can not therefore be yet settled from these notices ; but we may, as the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys hopefully remarks, yet see the day when the immense riches hidden and almost lost in Chinese books will be brought out, and something more definite on this head be discovered.

I have only two other quotations to add. One is the name *Fushi-koku*, i. e., the kingdom of Fu-sang, an unusual designation, known to the Japanese themselves, of their own country or a part of it, and which would hardly have been applied to a land on the other side of the Pacific Ocean. The other is the mention found in the *Ying-hwan Chi Lioh*, or "Geography of the World," by Sü Ki-yü, the late governor of Fuhkien, who wrote it in 1848. In speaking of the troubles in Corea caused by the Mongol invasion, and the ravages of the Japanese corsairs along the Chinese coast during the Ming dynasty, he proceeds to say : "But as the rising grandeur of our present Imperial house began to diffuse itself afar, its quick intelligence perceived that it ought

first to scatter [as it were] slips from the *fu-sang* tree in the Valley of Sunrise ; and thereby those lands (Corea and Japan) were awed into submission for many years, and our eastern frontier remained quiet and protected ; neither of these nations presumed to encroach on our possessions." The Valley of Sunrise, used in the Shu King, or "Book of Records," is regarded as a synonym of Corea, and the *fu-sang* tree is here connected with that land. A few sentences on, Governor Sü quotes from another book, called "Records of Ten Islands or Regions" : "In the sea toward the northeastern shores lie Fu-sang, Păng-kiu, and Ying-chau ; their entire circuit is a thousand li." He then adds : "I think that the story about these Three Fairy Hills arose from the exaggerated descriptions of our own writers, who used them to deceive and mislead men ; for really they were small islands, contiguous to Japan and belonging to it. If their ships of that period went to them out in the ocean, why could not [our people ?] find them if they had searched for them ?" He then relates the quixotic expedition sent by Tsin Chi Hwangti under Sü Fuh to find them, with several thousand men and women, none of whom ever returned. From this reference it may be concluded that Governor Sü regarded Fu-sang and the other two to belong to the Kurile Islands near Yezo. He had access to many works in his own literature, and took unwearied pains to get at the truth of what he was writing about, by asking intelligent foreigners who were able to tell him. Among these were Rev. David Abeel (whose aid he acknowledges), and M. C. Morrison, a son of Rev. Dr. Morrison, the missionary. His opinion deserves to be received as that of an intelligent scholar, though he knew nothing of the question started by de Guignes.

In reading the marquis's translation of Yu Kieh's story, an English scholar can hardly fail to compare it with the "Voyage to Laputa" ; for that land was placed not far from Fu-sang by its clever discoverer and historian. Dean Swift, like Yu Kieh, drew on his imagination for his facts. The numerous references in that "Voyage" to the people of China, their institutions, peculiarities, costumes, and manners, must have been derived or suggested to him by the writings of Semedo, Martini, Mendez Pinto, and other travelers in Asia before 1720, which were probably in Sir William Temple's library. But one would almost as soon think of quoting Swift's assertion in chapter iii of this "Voy-

age" regarding "the two lesser stars or satellites which revolve about Mars," as proof that Professor Asaph Hall's discovery of 1876 had been already known in Queen Anne's reign, as to seriously undertake from these Chinese authors to prove that they knew the American Continent by the name of Fu-sang.

[Then follows the translation of the account of the "Kingdom of Women," which is given in full in the seventeenth chapter of this work. Professor Williams comments:]

From this account, following that of Fu-sang, we might conclude that Ma Twan-lin regarded Hwui-shin alone as his authority for both of them, as he is quoted at the beginning of each section. But the incident of A. D. 508 may have been taken from the "History of the Liang Dynasty." The mention of Tsin-ngan, however, as the residence of the shipwrecked man who found the Nü Kwoh, shows how little dependence can be placed on the Buddhist priest's estimate of the distance or direction of either Fu-sang or Nü Kwoh from China. The only seaport of that day named Tsin-ngan was the present Pu-tien hien, identical with the prefectural city of Hing-hwa, situated between Fuhchau and Tsüen-chau in the province of Fuhkien. This man was probably a fisherman, bound for the Pescadore Islands, who was driven off by a storm through the Bashee Straits into the Pacific Ocean, among the islands east of the Philippines. I think the priest is not responsible for the sailor's story, as it is omitted in the Yuen Kien Lui Han, and only the first part given. The legend of the Nü Kwoh probably applies to two places. Sir John Maundevile* places his Lond of Amazoyne beside the Lond of Caldee where Abraham dwelt; but his Yle of Nacumera, where "alle the men and wōmen of that Yle have Houndes Hedes; and thei ben clept Cynocephali," might be looked for where the "History of the Liang Dynasty" puts them as well as anywhere else.

In his "Book of Marco Polo" (ed. 1871, vol. ii, pp. 338–340), Colonel Yule has brought together notices of the various legends which have appeared from time to time in Eastern Asia of this fabled land of females, to illustrate what the Venetian has reported in chapter xxxi about the "Two Islands called Male and Female." In his other admirably edited work, "Cathay, and the Way Thither" (p. 324), he alludes to the report of Marignolli, about

* "Maundevile's Voyage," ed. by Halliwell, 1839, pp. 154, 197.

A. D. 1330, of a kingdom in Sumatra ruled by women. The first part of Ma's notice, which is certainly ascribed to the shaman, leads one to look northeasterly toward the Kurile Islands for people with so much hair; and suggests a comparison with the inhabitants of Alaska called Kuchin Indians, described in Bancroft's "Native Races" (vol. i, pp. 115, 147, *sqq.*). But it would not be worth while to spend much time in looking for this fabled land, had not the idea got abroad that its location would aid in identifying Fu-sang with some part of America.

[Next comes Professor Williams's translation of the account of the *Wăn Shăn*, or the land of "Marked Bodies," found in the seventeenth chapter of this work, as to which he says:]

It is not certain whether marking and painting the body, or tattooing, is intended by this term *wăn shăn;* but as the Chinese have a technical term, *king*, 黥, used in this extract* to denote the process, it proves that tattooing must be here intended. This practice is less common among the islanders in the North Pacific than in the South, where a warmer climate enables them to show off their pretty colors and figures. The courses and distances from Japan here given would land us in Alaska; but no weight can be attached to them in this quotation from the Liang records.

The distinction of rank, indicated by the different lines described in this extract, is like that in force among the Eskimo tribes near Icy Cape, as described by Armstrong: "At Point Barrow the women have on the chin a vertical line about half an inch broad in the center, extending from the lip, with a parallel but narrower one on either side of it, a little apart. Some had two vertical lines protruding from either angle of the mouth, which is a mark of their high position in the tribe" (Bancroft, vol. i, p. 48). The practice of tattooing has been so common at various times among the Chinese, Japanese, and other inhabitants of Eastern Asia, that nothing can be inferred regarding the country here intended. The singular notice of filling the moat with quicksilver may be paralleled by Sz'ma Tsien's description of the wonderful subterranean tomb of the great conqueror Tsin Chi Hwangti (B. C. 270) in Shensi, wherein he tells us that "rivers, lakes, and seas were imitated by means

* I am unable to find this character in Ma Twan-lin's Chinese account of the country of "Marked Bodies."—E. P. V.

of quicksilver caused to flow in constant circulation by mechanism."

[After giving the translation of the account of the country of *Ta Han*, Professor Williams says :]

In chapter ccxxxi of the *Yuen Kien Lui Han*, a valuable Cyclopædia, compiled by orders of the Emperor Kanghi, and issued in 1710, this section is quoted verbatim from the *Nan Shi* of Li Yen-shau, the same source from which Ma Twan-lin got it. Though that history contains the records of the Liang dynasty (A. D. 502–557), it was not written till about one century afterward, in the Tang dynasty ; and during that interval nothing more seems to have been learned about the lands of Fu-sang, Ta Han, or Nü Kwoh. Nor had Ma Twan-lin found anything in his day, six centuries afterward, to add to what the shaman Hwui-shin reported ; while this Cyclopædia—the product of a commission of learned men who ransacked the literature of China to find whatever was valuable and insert it—contains just the same story, hoary with the twelve hundred years' repose it had had in the *Nan Shi*. To show the carelessness of these compilers in their work, in chapter ccxli another kingdom is described under the name of Ta Han, but not a word is added to indicate how two kingdoms should have had the same name. This last is equally vague with the first in respect to its identification, and reads as follows :

"The 'New Records of the Tang Dynasty' say : 'Ta Han borders on the north of *Kuh;* it is rich in sheep and horses. The men are tall and large, and this has given the name *Ta Han* (i. e., Great China) to their country. This kingdom and *Kuh* are both conterminous with *Kieh-kiah-sz'*, and therefore they were never seen as guests [in our court]. But during the reigns Ching-kwan and Yung-hwui (A. D. 627 to 656) they presented sable skins and horses, and were received. It may be that they have come once since that time.'"

The compilers of the Cyclopædia abridged this extract somewhat, for they do not refer to Lake Baikal, where Ta Han joins the countries of the *Kieh-kiah-sz'*, and *Kuh*, and thus help to identify it. The next section contains an extract of seven pages from the "New Records of Tang" about the *Kieh-kiah-sz'*, or Hakas, whom Klaproth regards as the ancestors of the Kirghis now dwelling in Tomsk. If half of this account be true, the

Hakas formed a powerful kingdom in the Tang dynasty, and their neighbors Ta Han and Kuh are to be looked for on the river Yenisei, or more probably between the Angara and Vitim rivers.

The effort of Professor Neumann to identify the first-named Ta Han with Alaska, simply because he places Wăn Shăn among the Aleutian Islands, and Ta Han lies 5,000 *li* east of it, is based alone on reported distances that are mere guesses. Mr. Leland also refers to de Guignes's opinion that Ta Han meant Kamtchatka, and that Wăn Shăn was Yezo, and adds this comment: "De Guignes determined with great intelligence that the country of the Wen-schin, 7,000 *li* northwest of Japan, must be Jezo, from the exact agreement of the accounts given of that country by Chinese historians of the early part of the sixth century (Goei-chi and Ven-hien-tum-hao, A. D. 510–515) with that of Dutch navigators in 1643. Both describe the extraordinary appearance of the natives, and speak of the abundance of a peculiar mineral resembling quicksilver" (p. 129). Mr. Leland has been misled, in regard to this agreement, by not knowing that these supposed historians are only the names of two books, viz., "Records of the Wei Dynasty" (A. D. 386 to 543), and the same "Antiquarian Researches" from which I have translated these sections. He also assumes that Hwui-shin and his predecessors went by sea, adding that this was "no impossible thing at a time when in China both astronomy and navigation were sciences in a high sense of the word."

[Then follow the accounts of the "Land of Pygmies," of the "Kingdom of Giants," and of the "Islands of Lewchew," none of which have any direct bearing upon the account regarding *Fu-sang*, the "Women's Kingdom," or the countries passed on the way thither. Professor Williams continues:]

In concluding these extracts from Ma Twan-lin's writings, I need hardly draw attention to the vagueness which marks them, when we look for any definite information. His long chapter on Japan bears more marks of well-digested information than any of those which are here given, and indicates constant intercourse between it and China. Mr. Leland quotes from several authors whatever will elucidate and uphold his theory respecting Fu-sang, and deserves thanks for his research in this interesting question. He has, however, been led astray by a similarity, or

an error in spelling, to confound Kamtchatka with Lewchew.* . . . Mr. Leland has a note in which he says: "It [ie., the account of the kingdom of *Lieu-kuei*] is evidently borrowed from the *Tang-schu*, but is much better arranged, and contains some original incidents, on which account I have freely availed myself of it." I have no means of verifying this statement, and therefore am unable to say how far Ma quoted from the "History of the Tang," and also to explain whether Kamtchatka was ever called Lieu-kuei, and what the Chinese characters for this name are, or whether Lieu-kuei is a misprint for Liu-kiu or Lewchew. The name of this insular kingdom has been written a dozen ways by foreigners; it is called Riu-kiu by the Japanese, Doo-choo by the inhabitants, Low-kow by the Cantonese, and Lewchew by the Ningpo people; but it could never have been confounded with Kamtchatka by either of them.

* It appears that Professor Williams was led to confound *Liu-kiu* (球 琉), or Lewchew, with *Lieu-kuei* (流 鬼—characters transcribed in Professor Williams's dictionary as *Liu-kwei*), a term which seems, beyond question, to have been applied to Kamtchatka. The fact that he did not learn the characters for the term *Lieu-kuei* is evidently the cause of his error; and in this case it was he, and not Mr. Leland, who was led astray by the similarity in sound of the two names, one of which was applied to the Lewchew Islands and the other to Kamtchatka.—E. P. V.

CHAPTER XV.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.—NATURE OF THE CHINESE LANGUAGE.

Fu-sang wood—*Niĕ-yao-kiun-ti*—The Warm Spring Valley—The *Shin I King*—The kingdom *Hi-ho-koue*—The astronomer *Hi-ho*—The story of a Corean—An island of women—*P'ung-lai*—An expedition to explore it—The colonization of Japan—*Lang Yuen*—The *Kwun-lun* Mountains—A statue of a native of Fu-sang—A poem to his memory—The tree of stone—Varying translations—The peculiarities of the Chinese language—The brevity and conciseness of the written language—Its lack of clearness—The meaning of groups of characters, or compounds—Proper names—No punctuation—Difficulty of translating correctly—Preparation of M. Julien—Illustrations of mistakes.

To the information regarding Fu-sang, which is contained in the quotations given in the preceding chapters, a few additional items may be added. Klaproth states[1666] that some Japanese writers report that a blackish, petrified wood is found in their country, which is highly valued, and which is called fu-sang wood, or wood of the country of Fu-sang : that this country is Japan, which has received this name because of its beauty, in which it resembles the shrub fu-sang, which is, as is well known, the species of *hibiscus* which we designate by the name of *rosa Sinensis.*

[1667] A passage of the *Shan Hai King,* quoted by some Japanese authors, reads as follows :

"In the vast space placed at the eastern extremity of the world is the mountain *Niĕ-yao-kiun-ti.* It is there that the tree *fu-sang* grows. Its height is three hundred *li.* Its leaves resemble those of mustard. Near this, to the east, is the valley *Wen-yuan-ku.*" The Chinese words, "*Niĕ-yao-kiun-ti,*" are pronounced by the Japanese "*I-yo-kun-te,*" and the Japanese author adds that this is *Iyo,* one of the four provinces of the island

of *Si-kokf*. The valley *Wen-yuan-ku* is also called *T'ang-ku*, or "Warm Springs."

We read in another Chinese work, called *Shin I King:* "In the eastern part of the world there is a mulberry-tree eight hundred feet in height; it covers a large space of ground, and its leaves are ten feet long and six or seven broad. Upon this tree there live silk-worms three feet in length, of which the cocoons furnish a pound of silk. The fruit of this tree is three feet and five inches long."

The following passage is found in another chapter of the *Shan Hai King:* "Beyond the southeastern ocean, and between the *Kan-shui*, or the "Pleasant Rivers," is the kingdom of *Hi-ho-koue* (or, according to the Japanese pronunciation of the characters, *Ghi-wa-kokf*). There lived the virgin *Hi-ho* (Ghi-wa), who espoused *Ti-tsiun*, and gave birth to ten suns." The same book also says that *Hi-ho* (*Ghi-wa*) is the name of a kingdom among the countries of the east, which is also called "The Place where the Sun Rises." . . .

A passage of the *Shan Hai King T'sang-chu*, which is a commentary upon the *Shan Hai King*, says: "In the days of the Emperor Hwang-ti, *Hi-ho* (*Ghi-wa*) was the astronomer charged with the observations of the sun. This prince having given him the country of Fu-sang, he embarked with his family, settled there, and gave this country the name of *Hi-ho-koue* (*Ghi-wa kokf*), or the country of Hi-ho. He had ten children; the boys were named *Yen* (in Japanese, *Fiko*), or the male sun; and the girls *Ki* (in Japanese, *Fime*), or the female sun; the sun being considered as the source of all fecundity." "So," adds the Japanese author, "a man, who in our days would be called *Ko-sak*, would at that time have been called *Ko-fiko;* and a woman named *Ouki-ne* would then have been called *Ouki-fime*. This country," he continues, "was also called *Wa-kokf*" (in Chinese, *Ho-koue*). *Wa* (*Ho*), the second character of *Ghi-wa*, signifies tranquillity and peace; *kokf* means kingdom. *Wa* (in Chinese, *Ho*) is, even now, one of the names of Japan.

Klaproth also reports an incident which indicates that Hwui Shăn told in Corea, as well as in China, the story of his adventures, and that some recollection of his narration was preserved by the people, as the following story of a country inhabited by women recalls Hwui Shăn's account of the "Kingdom of

Women," as well as the Chinese account of the sailors who were shipwrecked upon an island inhabited by women who resembled those of China. The incident is as follows :[1657]

The King *Khi* (of *Wo-tsiu*, one of the divisions of Corea) sent emissaries to look for *Koung*, to capture him, so that he might be punished. When they had reached the eastern coast of the country, they asked an old man if there were any people beyond the sea upon the east. He answered : "Some of the inhabitants of this country once embarked to go a-fishing, when they were assailed by a storm ; and, having been violently driven before the wind for ten days, they reached an island inhabited by people whose language they could not understand, and who had an ancient custom of drowning a young virgin in the sea at the seventh month." The same old man also stated that there was another country in the midst of the sea, inhabited by women, without any men. He said that, simply clothed in linen garments, they threw themselves into the sea, and passed it by swimming. Their bodies resembled those of the Chinese women, and their garments had sleeves three fathoms long. Their country was in the midst of the sea of *Wo-tsiu*.

The expedition above referred to occurred during the reign of the Wei dynasty, i. e., some time between 386 and 534 A. D.[2512]

As a place called *P'ung-lai* is frequently mentioned in connection with Fu-sang, the following statements regarding it may be of interest :

In the year 219 B. C.,[2159] during[1671] the epoch of the Japanese Dairi *Ko-rei-ten-o*, who reigned from 290 to 210 B. C., the Emperor *Shi-hwang*, of the *T'sin* dynasty, reigned in China. He sent the skillful physician *Siu-fu* to the island of *P'ung-lai* to seek for the beverage of immortality. It is stated that, not having succeeded in this commission, he arrived at Japan, and died upon the mountain *Fusi*. The Chinese mythologists pretend that in the Eastern Sea there are three mountains (or islands) of the genii, called *P'ung-lai*, *Fang-chang*, and *Ing-cheu*. They are inaccessible. To the first is also given the name of *P'ung-tao*, or the island of *P'ung;* it is said that they are covered with tabernacles, and with halls of gold and silver, which are used as the habitations of the genii.

It is to these three islands that *Ts'in Shi Hwang Ti* (the Emperor *Shi Hwang*, of the *Ts'in* dynasty) sent an expedition,

composed of some thousands of young people of both sexes, under the guidance of one *Tao-szu*, to seek there for the remedy that confers immortality. The Chinese historians report that the fleet which bore them was shipwrecked, and that a single bark returned with the news of the disaster. It is seen that the Japanese annalists report the contrary. *Sin-fu* was, according to their statement, one of the physicians of the emperor of China; he introduced into their country arts and sciences which they had not before known, and the Japanese have therefore accorded divine honours to him.

It appears that the Chinese tradition of the three fabulous islands, situated in the Eastern Sea, had its origin in the vague ideas which they then had of Japan, which is really composed of three large islands, which could only be reached with difficulty by navigators as inexperienced as the Chinese must have been at that time. Other Chinese authors state that the island, or the mountain, of *P'ung-lai* is found near an island situated to the east of *Ch'ang-koue*, a district of *T'ai-cheu*, of the province of *Che-kiang*.

Mr. Mayers adds [1189] that it is conjectured that this legend has some reference to attempts at colonizing the Japanese islands; and M. de Rosny [2157] states that this expedition is mentioned by a number of Japanese historians.

Klaproth mentions the fact that [1682] the Japanese proverbially apply the name *P'ung-lai shan* to all places where treasure is kept.

In Professor Williams's Dictionary, [2547] the term 閬苑, LANG YUEN, is defined "Fairy-land." The characters mean a vacant or unoccupied pasture-field, or park; and as it is a fact that there is much confusion between the Chinese accounts of "Fairy-land" and of Fu-sang, this may possibly be a reference to the vast plains of America, which, some centuries ago, were almost uninhabited.

Mr. Medhurst [1867] states that 槫桑 (pronounced *Fu-sang* in the Mandarin dialect, and *Hoŏ-song* in the Hok-keën dialect) is a kind of supernatural mulberry-tree, that grows on the east of the *Kwun-lun* hill, toward the sunrising; hence the common expression that the sun rises at Fu-sang.

It is reported [2325] that the name *Kwun-lun* is applied to a range of mountains, rendered famous in Chinese history and

legend, separating Thibet from Chinese Turkestan and the Desert of Gobi. It starts from the Pushtikur Knot, in latitude 36°, N., and runs along easterly nearly parallel between that and the 35th degree. At the 92d degree of longitude, E., in the middle of its course, it divides into two ranges, one declining to the southeast — the Bajinkara, or Snowy Mountains — and unites with the Yung Ling, or Cloudy Mountains. The other branch bends northerly, and, under the various names of Kilien Shan, In Shan, and Ala Shan, passes through Kansuh and Shinsi to join the Inner Hing-ngan range. The *Kwun-lun* range is the Olympus of China, and the supposed source of the *Fung-shwin*.

Professor Williams states that the term *Kwun* means "a peak beyond comparison," and adds that the *Kwun-lun* range is, like the Caucasus among the Arabs, the fairy-land of Chinese writers, one of whom says its peaks are so high that when sunlight is on one side the moonlight is on the other.[2545] The Encyclopædia Britannica[1316] says that the name is derived from the Chinese geographers, and is probably a corruption of some Turkish or Thibetan word; it appears to be unknown locally. The name having been adopted, chiefly on the initiative of Humboldt, before any correct geographical knowledge had been obtained of the region to which it was applied, it has been used with inconvenient want of precision, and this has encouraged erroneous conceptions. Little precise information is available on the subject. It is worthy of notice that the name *Kwun-lun* is also applied to an island in the China Sea (Pulo Condor Island), probably in imitation of the Anamitic name Conon, or Kohnoong.[2546]

As the characters 崑 崙, KWUN-LUN, are composed of the radical for *mountains*, 山, combined with the phonetics 昆 侖, KWUN-LUN, which, taken by themselves, mean[2580] "the canopy of the sky," it seems possible that the name originally meant "mountains reaching to the sky," and that it may have been applied to more than one high range, somewhat as the general term "Alps" is applied in English.

As in some cases Chinese characters terminating in nasals are intended to transcribe foreign words in which no nasal is found — as, for instance, *Kiang-lang* is written for the Sanskrit *Kâla*, and *Thoung-loung-mo* for the Sanskrit *drouma*[1619] — it does not seem impossible that, in case sufficient reason is found for believing

the country of Fu-sang to be identical with Mexico, the name *Kwun-lun*, as applied to the mountain-range east of which Fu-sang is situated, may be used as the Chinese transcription of the Mexican word *Quauhtla*, meaning a mountain, or a range of mountains.[1918]

As an illustration of the knowledge of the country of Fu-sang still preserved among the people of China, the following translation of an account given by Mr. Chung Nam Shan, of San Francisco, in September, 1883, may be found of interest:

"Some fifty *li* east of Canton there is a temple named the temple of Po-lo, outside of the door of which there stands a statue of a man who came from the country of Fu-sang. Here he lived for some years, and here he finally died; and after his death he was deified and his statue placed at the door of the temple. He is represented as standing looking earnestly toward the east, with his right hand shading his eyes. At some later date a visitor to the temple wrote this stanza about him:

'Where the sun rises, in the land of Fu-sang, there is my home;
Seeking glory and riches, I came to the Kingdom of the Central Flower;
Everywhere the cocks crow and the dogs bark, the same in one place as in another,
Everywhere the almond-trees blossom the same.'"

The last two lines are intended to be consolatory to a man that is homesick; the assurance being that one place is substantially the same as another, and the conclusion being that it is therefore foolish to grieve for any particular place.

The Chinese believe that in "Fairy-land" (between which mythical land and the country of Fu-sang there is, as has been mentioned, more or less confusion in their traditions), or in the *Kwun-lun* mountains,[2557] there is a tree of stone,[2542] called K'I-KAN, "the agate gem"; [2539] PIH-SHU, "the green-jade-stone tree," [2557] or LANG-KAN-SHU,[2536] "the coral-tree"; which myth it will hereafter be shown may have originated from a pun, or accidental resemblance between two words of the Mexican language.

Before entering upon the discussion of the account given by Hwui Shăn, it seems necessary to give his story in full, in the original Chinese, as preserved for us by Ma Twan-lin, and place opposite to it the different translations that have been made by the Chinese scholars who have given the subject attention.

This course is necessary, as the disagreements as to the true rendering of various phrases and characters are numerous and important; and Hwui Shăn's report will often be found to be true if a certain reading, for which there is good authority, is adopted, while, if the versions of other translators are accepted, no confirmation of the statement can be found.

It is evident that, in cases in which some five or six translators differ radically as to the meaning of a certain clause, all but one are certainly mistaken as to its true meaning, and it may even be the case that no one of the translators has correctly rendered it. The present author, therefore, while admitting that he has no other knowledge of Chinese than such as he has been able to obtain from the study of a few Chinese-English dictionaries and grammars, during the time that he has been interested in the question as to the true location of the country of Fu-sang, will venture to give his own translation of the account, differing in some points from the version given by any of the celebrated scholars who have preceded him. In all cases, however, the authorities will be quoted in full upon which he relies as justifying the changes in the translation; and it is believed that these authorities will be found sufficiently plain and decided, as to the points in question, to enable all to see the reasons for the rendering that is given. As, moreover, he has had the assistance of a number of native Chinese scholars, as well as of others who have made a study of the Chinese language, some one or more of whom he has consulted as to each doubtful point, he believes that his translation will be accepted as giving at least as accurate a rendering of the true meaning of the original as is found in any of the earlier versions.

The principle has been adopted that, in all cases in which the Chinese text may be understood in two or more ways, one of which is true while the others are not, Hwui Shăn is entitled to that translation which brings his story into conformity with the truth. While there is certainly great danger, in attempting a translation from the Chinese under this principle, that the translator may fail to give the true meaning of the original text, it nevertheless seems plain that if the account be true, such a course will best bring out its truth; while, if it be false, no ingenuity can twist it into a true description.

The possibility of interpreting a sentence in several different

ways arises from the peculiarities of the Chinese language. While it is feasible to so convey a thought in Chinese that there can be no misconception as to the true meaning, or as to the relations which the different words of the sentence bear to one another, and while this is usually done in the colloquial idioms, yet in the written language it is made an object to convey the conception with the least possible number of words or characters, and clearness is therefore frequently sacrificed in favour of brevity.

"Before all things," says Martin,[1825] "a Chinese loves conciseness. While we construct our sentences so as to guard against the possibility of mistake, he is satisfied with giving the reader a hint of his meaning. Our style is a ferry-boat, that carries the reader over without danger or effort on his part; his is only a succession of stepping-stones, which test the agility of the passenger in leaping from one to another. . . . In return for a few hints, the reader himself supplies all the links that are necessary for the continuity of thought."

It is said of Confucius, for instance,[980] that he studies the utmost brevity and terseness, and frequently the most profound Chinese scholars, without the aid of commentaries, are unable to comprehend the meaning of his sentences. Even at this day, among the Chinese, a writer can scarcely lay claim to classical taste unless he is able to couch his thoughts in language so brief and obscure as to require the aid of a commentator to make them intelligible to the common reader.

Dr. Bretschneider states[782] that, in translating from the Chinese, the principal question is the understanding of groups of words in their connection, or phrases, not of single words; for very often the single characters in a phrase lose completely their original meaning. In the dictionaries, for example, you find *fu*, to assist, and *ma*, horse. But *fu ma* is not an "assistant horse," but is used in Chinese historical writings always to designate the son-in-law of the emperor. Chinese literature is very rich in such combinations and phrases formed by two or more characters; and the original meaning of the characters, in most of the cases, does not serve to explain the phrases. It is in vain, then, that you look for them in the dictionaries; the greater part, although often unknown to our European Sinologues, have come down by tradition to the Chinese of the present day, and they are so

familiarized with those terms that they consider it superfluous to incorporate them in the dictionaries. A Chinese dictionary in a European language, with a good collection of phrases, is still a desideratum. At least all existing dictionaries are of no value to the reader as regards the Chinese historical style, and, if he consults only Morrison's or other dictionaries, he runs the risk of committing the greatest mistakes.

In Chinese historical writings, or narratives of journeys, one meets with a great many proper names. The Chinese, in rendering names of countries or men, are obliged to represent every syllable of the name by a similar sounding hieroglyph (it is known that all Chinese words are monosyllabic). As every hieroglyph has a meaning, it is sometimes difficult for a European scholar, translating without a native teacher, to distinguish whether the characters represent only sounds, or whether they must be translated. European translators have often committed errors of this kind.

Another difficulty, to the European reader of Chinese books, arises from the complete ignorance of the Chinese of our system of punctuation. They have some characters which denote the end of a period, but they seldom make use of them; and generally one finds no break in a whole chapter; so that the reader must decide for himself where a point is to be supplied. An erroneous punctuation sometimes changes the sense of the whole period, or even the whole article.

Dr. Bretschneider adds that[781] every Sinologue knows how apt the ambiguous Chinese style is to give rise to misunderstandings, and that often the Chinese themselves are unable to solve the difficulties; and he states[783] that he is of opinion, and thinks every conscientious Sinologue will agree with him, that it is impossible to make correct translations from Chinese in Europe, without the assistance of a good native scholar, except, of course, those Sinologues who have studied the language in China, and who have studied it for a long time.

Professor Max Müller says that,[1962] while the mere translation of a Chinese work into French seems a very ordinary performance, M. Stanislas Julien, who had long been acknowledged as the first Chinese scholar in Europe, had to spend twenty years of incessant labour in order to prepare himself for the task of translating the "Travels of Hiouen-thsang."

As an illustration of the danger of misunderstanding a Chinese text, the following translation of a Chinese ode, by Professor Neumann, is quoted from the "Chinese Repository": [979]

"Cease fighting now for a while,
Let us call back the flowing waves.
Who opposed the enemy in time?
A single wife could overpower him;
Streaming with blood, she grasped the mad offspring of guilt;
She held fast the man, and threw him into the meandering stream.
The Spirit of the Water, wandering up and down on the waves,
Was astonished at the virtue of Ying.
My song is at an end.
Waves meet each other continually;
I see the water green as mountain Peih,
But the brilliant fire returns no more.
How long did we mourn and cry!"

"I am compelled," says Professor Neumann, "to give a free translation of this verse, and confess myself not quite certain of the signification of the poetical figures used by our author." We will subjoin a less free translation:

"The spirit of war has now ceased and vanished away;
Let us go back in thought, returning like the winding stream.
Who was there that could then resist the foe,
When but a single female was found to insult his power?
With her blood she spat on the guilty wretch,
Then, despising life, she sank in the curling waves.
Her pure ice-like spirit now wanders over the stream,
Her courageous soul with hesitancy lingers behind.

"My song ended, I still loitered on the spot, and, casting a look on all around, I saw the hills retaining their blueness, and the sea its azure hue; but the beacon smoke and the shadowing masts return no more. Long I stayed disburdening myself of sighs."

An instance of a still more radical misunderstanding of the meaning of a Chinese sentence is given [978] in the "Chinese Repository," vol. iii, p. 72.

The quotations given above sufficiently show the difficulty sometimes experienced in comprehending the exact meaning of

a Chinese author, and hence it should not be considered as any reflection upon the scholarship and superior knowledge of the eminent gentlemen who have given translations of the Chinese account of Fu-sang, if the present author, relying partly upon the dictionaries and grammars of the language, and partly upon the views of native scholars, ventures in some cases to differ from his predecessors.

Although knowing far less in regard to the Chinese language than any of the celebrated scholars who have discussed Hwui Shăn's story, it is possible that the greater length of time, and the more patient and careful study, which he has devoted to this particular account, may have counterbalanced this disadvantage, and may have enabled him to discover the true meaning of certain phrases which have heretofore been misunderstood.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DESCRIPTION OF FU-SANG.

The Chinese authorities—Variations in the texts—The Chinese text—A literal translation—Parallel translations of eight authors—The date of Hwui Shăn's arrival in China—The location of Fu-sang—The fu-sang trees—The derivation of the name of the country—The leaves of the fu-sang tree—Its first sprouts—Red pears—Thread and cloth—Dwellings—Literary characters—Paper—Lack of arms—The two places of confinement—The difference between them—The pardon of criminals—Marriages of the prisoners—Slave-children—The punishment of a criminal of high rank—The great assembly—Suffocation in ashes—Punishment of his family—Titles of the king and nobles—Musicians—The king's garments—The changing of their colour——A ten-year cycle—Long cattle-horns—Their great size—Horse-carts, cattle-carts, and deer-carts—Domesticated deer—Koumiss—The red pears preserved throughout the year—To-p'u-t'aoes—The lack of iron—Abundance of copper—Gold and silver not valued—Barter in their markets—Courtship—The cabin of the suitor—The sweeping and watering of the path—The ceremonies of marriage—Mourning customs—The worship of images of the dead—The succession to the throne—A visit from a party of Buddhist missionaries—Their labours and success.

The substance of the following account is found in the *Liang-shu*,[1714] or "Records of the Liang Dynasty," contained in the *Nan-shi*, or "History of the South," written by Li Yen-shau,* who lived at the commencement of the seventh century. The *Nan-shi* forms a portion of the Great Annals of China, the *Nien-rh-shi*, or "Twenty-two Historians."

Ma Twan-lin copied the account in his "Antiquarian Researches"; but as Mr. Leland states [1714] that he gives the report "much more correctly," it is evident that he made such changes as he thought the truth to require. A number of points, as to which the different accounts vary, are noted by some of the trans-

* See Klaproth's account, given in chapter iii, and that of Professor Williams, in chapter xiv.

lators, but it is not likely that attention has been called to all the variations. As the present author has been unable to obtain a copy of any other than Ma Twan-lin's account, that alone is given; but in a few important cases, in which Mr. Leland and the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys have pointed out the difference between the text of Ma Twan-lin and that of the *Liang-shu*, the character found in the latter is given in a note in the column headed "Definition." It would be interesting to compare the different Chinese versions of Hwui Shăn's story, and such a comparison would undoubtedly do much to remove difficulties and assist in bringing the truth to light; when it would probably be found that most of Ma Twan-lin's "corrections," like those of some of our modern Shakespearean commentators, resulted only from a failure to understand the original text, and that it is necessary to reject them, in order to arrive at the true meaning of the author.

The left-hand pages that follow contain the characters of Ma Twan-lin's text, with their sounds, and Professor Williams's definitions of their meaning, with a column showing the page of his dictionary upon which they are found. In the last column is given that English word which comes the nearest to expressing the meaning of the Chinese character; and, by reading these words in their order down the column, a literal translation of the story will be discovered, which will, in most places, be found intelligible—such English words as are necessary to show the connection with one another of the characters, and the ideas which they express, having been inserted in small type.

Upon the opposite pages eight different translations will be found, being those of de Guignes, Klaproth, Neumann, de Rosny, Julien, d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, Williams, and the present author; these being given in the order above-named, and an English version of the first six being presented instead of the original French or German of their authors. In making these translations it has been my intention to follow the foreign text as closely and literally as is consistent with intelligibility and with justice to the translators. It will be seen that, in a number of cases in which my version of the Chinese text differs from that of the majority, I am nevertheless supported by some one or more of the scholars who have previously studied the subject.

No.	Charact'r	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
1	扶	144	FU	To assist, support.	FU-
2	桑	724	SANG	The mulberry tree.	SANG.
3	扶	144	FU	Same as 1.	FU-
4	桑	724	SANG	Same as 2.	SANG
5	國	491	KWOH	A state, country, region.	COUNTRY
6	者	38	CHĚ	This, that; indicates the subject of the proposition.	REGARDING:
7	齊	966	TS'I	The name of a dynasty.	in the reign of the TS'I dynasty,
8	永	1149	YUNG	Perpetual, eternal, final.	in the years called EVERLASTING
9	元	1134	YUEN	The first, the commencement.	FOUNDATION,
10	元	1134	YUEN	Same as 9.	in the FIRST
11	年	634	NIEN	A year.	YEAR,
12	其	342	K'I	He, she, it, that, there.	THAT
13	國	491	KWOH	Same as 5.	COUNTRY
14	有	1113	YIU	To have, to be, existence.	HAD
15	沙	730	SHA	Sand, gravel. (Transcription of the Sanskrit Sramana.)	a SHA-
16	門	576	MAN	A gate, a door. (Transcription of the Sanskrit Sramana.)	MAN
17	慧	265	HWUI	Intelligent, wise, mild.	named HWUI
18	深	736	SHĂN	Deep, profound, learned.	SHĂN
19	來	498	LAI	To come, to reach.	who CAME
20	至	60	CHI	To arrive, to, at.	TO
21	荊	403	KING	A thorny bush. (Name of a Chinese political district.)	KING-
22	州	48	CHEU	An islet, a district, a region. (Name of a Chinese political district.)	CHEU
23	說	788	SHWOH	To speak, narrate.	and TOLD
24	云	1142	YUN	To speak, say, circulate.	the following STORY:

DE GUIGNES.

The following is the account which has been preserved for us. It was given by a priest who went to China in the year 499 A. D. in the reign of the *Tey* dynasty.

KLAPROTH.

In the first of the years *young yuan* of the reign of *Fe-ti*, of the dynasty of *Thsi*, a *Chamen* (or Buddhist priest) called *Hoei chin*, arrived from the country of *Fu-sang* at *King-tcheou*. He related what follows:

NEUMANN.

During the reign of the *Tsi* dynasty, in the first year of the years bearing the designation "Eternal Origin" (i. e., in the year 499 of our era), there came a Buddhist priest from this kingdom, who was called by his cloister-name of *Hoei-schin*, i. e., "Universal Sympathy," to *King-tscheu*—an old name for the present district of *Hu-Kuang* and several adjoining districts—who said:

DE ROSNY.

(Not translated.)

JULIEN.

The kingdom of Fu-sang (was made known to the Chinese) in the first year of the period Yong-Youen of the dynasty of the Thsi (499). In this kingdom there was a *Cha-men*, named Hoei-chin, who came into the district of King-tcheou. He related that which follows:

D'HERVEY.

In regard to the kingdom of Fu-sang, the first year, *yung-youen*, of the dynasty of *Tsi*, there was a *Cha-men*, or Buddhist priest of this kingdom, called *Hoei-chin*, who arrived at the city of *King-tcheou*, and who reported that which follows:

WILLIAMS.

In the first year of the reign Yung-yuen of the emperor Tung Hwăn-hau, of the Tsi dynasty (A. D. 499), a Shaman priest named Hwui-shin arrived at King-chau from the kingdom of Fusang. He related as follows:

VINING.

In the first year of the reign of the Ts'I dynasty, known by the designation YUNG-YUEN, or "Everlasting Foundation" (i. e., in the year 499 A. D.), a Shaman, or Buddhist priest, named HWUI SHĂN, came to KING-CHEU from that country, and narrated the following account regarding the country of FU-SANG (or FU-SANG-KWOH).

No.	Charact'r	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
25	扶	144	FU	Same as 1.	FU–
26	桑	724	SANG	Same as 2.	SANG
27	在	941	TSAI	To be in or at, to dwell.	IS SITUATED
28	大	839	TA	Great, chief, prominent.	from the GREAT
29	漢	164	HAN	A Chinese, relating to China; name of a river; the milky way.	HAN
30	國	491	KWOH	Same as 5.	COUNTRY
31	東	930	TUNG	The spring of the year, east, eastward.	to the EAST
32	二	721	'RH	Two; the second; to duplicate.	TWICE
33	萬	1040	WAN	Ten thousand; many; an indefinite number.	TEN THOUSAND or
34	餘	1121	YÜ	The rest, the remnants, superabundant.	MORE
35	里	518	LI	A Chinese mile, which has been of various lengths, from 1,158 to 1,894 feet.	LI (Chinese miles). That
36	地	879	TI	The earth, a place, land.	PLACE
37	在	941	TSAI	Same as 27.	IS SITUATED
38	中	105	CHUNG	The middle, center.	at the MIDDLE
39	國	491	KWOH	Same as 5.	COUNTRY
40	之	53	CHI	Sign of the genitive case.	'S
41	東	930	TUNG	Same as 31.	EAST.
42	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THAT
43	土	920	T'U	The earth, a region, place.	REGION
44	多	909	TO	Numerous, many, often.	has MANY
45	扶	144	FU	Same as 1.	FU–
46	桑	724	SANG	Same as 2.	SANG
47	木	607	MUH	Wood, a tree.	TREES,
48	故	434	KU	The cause, because, for, formerly, old.	and it is BECAUSE

DE GUIGNES.

The kingdom of *Fusang* is situated twenty thousand *li* to the east of the country of *Tahan*. It is also east of China. It produces a great number of trees called *fusang*,

KLAPROTH.

Fusang is twenty thousand *li* to the east of the country of *Tahan*, and equally to the east of China. In this country there grow many trees called fusang,

NEUMANN.

Fusang is about twenty thousand Chinese miles distant from *Ta-han* in an easterly direction. The land lies easterly from the Middle Kingdom. Many *fusang* trees grow here,

DE ROSNY.

The country of Fou-sô is situated at the east of the country of Tai-kan. According to the authority of the work entitled Toung-tien, Fou-sô is distant from the country of Tai-kan in an easterly direction about 20,000 *li*. It is placed to the east of the "Middle Kingdom" (China). Many trees, called Fou-sô-mok (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*), are found there. (In Japanese, "SONO TSOUTSI NI FOU-SÔ-MOK ONOSI," "In hanc terram FOU-SO [sic vocati] arbores multi sunt"),

JULIEN.

This kingdom is situated about twenty thousand *li* to the east of the kingdom of Ta-han. This country is to the east of the Middle Kingdom. It produces a great number of fusang trees,

D'HERVEY.

Fu-sang is situated more than twenty thousand *li* to the east of the kingdom of *Ta-han*, and is equally to the east of China. It contains many *fu-sang* trees,

WILLIAMS.

Fu-sang lies east of the kingdom of *Ta-han* more than twenty thousand *li;* it is also east of the Middle Kingdom. It produces many *fu-sang* trees,

VINING.

FU-SANG is situated twice ten thousand LI (Chinese miles) or more to the east of the Great HAN country. That land is also situated at the east of the Middle Kingdom (China). That region has many FU-SANG trees, and it is from

No.	Charact'r	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
49	以	278	I	By means of, to use, using, taking, to serve one's self with. Because; to consider as, to regard, to be of the opinion.	OF THESE trees that they
50	爲	1047	WÉI	To do, to make.	GIVE the country its
51	名	600	MING	A name, a title, famous.	NAME.
52	扶	144	FU	Same as 1.	The FU-
53	桑	724	SANG	" " 2.	SANG 's
54	葉	1081	YEH	The leaves of plants.	LEAVES
55	似	837	SZ'	Like, appearing, resembling.	RESEMBLE
56	桐	934	T'UNG	The name of a tree. (As this character differs from the one given in the *Liang Shu*, the true reading is uncertain.)	? and the
57	初	91	CH'U	To begin, the first.	FIRST
58	生	742	SHĂNG	To produce, bear, grow, come forth.	SPROUTS are
59	如	297	JŬ	As, like, to equal.	LIKE
60	筍	813	SIŬN	The tender shoots of bamboo.	BAMBOO SHOOTS.
61	國	491	KWOH	Same as 5.	The COUNTRY 's
62	人	286	JĂN	A human being.	PEOPLE
63	食	766	SHIH	To eat or drink, take food.	EAT
64	之	53	CHI	Same as 40. A pronoun in the accusative.	THEM and the (or a)
65	實	769	SHIH	Fruit of plants; real, solid.	FRUIT which is
66	如	297	JŬ	Same as 59.	LIKE a
67	梨	515	LI	A pear.	PEAR,
68	而	719	'RH	And, if, still, on the contrary.	BUT
69	赤	72	CH'IH	A reddish carnation; light-red colour.	REDDISH. They
70	績	986	TSIH	To spin thread.	SPIN THREAD from
71	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEIR
72	皮	679	P'I	Skin, leather, a surface, bark.	BARK,

DE GUIGNES.

from which has come the name borne by the country. The leaves of the *fusang* are similar to those of the tree which the Chinese call *tong*. When they first appear, they resemble the shoots of the reeds called bamboos, and the people of the country eat them. The fruit has the form of a pear, and inclines toward red in colour; from its bark they make cloth,

KLAPROTH.

of which the leaves resemble those of the *thoung* (Bignonia Tomentosa), and the first shoots those of the bamboo. The people of the country eat them. The bark of this tree is prepared in the same way as that of hemp,

NEUMANN.

whose leaves resemble the *Dryandra Cordifolia*, but the sprouts, on the contrary, those of the bamboo, and these are eaten by the inhabitants of the land. The fruit in its form resembles a pear, but is red. A species of linen cloth is prepared from the bark,

DE ROSNY.

Their leaves are similar to those of the *tô* tree; when they are young they are like bamboo sprouts, and the natives eat them. Their fruits are like pears, and of a red colour. The fibers of the bark are drawn out

JULIEN.

and it is from this fact that it derives its name. In its leaves, the fu-sang tree resembles the thong tree (Paullownia imperialis). When they commence to grow they are like the (edible) shoots of the bamboo. The inhabitants eat them. The fruits of this tree resemble pears, but they are red. They spin (the fibers of) the bark,

D'HERVEY.

and it is from this fact that its name is derived. The leaves of the *fu-sang* tree are similar to those of the *tong* tree (according to Leland, the *Dryanda cordata* or *Elæococca verucosa*). When the *fu-sang* commences to grow, it resembles the young sprouts of the bamboo, and the inhabitants of the country eat it. Its fruit has the form of a pear, and is of a red colour. From its bark they make a cloth,

WILLIAMS.

from which it derives its name. The leaves of the *fu-sang* resemble those of the *tung* tree. It sprouts forth like the bamboo, and the people eat the shoots. Its fruit resembles the pear, but is red; the bark is spun

VINING.

these trees that the country derives its name. The leaves of the FU-SANG resemble ——? and the first sprouts are like those of the bamboo. The people of the country eat them and the (or a) fruit, which is like a pear (in form), but of a reddish colour. They spin thread from their bark,

No.	Charact'r	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
73	爲	1047	WÉI	Same as 50.	from which they MAKE
74	布	713	PU	Cotton, linen, or hempen fabrics.	CLOTH,
75	以	278	I	Same as 49.	OF WHICH they
76	爲	1047	WÉI	" " 50.	MAKE
77	衣	270	I	Clothes, garments.	CLOTHING,
78	亦	1093	YIH	And, also.	AND
79	以	278	I	Same as 49.	OF WHICH they
80	爲	1047	WÉI	" " 50.	MAKE a
81	錦	399	KIN	A kind of thin brocade. The *Liang-shu* has here the character MIEN, 綿, which signifies fine silk, soft.	FINER MATERIAL. They
82	作	1005	TSOH	To act, to do, to make.	MAKE with
83	版	651	PAN	A board, a plank for building adobe walls.	PLANKS OF THE KIND USED FOR BUILDING ADOBE WALLS, their
84	屋	1064	WUH	A house, a cabin.	HOUSES. They are
85	無	1059	WU	None, not, destitute of.	DESTITUTE OF
86	城	77	CH'ING	A citadel, a walled city.	CITADELS and
87	郭	492	KWOH	The second wall of a large city.	WALLED CITIES. They
88	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	HAVE
89	文	1041	WĂN	Lines, marks, literature, literary.	LITERARY
90	字	1032	TSZ'	A character in writing; writing.	CHARACTERS. They
91	以	278	I	Same as 49.	USE the
92	扶	144	FU	" " 1.	FU-
93	桑	724	SANG	" " 2.	SANG
94	皮	679	P'I	" " 72.	BARK to
95	爲	1047	WÉI	" " 50.	MAKE
96	紙	56	CHI	Paper, stationery, a document.	PAPER.

DE GUIGNES.

and other stuffs with which the people clothe themselves, and the boards which are made from it are employed in the construction of their houses. No walled cities are found there. The people have a species of writing,

KLAPROTH.

and cloth and clothing are made of it. Flowered stuffs are also manufactured from it. Wooden planks are used for the construction of their houses, for in this country there are no cities, and no walled habitations. The inhabitants have a species of writing, and make paper from the bark of the *fusang*.

NEUMANN.

and is used for clothing, and a species of flowered tissue is also prepared from it. The houses are made of wooden beams. Fortified places and walled places are unknown. Written characters are used in this land, and paper is made from the bark of the *fu-sang*.

DE ROSNY.

to make cloth, from which clothing is made.

The planks of the tree are employed to build their houses. In this country there are no cities. The natives have a method of writing, and they make clothing (*sic*) from the bark of the fou-sô tree.

JULIEN.

and from them make cloth to make their garments.

They also make from them a species of brocade (*sic*). (The inhabitants) construct houses of planks. They have no walled cities. They have a writing, and make paper from the (fibers of the) bark of the fu-sang.

D'HERVEY.

suitable for making clothing, and also thinner fabrics, which have the appearance of silk. The houses are constructed of planks. Neither fortified cities nor walled enclosures are found in Fusang; but the people have a method of writing, and make paper from the bark of the *fu-sang*.

WILLIAMS.

into cloth for dresses; and woven into brocade. The houses are made of planks. There are no walled cities with gates. The [people] use characters and writing, making paper from the bark of the *fu-sang*.

VINING.

from which they make cloth, of which they make clothing. They also manufacture a finer fabric from it. In constructing their houses they use planks, such as are generally used when building adobe walls. They have no citadels or walled cities. They have literary characters, and make paper from the bark of the FU-SANG.

No.	Charact'r	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
97	無	1059	WU	Same as 85.	They ARE DESTITUTE OF
98	兵	698	PING	A soldier, troops, a weapon, military.	MILITARY WEAPONS
99	甲	355	KIAH	Armour, a soldier, military.	and ARMOUR,
100	不	717	PUH	No, not.	and they do NOT
101	攻	461	KUNG	To attack, to fight with, to rouse.	WAGE
102	戰	45	CHEN	To join battle, a battle, war, military.	WAR
103	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	in THAT
104	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	KINGDOM.
105	法	123	FAH	A law, a rule, a religion.	According to their RULES (of law or religion)
106	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	they HAVE
107	南	614	NAN	The south, to go south, summer.	a SOUTHERN
108	北	709	POH	The north, to separate, oppose.	and a NORTHERN
109	獄	1139	YUH	A prison, a jail.	PLACE OF CONFINEMENT.
110	若	296	JOH	As, if, perhaps, like.	IF
111	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	they HAVE
112	犯	128	FAN	To offend, violate; a criminal.	a CRIMINAL
113	輕	407	K'ING	Light, not heavy, slight.	who has SLIGHTLY
114	罪	1016	TSUI	Trespass, crime, sin; punishment.	SINNED,
115	者	38	CHÉ	Same as 6.	HE
116	入	299	JUH	To enter, go into.	ENTERS
117	南	614	NAN	Same as 107.	the SOUTHERN
118	獄	1139	YUH	" " 109.	PRISON,
119	罪	1016	TSUI	" " 114.	but if his CRIME
120	重	108	CHUNG	Heavy, weighty, important.	WEIGHS

DE GUIGNES.	and they love peace. Two prisons, one placed in the south and the other in the north, are designed to confine their criminals, with this difference, that the most guilty
KLAPROTH.	They have no weapons or armies, and do not make war. According to the laws of the kingdom, there are a southern prison and a northern prison. Those who have committed crimes that are not very serious are sent to the southern prison, but great criminals
NEUMANN.	The people have no weapons, and carry on no wars. According to the regulations of the kingdom, there exist, however, a southern and a northern prison. The petty transgressors are shut up in the southern, and the greater
DE ROSNY.	They have no offensive weapons or defensive armour, and do not wage wars between themselves.
JULIEN.	They have neither armour nor lances, and do not wage war. According to the laws of the kingdom, there are two prisons, that of the south and that of the north. Those who have committed a misdemeanour of small magnitude are confined in the southern prison; and those who have committed a crime
D'HERVEY.	They have no soldiers, and no thought of making war. According to the laws of their kingdom, there exist a northern prison and a southern prison. Those who have committed crimes of little gravity are sent to the southern prison, while the great criminals
WILLIAMS.	There are no mailed soldiers, for they do not carry on war. The law of the land prescribes a southern and a northern prison. Criminals convicted of light crimes are put into the former, and those guilty of grievous offences
VINING.	They have no military weapons or armour, and they do not wage war in that kingdom. According to their rules (of government or of religion) they have a southern and a northern place of confinement. An offender who has transgressed but slightly enters the southern place of confinement, but if he has sinned heavily

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
121	者	38	CHÉ	Same as 6.	HE
122	入	299	JUH	" " 116.	ENTERS
123	北	709	POH	" " 108.	the NORTHERN
124	獄	1139	YUH	" " 109.	PRISON.
125	有	1113	YIU	" " 14.	If he may HAVE
126	赦	748	SHE	To remit punishment, pardon, forgive.	PARDON,
127	則	956	TSEH	A rule, law, precept; because, then.	THEN
128	放	135	FANG	To let go, liberate; indulge; to send away.	he is SENT AWAY
129	南	614	NAN	Same as 107.	to (or possibly from the) SOUTHERN
130	獄	1139	YUH	" " 109.	PRISON,
131	不	717	PUH	" " 100.	but if there is NO
132	赦	748	SHE	" " 126.	PARDON
133		38	CHÉ	" " 6.	for HIM,
134		956	TSEH	" " 127.	THEN
135		135	FANG	" " 128.	he is SENT AWAY
136	北	709	POH	" " 108.	to the NORTHERN
137	獄	1139	YUH	" " 109.	PRISON.
138	在	941	TSAI	" " 27.	The DWELLERS
139	北	709	POH	" " 108.	in the NORTHERN
140	獄	1139	YUH	" " 109.	PRISON,
141	者	38	CHÉ	" " 6.	THOSE
142	男	614	NAN	The male of the human species, a man, a son.	MEN
143	女	641	NÜ	Women, a lady, a wife, young.	and WOMEN,
144	相	790	SIANG	Mutually, together, to assist, to examine, look at.	when they (have) TOGETHER

These three words are not found in the text of Ma Twan-lin. They are inserted here on the authority of Mr. Kwong Ki Chiu.

DE GUIGNES.

are placed in the northern prison, and are afterward transferred into that of the south, if they obtain their pardon; otherwise they are condemned to remain all their lives in the first.

They are permitted to

KLAPROTH.

are shut up in the northern one. Those who may receive their pardon are sent to the first; those, on the contrary, to whom it can not be accorded, are confined in the northern prison. The men and the women who are shut up in the latter are permitted to

NEUMANN.

in the northern prison, so that those who may be pardoned are placed in the southern jail, while, upon the contrary, those as to whom this is not the case are confined in the northern prison. The men and women confined here for life are allowed to

DE ROSNY.

(Not translated.)

JULIEN.

in the northern prison. If the culprit obtains pardon, he is put in the southern prison, and if he does not obtain pardon, he is put in the northern prison. In the northern prison, which receives criminals of the two sexes, if a man and woman

D'HERVEY.

are confined in the northern prison, in such a manner that the southern prison receives those who may obtain pardon, while those who can not be pardoned are placed in the northern prison, from which they can never be released. Among the prisoners of the two sexes of the northern prison

WILLIAMS.

into the latter. Criminals, when pardoned, are let out of the southern prison; but those in the northern prison are not pardoned. Prisoners in the latter

VINING.

he enters the northern place of confinement. If there is pardon for him, then he is sent away to (or, possibly, from) the southern place of confinement, but if he can not be pardoned, then he is sent away to the northern one. Those men and women dwelling in the northern place of confinement, when they

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
145	配	672	P'EI	A mate, a companion, as a wife; to pair, to mate, equal.	MATE (d) and
146	生	742	SHĂNG	Same as 58.	BEAR (or have borne)
147	男	614	NAN	" " 142.	MALE children; at
148	八	647	PAH	Eight.	EIGHT
149	歲	827	SUI	A year of one's age, age, years, yearly.	YEARS of age they
150	爲	1047	WÉI	Same as 50.	MAKE them
151	奴	640	NU	A slave.	SLAVES, but if they
152	生	742	SHĂNG	Same as 58.	BEAR (or have borne)
153	女	641	NŬ	" " 143.	FEMALE children, at
154	九	413	KIU	Nine, many, deep.	NINE
155	歲	827	SUI	Same as 149.	YEARS of age they
156	爲	1047	WÉI	" " 50.	MAKE them
157	婢	675	PI	A maid-servant; an unmarried female slave.	FEMALE SLAVES.
158	犯	128	FAN	Same as 112.	The
159	罪	1016	TSUI	" " 114. To transgress, to commit a crime; guilty.	GUILTY
160	之	53	CHI	" " 40.	one 'S
161	身	735	SHĂN	The trunk, the body.	BODY
162	至	60	CHI	Same as 20.	UNTIL (or at)
163	死	836	SZ'	Death, to die.	DEATH does
164	不	717	PUH	Same as 100.	NOT
165	出	98	CH'UH	To go forth, to go out.	GO FORTH. When a
166	貴	484	KWÉI	Honourable, noble, good.	NOBLE
167	人	286	JĂN	Same as 62.	MAN
168	有	1113	YIU	" " 14.	HAS

DE GUIGNES.	marry, but their children are made slaves. When criminals are found occupying one of the principal ranks in the nation
KLAPROTH.	marry each other. The male children born from these unions are sold as slaves at the age of eight years; the girls at the age of nine years. The criminals who are confined there never come forth alive. When a man of high rank
NEUMANN.	marry. The boys born of these marriages become slaves when eight years old, but the girls not until they have passed their ninth year. When a man of high rank
DE ROSNY.	(Not translated.)
JULIEN.	have commerce with each other, and, if a boy is born, he is enslaved at the age of eight years; if a girl is born, she is enslaved at the age of nine years. The men who have committed a crime remain in prison until their death. When a nobleman
D'HERVEY.	marriages are permitted. The children which are born of these unions become slaves, the boys at the age of eight years, and the girls at the age of nine years. When a person of elevated rank
WILLIAMS.	marry. Their boys become bondmen when eight years old, and the girls bondwomen when nine years old. Convicted criminals are not allowed to leave their prison while alive. When a nobleman (or an official) has
VINING.	mate (or have mated) and bear (or have borne) children; the boys are made slaves at the age of eight years, and the girls at the age of nine years. The criminal (or the criminal's body) is not allowed to go out up to (or at) the time of his death. When a nobleman has

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
169	罪	1016	TSUI	Same as 114.	TRANSGRESSED,
170	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	the COUNTRY
171	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	's PEOPLE,
172	大	839	TA	" " 28.	in a GREAT
173	會	264	HWUI	To collect, assemble; an assembly, meeting.	ASSEMBLY,
174	坐	1002	TSO	To sit, squat, kneel; to sit in judgment on.	SIT in judgment on the
175	罪	1016	TSUI	Same as 114.	TRANSGRESSING
176	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	MAN,
177	於	1118	YŬ	A preposition, in, at, on, with, by, to be in, to occupy a position.	IN an
178	阬	323	K'ANG	A ditch, excavation, pit; a tumulus.	EXCAVATED TUMULUS.
179	對	924	TUI	To front, opposite, to respond, a sign of the dative.	IN FRONT OF
180	之	53	CHI	Same as 40.	HIM
181	宴	1090	YEN	A feast, a banquet, merriment.	they FEAST
182	飲	1102	YIN	To drink, to receive, concealed.	and DRINK,
183	分	129	FĂN	To separate, divide, share, distribute.	and SEPARATE
184	訣	447	KÜEH	Parting or dying words, a farewell, to take leave.	from him TAKING LEAVE
185	若	296	JOH	Same as 110.	of him AS
186	死	836	SZ'	" " 163.	if from a DYING
187	別	684	PIEH	To separate, divide, to part, to leave, a parting, moreover.	man SEPARATING
188	焉	1082	YEN	A final affirmative particle.	TRULY.
189	以	278	I	Same as 49.	WITH
190	灰	260	HWUI	Ashes, embers, lime, dust.	ASHES
191	繞	292	JAO	To wind around, to be entangled in, to go about, to environ.	they SURROUND
192	之	53	CHI	Same as 40.	HIM

DE GUIGNES.	the other chiefs assemble around them; they place them in a ditch, and hold a great feast in their presence. They are then judged. Those who have merited death are buried alive in ashes,
KLAPROTH.	commits a crime, the people assemble in great numbers. They sit down face to face with the criminal, who is placed in a ditch, and regale themselves with a banquet, and take leave of him as of a dying man. Then he is surrounded by ashes.
NEUMANN.	commits a crime, a great assembly of the people of the kingdom is called, and a banquet is held in the presence of the criminal, which takes place in an excavation. There they bestrew him with ashes, and take leave of him as of a dying person.
DE ROSNY.	(Not translated.)
JULIEN.	commits a crime, the inhabitants gather together in a great assembly. The culprit is placed in a subterraneous place, and food and drink are placed before him; then they take leave of him as when one takes leave of one that is dead. He is surrounded with ashes.
D'HERVEY.	commits a crime, the people of the kingdom assemble in great numbers, place the criminal in an excavation, celebrate a banquet in his presence, and take leave of him as of a dying man. Then he is surrounded with ashes.
WILLIAMS.	been convicted of crime, the great assembly of the nation meets and places the criminal in a hollow (or pit); they set a feast, with wine, before him, and then take leave of him. If the sentence is a capital one, at the time they separate they surround (the body) with ashes.
VINING.	committed a crime, the people of the country hold a great assemblage and sit in judgment on the culprit, in an excavated tumulus. They feast and drink before him, and bid him farewell when parting from him, as if taking leave of a dying man. Then they surround him with ashes

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
193	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THERE. If of
194	一	1095	YIH	One, the first, the same.	ONE
195	重	108	CHUNG	Same as 120. To repeat, to add, a time, again, a classifier of thickness or layers.	WEIGHT,
196	則	956	TSEH	Same as 127.	THEN
197	一	1095	YIH	" " 194.	ONE
198	身	735	SHĂN	" " 161.	BODY (or person) was
199	屏	702	P'ING	A screen-wall, a defence, to hide, to expel, to reject; to spoil, as robbers. To keep back.	HIDDEN
200	退	926	T'UI	To retreat, draw back, abate, yield.	AWAY. If of
201	二	721	'RH	Same as 32.	DOUBLE
202	重	108	CHUNG	" " 120.	WEIGHT,
203	則	956	TSEH	" " 127.	THEN the
204	身	735	SHĂN	" " 161.	BODIES were
205	及	394	KIH	To effect, to reach to, to implicate, also, concerning.	IMPLICATED of the
206	子	1030	TSZ'	A child, a son, a boy, an heir.	CHILDREN and
207	孫	829	SUN	A grandson, a grandchild, suckers.	GRANDCHILDREN. If of
208	三	723	SAN	Three, thrice, several.	TRIPLE
209	重	108	CHUNG	Same as 120.	WEIGHT, of
210	者	38	CHÉ	" " 6.	THOSE
211	則	956	TSEH	" " 127.	THEN were
212	及	394	KIH	" " 205.	IMPLICATED
213	七	987	TS'IH	Seven.	SEVEN
214	世	763	SHI	An age, a generation; the world; times, seasons.	GENERATIONS. The
215	名	600	MING	Same as 51.	TITLE of the
216	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	COUNTRY 's

DE GUIGNES.	and their posterity is punished according to the magnitude of the crime.
KLAPROTH.	For an offense of little gravity, the criminal alone is punished, but for a great crime, the culprit, his sons, and grandsons, are punished; finally, for the greatest offenses, his descendants to the seventh generation are included in the punishment.
NEUMANN.	If the transgressor is of low rank, he alone is punished; if of higher rank, the punishment falls upon his children and grandchildren also, and, if of the highest rank, the punishment reaches to the seventh generation.
DE ROSNY.	(Not translated.)
JULIEN.	If a man has committed a grave crime, he alone is cut off from society. If he has committed two grave crimes, the same punishment is visited also upon his children and his nephews; if he has committed three, this punishment is extended to the seventh generation.
D'HERVEY.	If the crime is only one of the first degree, the criminal alone is punished; if the crime is of the second degree, his children and grandchildren are punished with him; and, finally, if the crime is of the third degree, the descendants of the criminal to the seventh generation are included in his chastisement.
WILLIAMS.	For crimes of the first grade, the sentence involves only the person of the culprit; for the second, it reaches the children and grandchildren; while the third extends to the seventh generation.
VINING.	there. For a single crime (or a crime of the first magnitude), only one person (the culprit) was hidden (or sent) away. For two crimes (or a crime of the second magnitude), the children and grandchildren were included in the punishment. For three crimes (or a crime of the third magnitude), seven generations were included in the punishment.

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
217	王	1043	WANG	A king, a ruler, royal, to be a king.	KING
218	爲	1047	WÉI	Same as 50.	is MADE
219	乙	1096	YIH	One; bent; often used as a pedantic form of — YIH, meaning, one, the first.	the CHIEF
220	祁	345	K'I	Full, abundant, very, large, numerous, multitudes, a crowd of people.	of the MULTITUDES.
221	貫	484	KWÉI	Same as 166.	The NOBLE
222	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	MEN
223	第	879	TI	A series, an order. Placed before figures, it forms the ordinal numbers.	of the FIRST
224	一	1095	YIH	Same as 194.	rank,
225	者	38	CHÉ	" " 6.	THESE
226	爲	1047	WÉI	" " 50.	are MADE
227	對	924	TUI	" " 179.	TUI–
228	盧	554	LU	A vessel for containing rice, a fire-pan, a grog-shop, black.	LU;
229	第	879	TI	Same as 223.	of the
230	二	721	'RH	" " 32.	SECOND
231	者	38	CHÉ	" " 6.	rank, THESE
232	爲	1047	WÉI	" " 50.	are MADE
233	小	795	SIAO	Small, little, inferior.	LITTLE
234	對	924	TUI	Same as 179.	TUI–
235	盧	554	LU	" " 228.	LU;
236	第	879	TI	" " 223.	of the
237	三	723	SAN	" " 208.	THIRD
238	者	38	CHÉ	" " 6.	rank, THESE
239	爲	1047	WÉI	" " 50.	are MADE
240	納	611	NAH	To enter, to receive, to insert, within.	NAH–

DE GUIGNES.	The king bears the title of noble *Y-chi*, the nobles of the nation after him are the great and petty *Touy-lou*, and the
KLAPROTH.	The name of the king of the country is *Y-khi* (or *Yit-khi*). The nobles of the first class are called *Toui-lou ;* those of the second, *little Toui-lou ;* and those of the third
NEUMANN.	The name of the king is pronounced "*Ichi*"; the nobles of the first class are called "*Tuilu*"; the second class, "*Little Tui-lu*"; and those of the third class
DE ROSNY.	They give to their king the name of *Kiki-zin*, that is to say, "the most honourable man,"
JULIEN.	The king is called *I-ki*. The nobles of the first class are the *Toui-lou ;* those of the second class, the *little Toui-lou ;* those of the third class, the
D'HERVEY.	The king is called *Y-ki*. The nobility of the first class are called *toui-lou ;* those of the second class, *little toui-lou ;* and those of the third class
WILLIAMS.	The king of this country is termed *yueh-ki ;* the highest rank of nobles is called *tui-lu ;* the next, little *tui-lu ;* and the lowest,
VINING.	The title of the king of the country is "The chief of the multitudes." The noblemen of the first rank are called "*Tui-lu*"; those of the second rank, "Little *Tui-lu*"; and those of the third rank,

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
241	咄	921	TUH	To speak to one another, to talk.	TUH
242	沙	730	SHA	Same as 15.	SHA.
243	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	The COUNTRY
244	王	1043	WANG	" " 217.	's KING,
245	行	207	HING	To step, to go to walk, to act, to do.	when he WALKS
246	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	abroad, HAS
247	鼓	434	KU	A drum, to drum, to excite.	DRUMS
248	角	409	KIOH	A horn, a corner, to gore.	and HORNS
249	導	867	TAO	To lead, to conduct.	LEADING
250	從	1024	TS'UNG	A clan, a family, posterity, to follow, followers.	and FOLLOWING.
251	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	HIS
252	衣	270	I	" " 77.	CLOTHES
253	色	727	SEH	Air, manner, form, colour, hue, complexion, mode, sort, glory, beauty.	COLOUR,
254	隨	826	SUI	To accord, to follow, to comply with, according to.	ACCORDING TO
255	年	634	NIEN	Same as 11.	the YEARS'
256	改	307	KAI	To change, to alter, to amend, to correct.	CHANGES,
257	易	281	YIH	The mutations or alterations in nature, as of the sun or moon; to change.	IS CHANGED.
258	甲	355	KIAH	Same as 99. The first year of the cycle.	The FIRST
259	乙	1096	YIH	Same as 219. The second year of the cycle.	and SECOND
260	年	634	NIEN	Same as 11.	YEARS,
261	青	995	TS'ING	The green of plants or the blue of the sky.	they are BLUE (or green);
262	丙	699	PING	The third of the ten stems.	the THIRD
263	丁	903	TING	The fourth of the ten stems.	and FOURTH
264	年	634	NIEN	Same as 11.	YEARS,

DE GUIGNES.	*Na-to-cha.* The prince is preceded by drums and horns when he goes abroad. He changes the colour of his garments every year.
KLAPROTH.	*Na tu-cha.* When the king goes forth, he is accompanied by drums and horns. He changes the colour of his garments at different epochs. In the years of the cycle *kia* and *i*, they are blue; in the years *ping* and *ting*,
NEUMANN.	"*Na-to-scha.*" When the prince goes out he is accompanied by drums and horns. The colour of his clothes is different in different years. In the two first of the ten-year cycle they are blue; in the next two,
DE ROSNY.	When the latter walks abroad he is accompanied by drums and trumpets. At different periods of the year he changes the colour of his garments. In the cyclic years kia and i, they are blue; in the years ping and ting, they are
JULIEN.	Na-to-cha. When the king goes forth, he is accompanied with drums and horns. The colour of his garments is changed according to the years. In the years marked with the cyclic signs Kia and I they are green; in the years marked with the cyclic signs Ping and Ting they are
D'HERVEY.	*na-to-cha.* When the king goes abroad he is accompanied with drums and trumpets, which precede and follow him. He changes the colour of his garments according to the order of the years. In the years (of the cycle called) *kia* and *y* his garments are of a blue or green colour. In the years *ping* and *ting* they are of a
WILLIAMS.	*no-cha-sha.* When the king goes abroad he is preceded and followed by drummers and trumpeters. The color of his robes varies with the years in the cycle containing the ten stems. It is azure in the first two years; in the second two years it is
VINING.	NAH-TO-SHA. The king of the country, when he walks abroad, is preceded and followed with drums and horns. The colour of his garments is changed according to the mutations of the years. The first and second years (of a ten-year cycle) they are blue (or green); the third and fourth years they are

No.	Character	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
265	赤	72	CH'IH	Same as 69.	RED; the
266	戊	1063	WU	The fifth of the ten stems.	FIFTH and
267	己	337	KI	The sixth of the ten stems.	SIXTH
268	年	634	NIEN	Same as 11.	YEARS
269	黃	252	HWANG	The colour of earth, yellow.	YELLOW; the
270	庚	321	KĂNG	The seventh of the ten stems.	SEVENTH and
271	辛	806	SIN	The eighth of the ten stems.	EIGHTH
272	年	634	NIEN	Same as 11.	YEARS
273	白	706	POH	White, clear, bright, pure.	WHITE; the
274	壬	287	JĂN	The ninth of the ten stems.	NINTH and
275	癸	483	KWEI	The last of the ten stems.	TENTH
276	年	634	NIEN	Same as 11.	YEARS
277	黑	218	HOH	Black, dark.	BLACK. They
278	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	HAVE
279	牛	638	NIU	An ox, a cow, a bull, cattle, some kinds of deer.	CATTLE–
280	角	409	KIOH	Same as 248.	HORNS; the
281	長	27	CH'ANG	Long, in time or distance, constantly, direct, straight, old, to grow, too heavy.	LONG ones are
282	以	278	I	Same as 49.	USED of the
283	角	409	KIOH	" " 248.	HORNS
284	載	941	TSAI	A year, to contain, to fill in, to bear.	TO CONTAIN
285	物	1065	WUH	A thing, matter, substance, an article, goods.	THINGS. They
286	至	60	CHI	Same as 20.	REACH the
287	勝	771	SHING	To bear, to sustain, to raise, to conquer, to excel, superior, best, excellent, to add.	BEST of them, to
288	二	721	'RH	Same as 32.	TWICE

DE GUIGNES.	The cattle of the country bear a considerable weight upon their horns.
KLAPROTH.	red; in the years *ou* and *ki*, yellow; in the years *keng* and *sin*, white; finally, in those which have the characters *jin* and *kouei*, they are black. The cattle have long horns, upon which burdens are loaded which weigh as much sometimes as
NEUMANN.	red; in the two following years, white; and in the two last, black. The oxen have such large horns that they contain as much as ten sheepskins; the people use them to keep all kinds of goods.
DE ROSNY.	red, etc.
JULIEN.	red; in the years marked with the signs Meou and Sse, they are yellow; in the years marked with the cyclic signs Keng and Sin, they are white; in the years marked with the signs Jin and Kouei, they are black. They have cattle whose horns are very long, and who bear upon their horns a weight as great as
D'HERVEY.	of a red colour; they are of a yellow colour in the years *ou* and *ki;* of a white colour in the years *keng* and *sin;* and of a black colour in the years *jin* and *kouei*. Ox-horns are found in Fusang so large that their capacity is sometimes as great as two
WILLIAMS.	red; it is yellow in the third; white in the fourth; and black in the last two years. There are oxen with long horns, so long that they will hold things—the biggest as much as
VINING.	red; the fifth and sixth years, yellow; the seventh and eighth years, white; and the ninth and tenth years, black. They have cattle-horns, of which the long ones are used to contain (some of their) possessions, the best of them reaching (a capacity of) twice

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
289	十	768	SHIH	Ten.	TEN
290	斛	233	HUH	(From a peck measure and a horn.) The Chinese bushel, holding ten pecks, or a picul, according to some; but the common table makes it measure five pecks, or half a picul. At Shanghai the huh for rice holds only 2·05 pints, and that for peas, 1·86 pint. The Buddhists use it for a full picul of 133⅓ lbs., av., but the Hindu drôna, which the huh represents, weighs only 7 lbs. 11 oz., av.	times as much as an ordinary HORN-MEASURE.
291	有	1113	YIU (Same as 14)		They HAVE
292	馬	571	MA	A horse, warlike, quick as a horse.	HORSE-
293	車	39	CH'E	A wheeled carriage, a cart.	CARTS,
294	牛	638	NIU	Same as 279.	CATTLE-
295	車	39	CH'E	" " 293.	CARTS,
296	鹿	562	LUH	A deer, especially the males; stags which have horns.	and DEER-
297	車	39	CH'E	Same as 293.	CARTS.
298	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	The COUNTRY
299	人	286	JÁN	" " 62.	's PEOPLE
300	養	1072	YANG	To nourish, rear, bring up, tame; to raise, educate.	RAISE
301	鹿	562	LUH	Same as 296.	DEER
302	如	297	JŬ	" " 59.	AS
303	中	105	CHUNG	" " 38.	in the MIDDLE
304	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	KINGDOM
305	畜	98	CH'UH	To rear, to feed, to raise, to domesticate.	they RAISE
306	牛	638	NIU	Same as 279.	CATTLE.
307	以	278	I	" " 49.	FROM
308	乳	298	JŬ	Milk, milky, the breasts, the nipple; to suck, to nurse.	MILK
309	爲	1047	WÉI	Same as 50.	they MAKE
310	酪	553	LOH	Cream, dried milk, racky [koumiss] from mare's milk.	KOUMISS.
311	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	They HAVE
312	赤	72	CH'IH	" " 69.	the RED

DE GUIGNES.

They are harnessed to wagons. Horses and deer are also employed for this purpose. The inhabitants feed hinds, as in China, and from them they obtain butter. A species of red

KLAPROTH.

twenty *ho* (of 120 Chinese pounds). In this country they make use of carts harnessed to cattle, horses, and deer. They rear deer there as they raise cattle in China, and make cheese from the milk of the females. A species of red

NEUMANN.

Horses, oxen, and deer are also harnessed to wagons. Deer are raised here as cattle are in the "Middle Kingdom," and from the milk of the hinds butter is made. The red

DE ROSNY.

The natives raise deer, as cattle are raised, and make creamy dishes from the milk of the animals.

JULIEN.

twenty *ho* (the *ho* is a measure of ten bushels).

They have carts drawn by horses, cattle, and deer. The inhabitants raise deer as cattle are raised in China. They make cheeses from milk. There is a species of red

D'HERVEY.

hundred bushels. They are used to contain all sorts of things. Carriages also may be seen, to which horses, cattle, and deer are harnessed. The inhabitants raise deer as cattle are raised in China; the milk of the hinds makes part of their food. They gather the red

WILLIAMS.

five pecks. Vehicles are drawn by oxen, horses, and deer; for the people of that land rear deer just as the Chinese rear cattle, and make cream of their milk. They have red

VINING.

ten times as much as the capacity of a common horn. They have horse-carts, cattle-carts, and deer-carts. The people of the country raise deer as cattle are raised in the Middle Kingdom (China). From milk they make koumiss. They have the red

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
313	梨	515	LI	Same as 67.	PEARS
314	經	404	KING	The warp; to pass through; laws; religious manuals.	THROUGH- out the
315	年	634	NIEN	Same as 11.	YEAR
316	不	717	PUH	" " 100.	UN-
317	壞	244	HWAI	Going or gone to ruin, to spoil, to injure, to perish, spoiled, useless.	SPOILED, and
318	多	909	TO	Same as 44. Many; numerous.	TO
319	蒲	715	P'U	The cat-tail rush, the calamus, or sweet-flag.	P'U-
320	桃	870	T'AO	A peach, a nectarine, a flower-bud.	T'AO- es.
321	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	ITS
322	地	879	TI	" " 36.	GROUND is
323	無	1059	WU	" " 85.	DESTITUTE OF
324	鐵	893	T'IEH	Iron, made of iron, firm.	IRON, but it
325	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	HAS
326	銅	934	T'UNG	Copper, brazen, coppery.	COPPER. They do
327	不	717	PUH	Same as 100.	NOT
328	貴	484	KWEI	" " 166.	VALUE
329	金	398	KIN	Gold, gilded, yellow, precious.	GOLD or
330	銀	1101	YIN	Silver, money, wealth.	SILVER. Their
331	市	762	SHI	A market, crowded, vulgar, to trade, salable.	MARKETS are
332	無	1059	WU	Same as 85.	DESTITUTE OF
333	租	1007	TSU	Rent or tax in kind from fields; rental; income; taxes.	TAXES and
334	估	433	KU	To estimate, reckon, guess, think, set a price on; value, worth, price.	FIXED PRICES. When
335	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEY
336	婚	268	HWUN	A bridegroom, a husband, to marry a wife.	MARRY,

DE GUIGNES.

pear is found there, which is kept for a year without spoiling; also the iris, and peaches, and copper in great abundance. They have no iron, and gold and silver are not valued. He who wishes to marry

KLAPROTH.

pear is found there which is preserved throughout the year. There are also many vines. Iron is lacking, but copper is found. Gold and silver are not esteemed. Commerce is free, and they do not haggle at all.

The practices regarding marriages are as follows:

NEUMANN.

pears of the fusang trees keep good throughout the whole year. In addition, there are many apples and reeds, mats being made from the last. There is no iron in this country, but copper is found. Gold and silver are not valued, and do not serve as the medium of exchange in the markets.

Marriages are concluded in the following manner:

DE ROSNY.

In this country there is no iron, but there is copper. Gold and silver are not valued. In the markets no duties are levied.

JULIEN.

pear which can be preserved for a year without spoiling. There are many grapes. No mines of iron exist, but copper is very abundant. The inhabitants do not esteem either gold or silver. The public markets are not subject to any duty. The laws relating to marriage are as follows:

D'HERVEY.

pears which are preserved for an entire year, and they also have many grapes. Their land does not contain any iron, but they have copper, obtained from their mines. Gold and silver among them have but little value. The markets are free, and that which is sold does not have a fixed price. In regard to marriage,

WILLIAMS.

pears which will keep a year without spoiling; water-rushes and peaches are common. Iron is not found in the ground, though copper is; they do not prize gold or silver, and trade is conducted without rent, duty, or fixed prices.

In matters of marriage

VINING.

pears kept unspoiled throughout the year, and they also have TOMATOES. The ground is destitute of iron, but they have copper. Gold and silver are not valued. In their markets there are no taxes or fixed prices. When they marry,

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
337	法	123	FAH	Same as 105. } A rule, a pattern to go by.	it is the RULE
338	則	956	TSEH	" " 127. }	THEN
339	壻	790	SI	A son-in-law.	for the intending SON-IN-LAW
340	往	1044	WANG	To go, formerly, past, the future.	TO GO
341	女	641	NÜ	Same as 143.	and the WOMAN
342	家	351	KIA	A household, a family, a dwelling.	's DWELLING
343	門	576	MAN	Same as 16.	's DOOR
344	外	1037	WAI	Outside, beyond, foreign, to exclude.	OUTSIDE
345	作	1005	TSOH	Same as 82.	TO MAKE
346	屋	1064	WUH	" " 84.	a HOUSE (or cabin).
347	晨	21	CH'AN	Morning, dawn.	MORNING
348	夕	804	SIH	Evening, dusk, the last day of a month or year.	and EVENING
349	灑	731	SHA	To sprinkle, to scatter, deep water.	he SPRINKLES
350	掃	726	SAO	To sweep, to brush, to clean up, a broom.	and SWEEPS (the ground)
351	經	404	KING	Same as 314.	THROUGH-
352	年	638	NIEN	" " 11.	out a YEAR,
353	而	719	'RH	" " 68.	AND
354	女	641	NÜ	" " 143.	if the WOMAN
355	不	717	PUH	" " 100.	is NOT
356	悅	1131	YUEH	Contented, delightful, to agree to, willing.	PLEASED with him,
357	卽	934	TSIH	Eating, to go, now, soon, then, forthwith.	THEN
358	驅	443	K'Ü	To turn animals out of a field, to drive on, to lash, to order people into their proper places.	she SENDS AWAY
359	之	53	CHI	Same as 40.	HIM;
360	相	790	SIANG	" " 144.	but if they are MUTUALLY

DE GUIGNES.	builds a house or cabin near that of the maid whom he desires to wed, and takes care to sprinkle a certain quantity of water upon the ground every day during the year; he finally marries the maid, if she wishes and consents; otherwise, he goes to seek his fortune elsewhere.
KLAPROTH.	He who desires to wed a girl, establishes his cabin before the door of the latter; he sprinkles and sweeps the earth every morning and every night. When he has practiced this formality for a year, if the maid will not give her consent, he desists; but if she is
NEUMANN.	the man builds himself a hut before the door of the house in which the one lives whom he desires; morning and evening he sprinkles and clears the ground. When a year has passed, if the maiden does not consent, he leaves her; but if she
DE ROSNY.	(Not translated.)
JULIEN.	The future son-in-law goes into the family of the girl and constructs a house outside of her door; morning and night he waters and sweeps the place. If, at the end of a year, the girl feels no love for him, she sends him away; but, if they are smitten with love for each other,
D'HERVEY.	the customs of the country are as follows: the suitor constructs a dwelling for himself before the door of the house in which dwells the young woman whom he seeks. Morning and evening he sprinkles and sweeps the earth in this place. At the end of a year, if the young woman is not pleased, she sends him away; and, in the contrary case,
WILLIAMS.	it is the law that the (intending) son-in-law must erect a hut before the door of the girl's house, and must sprinkle and sweep the place morning and evening for a whole year. If she then does not like him, she bids him depart; but if she is
VINING.	it is the custom for the son-in-law to go and erect a house (or cabin) outside of the door of the dwelling of the young woman (whom he desires to marry). Morning and evening he sprinkles and sweeps (the ground) for a year, and, if the young woman is not pleased with him, she then sends him away; but if they are mutually

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
361	悅	1131	YUEH	Same as 356.	PLEASED,
362	乃	612	NAI	But, it may be, doubtless, moreover, if, then, thereupon.	THEN they
363	成	71	CH'ING	To finish, to complete, to accomplish.	COMPLETE the
364	婚	268	HWUN	Same as 336.	MARRIAGE. The
365	婚	268	HWUN	" " 336.	MARRIAGE
366	禮	520	LI	An act, particularly an act of worship, ceremony, rites, manners.	CEREMONIES for the
367	大	839	TA	Same as 28. (In general, for the most part.)	MOST
368	抵	878	TI	To oppose, to sustain, to reach, to obtain. (In general, for the most part.)	PART are
369	與	1125	YÛ	By, with, to, as, as if.	AS in the
370	中	105	CHUNG	Same as 38.	MIDDLE
371	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	KINGDOM the
372	同	933	T'UNG	Together, all, identical, same, the same as.	SAME. For a
373	親	991	TS'IN	To love, to approach, near, intimate, a relative, a wife, kindred. The six TS'IN are parents, brothers, wife, and sons.	FATHER, MOTHER, WIFE, OR SON, they
374	喪	725	SANG	To mourn, to lament for one's parents.	MOURN
375	七	987	TS'IH	Same as 213.	SEVEN
376	日	293	JEH	A day, the sun, daily.	DAYS,
377	不	717	PUH	Same as 100.	NOT
378	食	766	SHIH	" " 63.	EATING. For a
379	祖	1007	TSU	A grandfather, an ancestor, the first, the origin, to begin. (A grandfather.)	GRAND–
380	父	147	FU	A rule, a father, an ancestor, a senior, paternal. (A grandfather.)	FATHER or grand-
381	母	605	MU	A mother, a dam, the source of.	MOTHER they
382	喪	725	SANG	Same as 374.	MOURN
383	五	1060	WU	A perfect number, five, the whole, all.	FIVE
384	日	293	JEH	Same as 376.	DAYS

DE GUIGNES.

The marriage ceremonies, for the most part, are similar to those which are practiced in China. At the death of relatives, they fast a greater or less number of days, according to the degree of relationship.

KLAPROTH.

pleased with him, he marries her. The ceremonies of marriage are nearly the same as in China. At the death of father or mother, they fast seven days. At that of a grandfather or grandmother, they refrain from eating for five days,

NEUMANN.

consents, the marriage is completed. The marriage customs, on the whole, resemble those of the "Middle Kingdom." When the parents die, it is the custom to fast for seven days; on the death of a grandfather, on either the father's or mother's side, five days;

DE ROSNY.

The rules for the observance of the marriage ceremony are in general the same as those of the Middle Kingdom (China).

JULIEN.

they are married. The ceremonies of marriage are in general the same as those in China. If a father or mother dies, one fasts for seven days; if it is a grandfather or grandmother, for five days;

D'HERVEY.

the marriage is immediately celebrated with ceremonies which have much resemblance to those of China. At the death of father or mother, it is the custom to fast for seven days. The fast is for five days at the death of a grandfather or grandmother,

WILLIAMS.

pleased with him, they are married. The bridal ceremonies are for the most part like those of China. A fast of seven days is observed for parents at their death; five for grand-parents;

VINING.

pleased, then the marriage is completed, the marriage ceremonies being for the most part like those of the "Middle Kingdom" (China).

For a father, mother, wife, or son, they mourn for seven days without eating. For a grandfather or grandmother they mourn for five days

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
385	不	717	PUH	Same as 100.	NOT
386	食	766	SHIH	" " 63.	EATING; for an
387	兄	213	HIUNG	An elder brother, a senior.	ELDER BROTHER,
388	弟	879	TI	A younger brother, junior, cousins.	YOUNGER BROTHER,
389	伯	707	POH	A father's elder brother.	FATHER'S ELDER BROTHER,
390	叔	779	SHUH	A father's younger brother.	FATHER'S YOUNGER BROTHER,
391	姑	432	KU	A polite term for females.	or his SISTER, or for an
392	姊	1031	TSZ'	An elder sister, a school-mistress.	ELDER SISTER or
393	妹	586	MEI	A younger sister, a sister, a girl.	YOUNGER SISTER,
394	三	723	SAN	Same as 208.	THREE
395	日	293	JEH	" " 376.	DAYS,
396	不	717	PUH	" " 100.	NOT
397	食	766	SHIH	" " 63.	EATING. They
398	設	750	SHEH	To institute, establish, set up.	ESTABLISH and
399	坐	1002	TSO	Same as 174.	SET UP the
400	神	737	SHĂN	A god, a spirit, divine, supernatural.	SPIRIT 's
401	像	793	SIANG	Like, a figure, image, likeness, a statue, an idol, to resemble.	IMAGE, and
402	朝	32	CHAO	The dawn, morning, early.	MORNING and
403	夕	804	SIH	Same as 348.	EVENING they
404	拜	648	PAI	To honour, reverence, kneel to, salute.	REVERENCE it, and
405	奠	896	TIEN	To enshrine as a god, to offer libations.	OFFER LIBATIONS to it. They do
406	不	717	PUH	Same as 100.	NOT, in their
407	制	59	CHI	To regulate, a rule, practice, mourning usages.	MOURNING USAGES, wear
408	縗	1017	TS'UI	A strip of sackcloth anciently worn on the breast as a badge of mourning.	MOURNING-GARMENTS or

DE GUIGNES.	and during their prayers they expose the image of the deceased person. They wear no mourning
KLAPROTH.	and only for three days at the death of brothers, sisters, uncles, aunts, and other relatives. The images of spirits are placed upon a species of pedestal, and prayers are addressed to them morning and evening.
NEUMANN.	for the death of an elder or younger brother or sister, or an uncle or aunt, three days. They sit then, from morning until evening, before the image of the spirit, absorbed in prayer; yet they have no mourning
DE ROSNY.	(Not translated.)
JULIEN.	if it is an uncle, or an aunt, or a sister, for three days. The image of the deceased person is placed upon a pedestal. It is saluted morning and night, and offerings made to it. There is no law in regard to mourning
D'HERVEY.	and for three days at the death of brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts, without distinction between the elder and younger, or between the relatives on the father's side and those on the mother's side. The image of a spirit is set up, before which prostrations are made morning and night, and to which oblations are made. Moreover, mourning
WILLIAMS.	and three days for brothers, sisters, uncles, and aunts. Images to represent their spirits are set up, before which they worship and pour out libations morning and evening; but they wear no mourning or
VINING.	without eating; for an elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, or father's younger brother, or for the corresponding female relatives, or for an elder sister or younger sister, three days without eating. They set up an image of the spirit (of the deceased person) and reverence it, and offer libations to it morning and evening. In their mourning usages they do not wear mourning garments or

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
409	絰	890	TIEH	Badges of coarse white hempen cloth worn by mourners at funerals.	MOURNING-BADGES. An
410	嗣	838	SZ'	To succeed to, lawfully; the expectant heir, children, heirs; to employ; hereafter; the following.	INHERITING
411	王	1043	WANG	Same as 217.	KING is
412	立	538	LIH	To stand erect, established, to set up, to succeed to or seat one's self on the throne.	SEATED ON THE THRONE for
413	三	723	SAN	Same as 208.	THREE
414	年	634	NIEN	" " 11.	YEARS
415	不	717	PUH	" " 100.	WITHOUT
416	親	991	TS'IN	" " 373.	APPROACHING the
417	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	COUNTRY 's
418	事	764	SHI	An affair, a matter, business, duties.	AFFAIRS.
419	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEY were
420	俗	822	SUH	Inelegant, uneducated, common, vulgar.	IGNORANT
421	舊	414	KIU	Old, venerable, formerly, anciently.	FORMERLY, and
422	無	1059	WU	Same as 85.	DESTITUTE OF
423	佛	153	FUH	Buddha.	BUDDHA 's
424	法	123	FAH	Same as 105.	RULES; but in the
425	宋	831	SUNG	To dwell; a feudal state; the Sung dynasty.	SUNG dynasty, in the period called
426	大	839	TA	Same as 28.	" GREAT
427	明	599	MING	Bright, clear, the dawn, splendour.	BRIGHTNESS," in the
428	二	721	'RH	Same as 32.	SECOND
429	年	634	NIEN	" " 11.	YEAR,
430	纴	340	KI	A coarse carpet or felt rug, made of camel's hair.	KI-
431	賓	695	PIN	A stranger, a visitor, to entertain.	PIN
432	國	491	KWOH	Same as 5.	COUNTRY

DE GUIGNES.

garments, and the prince who succeeds to his father takes no care regarding the government for three years after his elevation. In former times the people had no knowledge of the religion of *Fo*, but, in the year 458 A. D., in the *Sum* dynasty, from Samarcand

KLAPROTH.

The king does not occupy himself with the affairs of government during the three years which follow his accession to the throne. Formerly the religion of Buddha did not exist in this country, but in the fourth of the years *Ta-ming*, of the reign of *Hiao-wou-ti* of the dynasty of *Soung* (458 A. D.), from the country of *Ki-pin* (Cophène),

NEUMANN.

garments. The king who succeeds his deceased father does not occupy himself with the affairs of the kingdom for the next three years. Of old, the method of living of these people was not according to the laws of Buddha. It happened, however, that in the second year of the years bearing the designation "Great Light," of the *Song* dynasty (458 A. D.), from the kingdom of *Kipin*,

DE ROSNY.

In the second year of the period called "ta-ming" (or great light), the year 458 of our era, under the reign of the emperor *Hiao Wu-ti* of the Sung dynasty, from the country of Ki-pin,

JULIEN.

garments. The heir to the throne remains three years without occupying himself with the affairs of the kingdom. Formerly they did not know the doctrine of Buddha. In the second year of the period *Ta-ming*, of the dynasty of the Song (458), from the kingdom of Ki-pin (i. e., Cophène, now the country of Caboul),

D'HERVEY.

garments are not worn. During the first three years of his accession, the king does not occupy himself with affairs of state. Formerly the religion of *Fo* was unknown in Fusang. It was only in the Song dynasty, in the second of the years ta-ming (458), that from the kingdom of Ki-pin

WILLIAMS.

fillets. The successor of the king does not attend personally to government affairs for the first three years. In olden times they knew nothing of the Buddhist religion, but during the reign Ta-ming, of the Emperor Hiao Wu-ti of the Sung dynasty (A. D. 458), from Ki-pin

VINING.

mourning-badges. A king who inherits the throne does not occupy himself with the affairs of the government for the first three years after his accession. Formerly they were ignorant, and knew nothing of the Buddhist religion; but during the reign of the Sung dynasty, in the second year of the period called TA-MING (or "Great Brightness," i. e., in the year 458 A. D.), from the country of KI-PIN (i. e., Cophène, now Cabul),

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
433	嘗	27	CH'ANG	To taste, to try, to essay, to prove. When preceding another verb, it denotes past time, usually, formerly, ever.	had FORMERLY
434	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	HAD
435	比	674	PI	To compare, to correspond, to equal, to bring into harmony, to select, each, every.	PI–
436	邱	416	K'IU	A natural hillock, a high place, a hill with a hollowed or level top for worshipers, a tumulus. (A mendicant priest.)	K'IU, (mendicant priests),
437	五	1060	WU	Same as 383.	FIVE
438	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	MEN,
439	游	1112	YIU	To float, drift, swim, travel, rove about, to take pleasure in, satisfied, pleased.	who VOYAGING
440	行	207	HING	Same as 245.	WENT
441	其	342	K'I	" " 12.	to THAT
442	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	COUNTRY,
443	流	549	LIU	The flowing of water, to pass, to circulate, to diffuse, to make known, to shed, fluid, to select, to beg, a class, roving, vagrant.	and MADE KNOWN
444	通	932	T'UNG	To permeate, go through, see clearly, to bring about, to succeed, current, through, general, complete.	THROUGH
445	佛	153	FUH	Same as 423.	it BUDDHA
446	法	123	FAH	" " 105.	's RULES,
447	經	404	KING	" " 314.	and his RELIGIOUS BOOKS, and
448	像	793	SIANG	" " 401.	IMAGES, and
449	教	372	KIAO	To instruct, to teach, command, precept, doctrine, a religious sect, a party, a class.	TAUGHT the
450	令	546	LING	A law, a rule, an order, to command, an officer.	COMMAND to
451	出	98	CH'UH	Same as 165. (To become a priest. (Hepburn, p. 424.) Forsaking home, surname, and the world to enter a Buddhist monastery.)	FORSAKE the
452	家	351	KIA	" " 345.	FAMILY, and its
453	風	155	FUNG	The wind, a breeze, speech, manner, deportment, style, fashion, reformation, instruction, temper, habit.	MANNERS'
454	俗	822	SUH	Same as 420.	RUDENESS
455	遂	828	SUI	To accord with, then, thereon, finally.	FINALLY was
456	改	307	KAI	Same as 256.	REFORMED.

DE GUIGNES.	five priests went preaching their doctrine in this country, and then the manners of the people were changed.
KLAPROTH.	five *pi-khieou*, or priests, came to *Fu-sang*, and there spread abroad the law of Buddha. They carried with them their books and sacred images, and the ritual, and established monastic customs, and so changed the manners of the inhabitants.
NEUMANN.	five begging monks came to this land, and there spread abroad the religion of Buddha, with his sacred writings and images. They instructed the people regarding the rules of monastic life, and so changed the customs of the people.
DE ROSNY.	five bhikshu (mendicant priests) in their travels reached *Fou-sŏ*, and commenced to propagate Buddhism there.
JULIEN.	five *bhikchous* (religious mendicants) traveled into this country, and there spread abroad the law, the books, and the images of Buddha. Their doctrine induced men to leave their families (in order to embrace a religious life). The manners of the inhabitants were then changed (i. e., the people immediately adopted the usages and the principles of Buddhism).
D'HERVEY.	five Buddhist priests repaired by sea to this country. They there distributed the books of the law and the holy images; they taught the precepts of monastic life, and changed the manners of the inhabitants.
WILLIAMS.	five beggar priests went there. They traveled over the kingdom, everywhere making known the laws, canons, and images of that faith. Priests of regular ordination were set apart among the natives, and the customs of the country became reformed.
VINING.	formerly, five men who were PI-K'IU (i. e., *bhikshus*, mendicant Buddhist monks) went by a voyage to that country, and made Buddha's rules and his religious books and images known among them, taught the command to forsake the family (for the purpose of entering a monastery), and finally reformed the rudeness of its customs.

Hwui Shăn also gave a description of a country called "the Kingdom of Women," situated about one thousand *li* east of Fu-sang. This story has always been rejected as a manifest absurdity, and its presumed falsity has been one of the most powerful arguments for casting discredit upon his whole account. For this reason, those who have accepted his statements regarding the country of Fu-sang have said as little as possible about his tale in regard to "the Kingdom of Women," and have dismissed it with the statement that it was merely a description, given by him from hearsay, of a country that he had not visited, and that its absurdities should not be permitted to raise doubts as to the truth of his report regarding the country of Fu-sang, in which he had resided.

His description, which will be found, when rightly translated and understood, to be substantially true, and to furnish strong proof of the reliability of his statements, will be given in the following chapter; and as the only clew to the location of Fu-sang is that it lies easterly from both China and the Great Han Country, and as all that is known as to the situation of this last-named country is that it lies northeasterly from Wen Shăn, the land of "Marked Bodies," the Chinese account of these two countries will also be given.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE KINGDOM OF WOMEN, THE LAND OF "MARKED BODIES," AND THE GREAT HAN COUNTRY.

The accounts of all these countries derived from the same source—The Chinese text—The location of the Kingdom of Women—Its inhabitants—Their long locks—Their migrations—Birth of their young—Nursing the young—The age at which they walk—Their timidity—Their devotion to their mates—The salt-plant—Its peculiarities—A shipwreck—The women—A tribe whose language could not be understood—Men with puppies' heads—Their food, clothing, and dwellings—The land of "Marked Bodies"—Its location—Tattooing with three lines—The character of the people—Lack of fortifications—The king's residence—Water-silver—No money used—The Country of Great Han—Its location—Lack of weapons—Its people.

THE following account of the Kingdom of Women is expressly stated to have been given by Hwui Shăn ; but it does not appear to have been noticed that the reports in regard to the Great Han Country, and the land of "Marked Bodies," must also, in all probability, have been derived from the same source.

These countries were made known to the Chinese during the reign of the Liang dynasty. Now, it is known that Hwui Shăn reached China just before the establishment of this dynasty, but that his account was not given to the emperor, and did not become generally known, until some time during its first years. Hence there can have been no earlier report, regarding Great Han, than that which he could have given ; and as in his account of Fu-sang he refers to Great Han, and in the description of this country the land of "Marked Bodies" is mentioned, it is almost impossible that he should not have been questioned as to these strange countries also. The accounts are short—such as would be incidentally given in a single report, in which the main interest centered upon another land ; and there is nothing to show that the Chinese ever heard anything more about them.

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
457	女	641	NŬ	Same as 143.	WOMAN
458	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	's COUNTRY.
459	女	641	NŬ	Same as 143.	WOMAN
460	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	's COUNTRY,
461	慧	265	HWUI	" " 17.	HWUI
462	深	736	SHĂN	" " 18.	SHĂN
463	云	1142	YUN	" " 24.	SAYS,
464	在	941	TSAI	" " 27.	IS SITUATED
465	扶	144	FU	" " 1.	from FU-
466	桑	724	SANG	" " 2.	SANG
467	東	930	TUNG	" " 31.	EAST
468	千	980	TS'IEN	A thousand, many, an indefinite number.	one THOUSAND
469	里	518	LI	Same as 35.	LI.
470	其	342	K'I	" " 12.	ITS
471	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	PEOPLE
472	容	1146	YUNG	To receive, the air, manner, conduct, the face, looks, or attitude. (The aspect of one's manner (Medhurst, p. 757).)	's MANNER
473	貌	582	MAO	The outward mien, gait, style, manner, form, appearance, the face, like, similar to. (The appearance, air, demeanour.)	of APPEARANCE
474	端	936	TWAN	Sprouting, the head, the origin, straight, direct, correct, upright, modest, grave, decent. (Correct, integrity, upright, either physically or morally.)	is STRAIGHT
475	正	75	CHING	Correct, proper, straight, right, erect, exact, really, the first.	ERECT.
476	色	727	SEH	Same as 253. {(Medhurst, 586.) The countenance, colour, beauty.}	Their COLOUR
477	甚	738	SHĂN	Social delights, very, extremely.	is a VERY
478	潔	377	KIEH	Clear, limpid, pure, neat, tidy.	PURE
479	白	706	POH	Same as 273.	WHITE.
480	身	735	SHĂN	" " 161.	Their BODIES

DE GUIGNES.

THE KINGDOM OF WOMEN.

The inhabitants of this kingdom are white,

D'HERVEY.

THE KINGDOM OF WOMEN.

The bonze Hoei-chin has spoken in the following terms of a kingdom of women situated a thousand *li* from *Fu-sang* toward the east. The women of this kingdom have very regular features and very white faces; but

WILLIAMS.

NÜ KWOH, OR KINGDOM OF WOMEN.

Concerning the Kingdom of Women, the shaman Hwui-shin relates: It is a thousand *li* to the east of Fu-sang. The bearing and manners of the people are very sedate and formal; their color is exceedingly clear and white; their bodies

VINING.

THE COUNTRY OF WOMEN.

Hwui Shăn says that the Country of Women is situated a thousand *li* east of *Fu-sang*. Its people's manner of appearance is straight erect (or, is very correct), and their colour is (or their countenances are) a very pure white.

Their bodies

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
481	體	884	TI	The body, the whole person, the substance, a solid, the essentials, influential, to embody.	THE WHOLE BODY
482	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	HAS
483	毛	580	MAO	The covering of animals or birds, as hair, fur, feathers, or down.	HAIR. The
484	髮	121	FAH	The hair of the head, numerous, grass, vegetation.	HAIR OF THE HEAD is
485	長	27	CH'ANG	Same as 281.	LONG, the
486	委	1051	WÉI	To sustain, bear, allege, send off, confide to, a wrong, grievance, the end, the last, really.	END reaching to the
487	地	879	TI	Same as 36.	GROUND.
488	至	60	CHI	" " 20.	AT the
489	二	721	'RH	" " 32.	SECOND or
490	三	723	SAN	" " 208.	THIRD
491	月	1129	YUEH	The moon, a lunar month, monthly.	MONTH,
492	競	407	KING	Originally formed of words above a man, repeated, to indicate the bickering of the people; strong, violent, bickering, testy, to be quarrelsome, great, abundant.	BICKERING, they
493	入	299	JUH	To enter, to go into, to progress, according to, an entrance.	ENTER the
494	水	781	SHUI	Water, a fluid, clear, a stream, a trip from one place to another, an inundation, trivial, common, gentle, low land, to wet, to soak.	WATER. They
495	則	956	TSEH	Same as 127.	THEN
496	妊	287	JĂN	Pregnant (used only of women). } Pregnant with child (Hepburn, p. 317).	BECOME PREGNANT
497	娠	736	SHĂN	Pregnant, quick with child. }	WITH YOUNG In
498	六	562	LUH	Six.	SIX or
499	七	987	TS'IH	Same as 213.	SEVEN
500	月	1129	YUEH	" " 491.	MONTHS they
501	產	14	CH'AN	To produce, to breed, to bear, a birth, the natives, an estate, an occupation.	BEAR their
502	子	1030	TSZ'	Same as 206.	YOUNG. The
503	女	641	NŬ	" " 143. } Females.	FEMALE
504	人	286	JĂN	" " 62. }	PEOPLE 's

DE GUIGNES.

They have hairy bodies and long locks that fall down to the ground. At the second or third month the women come to bathe in a river, and they become pregnant. They bear their young at the sixth or seventh month.

D'HERVEY.

have hairy bodies and long locks which fall down to the ground. At the second or third month they enter the water, and they then become pregnant. They bear their young at the sixth or seventh month.

These women

WILLIAMS.

are hairy, and the hair of the head trails on the ground. In the spring they emulously rush into the water and become pregnant; the children are born in the autumn. These female-men

VINING.

are hairy, and they have long locks, the ends of which reach to the ground.

At the second or third month, bickering, they enter the water (come down to the low lands or to the streams? or, perhaps, "enter upon a migration," the character SHUI meaning not only "water," but also "a trip from one place to another"). They then become pregnant. They bear their young at the sixth or seventh month (probably of gestation; but possibly of the year). The female-people

No.	Character	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
505	胸	214	HIUNG	The thorax, the breast, the bosom, the feelings, the heart, clamour.	CHESTS
506	前	981	TS'IEN	To advance, progress, in front of, before, in advance, formerly, when, a light black colour.	IN FRONT
507	無	1059	WU	Same as 85.	ARE DESTI-
508	乳	298	JŬ	" " 308.	TUTE OF BREASTS,
509	項	191	HIAO	The nape, the part which rests on the pillow; a sort or class, great, funds.	but the NAPE OF THE NECK
510	後	175	HEU	After, in time; too late; behind, in place; then, next, an heir, to remain, the second.	(or back of the head) BEHIND
511	生	742	SHĂNG	Same as 58.	BEARS
512	毛	580	MAO	" " 483.	HAIR-
513	根	317	KĂN	Root, origin, beginning, a base; a classifier of things long and stiff, and even of ropes; an organ.	ROOTS; and the
514	白	706	POH	Same as 273.	WHITE
515	毛	580	MAO	" " 483.	HAIR
516	中	105	CHUNG	" " 38.	's MIDST
517	有	1113	YIU	" " 14.	HAS
518	汁	67	CHIH	Juice, gravy, liquor, pleasing to the taste	JUICE (or is pleasing to the taste). They
519	乳	298	JŬ	Same as 308.	NURSE their
520	子	1030	TSZ'	" " 206.	YOUNG for
521	百	707	POH	A hundred, many, all.	ONE HUNDRED
522	日	293	JEH	Same as 376.	DAYS, and they then
523	能	616	NĂNG	The moose; power, ability, skill, capable, skillful, may, can.	CAN
524	行	207	HING	Same as 245.	WALK. When
525	三	723	SAN	" " 208.	THREE or
526	四	836	SZ'	Four, all, around, everywhere.	FOUR
527	年	634	NIEN	Same as 11.	YEARS old
528	則	956	TSEH	" " 127.	THEN

A young man. Milk.

DE GUIGNES.

Instead of breasts they have white locks at the back of the head, from which there issues a liquor that serves to nourish their children. It is said that one hundred days after their birth the children are able to run about, and when three or four years of age appear

D'HERVEY.

have no breasts upon their chests, but only hair of a white colour at the back of the neck, which contains milk. One hundred days after their birth the children commence to walk, and at the age of three or four years they have attained

WILLIAMS.

have no paps on their bosoms, but hair-roots grow on the back of their necks ; a juice is found in the white ones. The children are suckled a hundred days, when they can walk ; by the fourth year they are

VINING.

are destitute of breasts in front of their chests, but behind, at the nape of the neck (or back of the head), they have hair-roots (short hair, or a bunch of hair, or a hairy organ), and in the midst of the white hair it is pleasing to the taste (or there is juice). They nurse their young for one hundred days, and they can then walk. When three or four years old they become

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
529	成	77	CH'ING	Same as 363. { Adult (Medhurst, p. 60). To become a man.	FULLY
530	人	286	JĂN	" " 62. { (Hepburn, p. 346.) A grown-up person, full-grown.	GROWN,
531	矣	279	I	A final particle, denoting that the sense has been fully expressed, or that the intention is very strong.	TRULY.
532	見	385	KIEN	To see, to know, to observe, an opinion, to appear.	SEEING
533	人	286	JĂN	Same as 62. { (Hepburn, p. 115.) A man, a person, male or female, people, mankind.	a HUMAN BEING,
534	驚	403	KING	A shy horse, to terrify, afraid, alarmed.	they are AFRAID,
535	避	675	PI	To flee from, to escape, avoid, to retire, to hide away.	and FLEE
536	偏	689	P'IEN	At or by the side, deflected, excessive, aside, partial. Before verbs, must, will.	TO ONE SIDE. They
537	畏	1054	WÉI	To dread, venerate, respect, awe, devotion for, dread, timidity.	VENERATE
538	丈	25	CHANG	A line of ten feet, to measure, an elder.	their
539	夫	142	FU	To help, assist, a husband, a man, a scholar. } A husband.	HUSBANDS (or mates). They
540	食	766	SHIH	Same as 63.	EAT
541	鹹	198	HIEN	Saltish, preserved, salted, bitter.	the SALT-
542	草	956	TS'AO	Plants with herbaceous stems, herbs, vegetation, plants in general.	PLANT; its
543	葉	1081	YEH	Same as 54.	LEAVES
544	似	837	SZ'	" " 55.	RESEMBLE
545	邪	796	SIÉ	Deflected, inclined, depraved, corrupting.	those of the SIÉ-
546	蒿	170	HAO	Tall herbs; the Artemisia pedicularis; Vitex, or Amaranthus; Tansy.	HAO (a species of absinthe),
547	而	719	'RH	Same as 68.	BUT its
548	氣	348	K'I	Fume, vapour, steam, breath, air, spirit, temper, to smell.	ODOUR is more
549	香	188	HIANG	Fragrant, odoriferous, sweet.	FRAGRANT and its
550	味	1053	WEI	Taste, flavour, smell, relish.	TASTE is
551	鹹	198	CHANG	Same as 541.	SALTISH.

DE GUIGNES.

appear fully grown. The women take flight at sight of a stranger, and they are very respectful toward their husbands. These people feed upon a plant which has the taste and odour of salt, and which for this reason bears the name of the "salt-plant." The leaves are similar to those of the plant which the Chinese call sié-hao, which is a species of absinthe.

D'HERVEY.

their full growth. The women take to flight rapidly at sight of a stranger. They have much respect for their husbands. A fragrant herb, of which the leaves resemble those of the plant *sie-hao* (a species of absinthe), and of which the taste is saltish, is eaten in this country.

WILLIAMS.

fully grown. Whenever they see a man, they flee and hide from him in terror, for they are afraid of having husbands. They eat pickled greens, whose leaves are like wild celery; the odor is agreeable and the taste saltish

VINING.

fully grown. This is true! When they see a human being, they are afraid, and flee to one side. They venerate (or are devoted to) their husbands (or mates).

They eat the "salt-plant." Its leaves resemble (those of the plant called by the Chinese) the SIÉ-HAO (a species of absinthe or wormwood), but its odour is more fragrant and its taste is saltish.

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
552	梁	525	LIANG	A bridge, a beam, self-reliant, the principal, the Liang dynasty.	In the reign of the LIANG dynasty, under the emperor
553	武	1061	WU	Military, martial, warlike.	WU–
554	帝	880	TI	To judge, a god, a sovereign, Heaven, supreme.	TI
555	天	897	T'IEN	Heaven, the sky, a day, season, celestial, God.	in the years designated by the name TIEN
556	監	387	KIEN	To examine carefully, an office, to look down upon as a god, to oversee.	KIEN (Celestial Protection), in the
557	六	562	LUH	Same as 498.	SIX– th
558	年	634	NIEN	" " 11.	YEAR,
559	有	1113	YIU	" " 14.	THERE WERE
560	晉	990	TSIN	To increase, to grow, to attach, to adopt.	TSIN–
561	安	620	NGAN	Peace, rest, tranquillity, peaceful, calm, quiet.	NGAN (the name of a place)
562	人	286	JĂN	Same as 62.	MEN
563	渡	917	TU	To ford, to cross a stream or sea, to go through, to pass, a ferry-boat.	CROSSING the
564	海	160	HAI	The sea, an arm of the ocean, a large river, marine, vast, great, oceanic.	SEA.
565	爲	1047	WÉI	Same as 50.	BECAUSE OF the
566	風	155	FUNG	" " 453.	WIND
567	所	817	SU	To fell timber, a place, if, as to, who, what, a cause, a final expletive.	CAUSING them to be
568	飄	683	P'IAO	A whirlwind, swayed, whirled, blown about or rocked by the wind.	BLOWN ABOUT, they
569	至	60	CHI	Same as 20.	REACHED
570	一	1095	YIH	" " 194.	A CERTAIN (or the same)
571	島	866	TAO	An island out at sea; a hill on which birds can alight in crossing seas.	ISLAND (or possibly "seacoast"). They
572	登	862	TĂNG	To ascend, to advance, to attain, as soon as, specially, at the time.	WENT
573	岸	622	NGAN	A shore, bank, or beach; the edge or bank of a stream, end of a journey.	ASHORE where there
574	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	WERE
575	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	PEOPLE 's

DE GUIGNES.

In the year 507 A. D., in the reign of the *Leam* dynasty, a Chinese vessel which was sailing the ocean was driven by a tempest to an unknown island

D'HERVEY.

During the reign of the emperor *Ou-ti*, of the *Leang* dynasty, in the sixth of the years called *tien-kien* (507), some Chinese sailors of *Tsin-ngan* (now Fou-tcheou-fou [Fo-kien]), who were navigating the sea, were carried far out of their course by furious winds. They landed upon an island

WILLIAMS.

In the year A. D. 508, in the reign of Wu-ti, of the Liang dynasty, a man from Tsin-ngan was crossing the sea, when he was caught in a storm and driven to a certain island. On going ashore, he found it to be inhabited.

VINING.

In the reign of the LIANG dynasty, under the emperor WU-TI, in the sixth year of the period designated by the name TIEN-KIEN, or "Celestial Protection" (i. e., in 507 A. D.), some men of TSIN-NGAN, who were crossing the sea, were driven by the winds to a certain island (or the same sea-coast). They went ashore and found the inhabitants'

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
576	居	437	KÜ	To dwell, dwellings, residence, the settled parts.	DWELLINGS. The
577	女	641	NÜ	Same as 143.	WOMEN
578	則	956	TSEH	" " 127.	THEN
579	如	297	JÜ	" " 59.	RESEMBLED the
580	中	105	CHUNG	" " 38.	MIDDLE
581	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	KINGDOM 's
582	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	PEOPLE,
583	而	719	'RH	" " 68.	BUT their
584	言	1083	YEN	A word, sentence, remark, speech, talk, reports. (Conversation, discussion.)	LANGUAGE 's
585	語	1126	YŬ	To talk with, to converse, to tell, words, conversation, discourse, language. (Conversation, discussion.)	WORDS
586	不	717	PUH	Same as 100.	NOT
587	可	425	K'O	To be willing, to permit, able to do, can, may.	COULD be
588	曉	193	HIAO	Light, clear, the dawn, intelligent, easy to perceive, to make to understand, to comprehend.	UNDERSTOOD. The
589	男	614	NAN	Same as 142.	MALES
590	則	956	TSEH	" " 127.	THEN had
591	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	MEN 's
592	身	735	SHĂN	" " 161.	BODIES
593	而	719	'RH	" " 68.	BUT
594	狗	329	KEU	A dog, petty, contemptible, a puppy, a brat.	PUPPIES'
595	頭	876	T'EU	The head, the front, the top, the first, the beginning.	HEADS.
596	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEIR
597	聲	771	SHING	A sound, a voice or tone, a note in music, a cry, a wail, language.	VOICES
598	如	297	JÜ	Same as 59.	RESEMBLED those of
599	犬	452	K'ŬEN	A dog, especially a large one.	DOGS

DE GUIGNES.

The women resembled those of China, but the men had a figure and a voice like those of dogs. The Chinese could not understand their language.

D'HERVEY.

of which the women resembled those of China, but of which the men had dogs' heads, and barked like dogs. It was impossible to understand their language.

WILLIAMS.

The women were like those of China, but their speech was unintelligible. The men had human bodies, but their heads were those of dogs, and their voices resembled the barking of dogs.

VINING.

dwellings. The women resembled those of the Middle Kingdom (China), but the words of their language could not be understood. The males had human bodies, but puppies' heads, and their voices resembled those of dogs

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
600	吠	140	FEU	The bark of a dog, to bark, to yelp, to howl, as canine animals do.	BARKING (or howling).
601	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEIR
602	食	766	SHIH	" " 63.	EATING
603	有	1113	YIU	" " 14.	POSSESSED
604	小	795	SIAO	" " 233.	SIAO–
605	豆	874	TEU	A wooden trencher, a dish, pulse, legumes, to measure out, a peck.	TEU (little beans),
606	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEIR
607	衣	270	I	" " 77.	CLOTHING
608	如	297	JŪ	" " 59.	RESEMBLED
609	布	713	PU	" " 74.	CLOTH (of linen or cotton).
610	築	96	CHUH	To beat down hard, as a threshing-floor, to ram down the earth, to make chunam pavements or adobe walls.	BEATING DOWN
611	土	920	T'U	Same as 43.	EARTH
612	爲	1047	WÉI	" " 50.	they MADE
613	牆	969	TS'IANG	A wall, built of mud, stone, or brick.	ADOBE WALLS.
614	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEIR
615	形	206	HING	Form, figure, shape, contour, the body, manner, style, to appear.	SHAPE was
616	圜	245	HWAN	To revolve, to encircle, to environ, to go around, a circle, a ball, round.	ROUND, and
617	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEIR
618	戶	225	HU	An inner door, a door having only one leaf, a hole, an opening.	DOORS
619	如	297	JŪ	Same as 59.	RESEMBLED
620	竇	875	TEU	A hole, a burrow, a drain, loss, waste, damage, to dig a hole.	BURROWS.

DE GUIGNES.

These people fed upon small beans, and had clothing made of a species of linen cloth; and the walls of their houses were constructed of earth, built up in a circular form.

D'HERVEY.

These islanders fed upon small legumes, and had garments of a species of cloth, and constructed houses of a round shape from beaten earth, with a single opening as an entrance.

WILLIAMS.

Their food was small pulse; their garments were like cotton. The walls of their houses were of adobie, round in shape, and the entrance like that to a den.

VINING.

barking (or howling). Among their food was SIAO-TEU ("little beans" or kernels—possibly an attempt to both transcribe and translate the Mexican word CENTLI[1898] or CINTLI,[1906] meaning maize). Their clothing resembled linen (or perhaps cotton) cloth. Beating down the earth, they made adobe walls of a round shape, the doors of which resembled burrows.

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
621	文	1041	WĂN	Same as 89.	MARKED
622	身	735	SHĂN	" " 161.	BODIES.
623	文	1041	WĂN	Same as 89.	The MARKED
624	身	735	SHĂN	" " 161.	BODIES
625	梁	525	LIANG	" " 552.	country, in the LIANG
626	時	759	SHI	Time, a season, an hour, a period, a Chinese hour, a quarter of a year, while.	dynasty's TIME,
627	聞	1041	WAN	To hear, to learn by report, hearing, fame, news, to state to, small, a noise.	WAS RE- PORTED
628	焉	1082	YEN	Same as 188.	TRULY
629	在	941	TSAI	" " 27.	to be SITUATED
630	倭	1057	WO	The Japanese, yielding, trimming.	from the JAPANESE
631	國	491	KWOH	Same as 5.	COUNTRY
632	東	930	TUNG	" " 31.	EAST-
633	北	709	POH	" " 108.	NORTH
634	七	987	TS'IH	" " 213.	SEVEN
635	千	980	TS'IEN	" " 468.	THOUSAND
636	餘	1121	YŪ	" " 34.	and MORE
637	里	518	LI	" " 35.	LI.
638	人	286	JĂN	" " 62.	Its PEOPLE
639	體	884	T'I	" " 481.	's WHOLE
640	有	1113	YIU	" " 14.	BODIES HAVE
641	文	1041	WAN	" " 89.	MARKS
642	如	297	JŪ	" " 59.	LIKE
643	獸	756	SHEU	A wild animal, a beast, a hairy brute, a gamekeeper, brutal, violent.	WILD BEASTS.
644	其	342	K'I	Same as 12.	THEIR

DE GUIGNES.

Ven-chin is found seven thousand *li* from Japan, toward the northeast.

This country was made known about 510 or 520 A. D., its inhabitants having a figure similar to that of animals.

NEUMANN.

The land of the *Wen-schin* is distant from Japan in a northeasterly direction about seven thousand Chinese miles. The bodies of these people exhibit all kinds of figures, such as those of animals and the like.

JULIEN.

The kingdom of *Ouen-chin* was made known (to the Chinese) under the dynasty of the Liang (502–587); it is situated seven thousand li to the northeast of Japan. The men have lines (*ouen*) upon the body (*chin*) like (certain) animals.

D'HERVEY.

During the Leang dynasty, the following story was current regarding *Ouen-chin:*

They live more than seven thousand *li* to the northeast of Japan. They have their bodies tattooed, and marked like those of certain animals.

WILLIAMS.

WAN SHAN, OR PICTURED BODIES.

During the Liang dynasty (A. D. 502–556), it was reported that about seven thousand *li* to the northeast of Japan there was a country whose inhabitants had marks on their bodies, such as are on animals.

VINING.

MARKED BODIES.

During the reign of the Liang dynasty (502 to 556 A. D.), it was reported that the country of "Marked Bodies" was situated seven thousand *li* and more to the northeast of the country of Japan. Its people have marks upon their bodies like (those upon?) wild beasts.

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
645	額	628	NGOH	The forehead; the front, or what is before; a fixed or regular number or quantity; what ought to be or is settled by law; incessant.	FRONT (or forehead)
646	上	741	SHANG	To go up, to exalt, upward, top, above, facing, high, ancient, before, superior, honourable.	UPON they
647	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	HAVE
648	三	723	SAN	" " 208.	THREE
649	文	1041	WĂN	" " 89.	MARKS.
650	文	1041	WĂN	" " 89.	If the MARKS
651	大	839	TA	" " 28.	are LARGE
652	直	70	CHIH	To look ahead, straight, direct, true, exactly, a perpendicular stroke, to straighten, to go direct.	and STRAIGHT,
653	者	38	CHÉ	Same as 6.	THESE
654	貴	484	KWÉI	" " 166.	are NOBLE;
655	文	1041	WĂN	" " 89.	but if the MARKS
656	小	795	SIAO	" " 233.	are SMALL
657	曲	458	K'ŬH	Crooked, bent, a bend, false, tortuous.	and CROOKED,
658	者	38	CHÉ	Same as 6.	THESE
659	賤	979	TSIEN	Light in estimation, mean, low, ignoble, worthless, to disesteem, to deprecate.	are IGNOBLE.
660	土	920	T'U	Same as 43.	The LAND
661	俗	822	SUH	" " 420.	's COMMON PEOPLE
662	歡	244	HWAN	Joy expressed by the voice, jolly, merry, glad, pleased, to rejoice.	Highly delighted, merry.	are MERRY,
663	樂	554	LOH	Pleasure, quiet, to rejoice in, to take delight in, dissipation, music.	Highly delighted, merry.	and REJOICE IN
664	物	1065	WUH	Same as 285.	ARTICLES'
665	豐	157	FUNG	A large goblet, full cup, abundant, plenteous, fertile, prolific, plenty, copious.	ABUNDANCE
666	而	719	'RH	Same as 68.	ALTHOUGH
667	賤	979	TSIEN	" " 659.	POOR IN QUALITY.
668	行	207	HING	" " 245.	TRAVELING

DE GUIGNES.	They traced different lines upon their faces, the form of which served to distinguish the chief men of the nation from the common people. It was, for the rest, a fertile country, where all that is necessary to sustain life might be found in abundance.
NEUMANN.	They have three lines upon the forehead; the large and straight indicate the nobles, the small and crooked the common people of the nation.
JULIEN.	Those who have three straight lines upon the forehead are esteemed (or considered as noble). If the lines are small and crooked, they are scorned. The inhabitants live joyously. The various products are abundant and cheap. The travelers who go through this country
D'HERVEY.	Upon the forehead they have three marks or lines. Those which have the marks large and straight are chiefs; those who have only small crooked marks are of low condition. Their nature is merry. The productions of their country are abundant and cheap. The traveler
WILLIAMS.	They had three marks on their foreheads. Those whose marks were large and straight belonged to the honorable class, while the lower sort of people had small and crooked marks. It is a custom among this people to collect a great variety of things of a very poor sort to amuse themselves. Those who travel
VINING.	In front (or upon their foreheads) they have three marks. If the marks are large and straight, they indicate that those who have them are of the higher classes; but if they are small and crooked, then their possessors are of the lower classes. The people of the land are of a merry nature, and they rejoice when they have an abundance, even of articles that are of little value. Traveling

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
669	客	429	K'OH	A guest, a visitor, an acquaintance, a customer, a stranger, an alien, transitory, foreign.	VISITORS do
670	不	717	PUH	Same as 100.	NOT
671	齎	964	TSI	To take in both hands and offer to, to give, to send a present, to prepare things for a journey, to supply.	PREPARE FOR THEIR JOURNEY
672	糧	524	LIANG	Rations, soldiers' pay, food, provisions, taxes in kind.	FOOD, and they
673	有	1113	YIU	Same as 14.	HAVE their
674	屋	1064	WUH	" " 84.	DWELLING s'
675	宇	1126	YŬ	The part of the house covered by the eaves, to cover, to shelter, wide, vast, territory.	SHELTER. They are
676	無	1059	WU	Same as 85.	DESTITUTE OF
677	城	77	CH'ING	" " 86.	FORTIFICATIONS and
678	郭	492	KWOH	" " 87.	WALLED CITIES. The
679	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	COUNTRY 's
680	王	1043	WANG	" " 217.	KING 's
681	所	817	SU	" " 567.	RESIDENCE
682	居	437	KŬ	" " 576	BUILDING is
683	飾	767	SHIH	To adorn, to paint, to ornament, to gloss over, to pretend, to excuse, a facing, an ornament.	ADORNED
684	以	278	I	Same as 49.	BY MEANS OF
685	金	398	KIN	" " 329.	GOLD and
686	銀	1101	YIN	" " 330.	SILVER and
687	珍	15	CHĂN	Whatever is noble, precious, or beautiful, rare, excellent, to prize.	PRECIOUS and
688	麗	524	LI	Elegant, fair, beautiful, flowery, bright, a pair, to depend on, to tie, a beam, a boat.	BEAUTIFUL (objects)
689	繞	292	JAO	Same as 191.	ABOUT the
690	屋	1064	WUH	" " 84.	DWELLING.

DE GUIGNES.	Their towns or villages were unwalled. The dwelling of the king was ornamented with precious things.
NEUMANN.	(Not translated.)
JULIEN.	have no need to furnish themselves with provisions. They have houses. The cities are not walled. The palace of the king is ornamented with gold and silver. The exterior is all covered (literally, "surrounded") with precious substances of a great beauty. The inhabitants
D'HERVEY.	easily finds food [M. d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, on page 60 of his "Ethnography," translates this passage: "The traveler has no need to carry food with him—the country furnishing it to him in abundance"]. The *Ouen-chin* have houses, but no walled cities. The habitation of their king is ornamented with gold, silver, and jewels. Surrounding (this habitation)
WILLIAMS.	or peddle do not carry any provision with them. They have houses of various kinds, but no walled towns. The palace of the king is adorned with gold, silver, and jewels in a sumptuous manner. The buildings are surrounded
VINING.	visitors do not prepare food for their journeys, and they have the shelter of their (the inhabitants') dwellings. They have no fortifications or walled cities. The residence of the king of the country is adorned with gold and silver, and precious and beautiful objects about the dwelling.

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
691	爲	1047	WÉI	Same as 50.	They MAKE
692	塹	983	TS'IEN	The moat or fosse around a town, a ditch to lead water in, irrigation, to dig out.	a DITCH
693	廣	478	KWANG	Broad, extensive, wide, spacious, large, ample, stout, to enlarge.	of a BREADTH
694	一	1095	YIH	Same as 194.	of ONE
695	丈	25	CHANG	" " 538.	ROD
696	實	769	SHIH	" " 65. Real, solid, hard, full, compact, to fill, to cram.	(of ten Chinese feet), which is FILLED
697	以	278	I	Same as 49.	BY MEANS OF
698	水	781	SHUI	" " 494. } Quicksilver.	WATER-
699	銀	1101	YIN	" " 330. }	SILVER.
700	雨	1124	YŬ	Rain, a shower, to rain.	When it RAINS,
701	則	956	TSEH	Same as 127.	THEN
702	流	549	HIANG	" " 443.	the rain FLOWS
703	於	1118	YŬ	" " 177. As, to, to become.	UPON
704	水	781	SHUI	Same as 494. } Quicksilver.	the WATER-
705	銀	1101	YIN	" " 330. }	SILVER
706	之	53	CHI	" " 40. "To pass from one state to another."	'S
707	上	741	SHANG	Same as 646.	SURFACE.
708	市	762	SHI	" " 331.	In their MARKETS
709	用	1149	YUNG	To use, to employ, to cause, useful, by, with, thereby.	(or bartering) they USE
710	珍	15	CHĂN	Same as 687. } Jewels, valuables.	PRECIOUS
711	寶	663	PAO	Precious, valuable, a gem, a coin, value, noble. }	GEMS.

DE GUIGNES.

A ditch might be seen there which appeared to be filled with quicksilver, and this matter, esteemed in commerce, became liquid and flowing when it had imbibed water from the rain.

M. de Guignes adds, from another source: "They exposed their condemned criminals to wild beasts, and they deemed those innocent from whom the animals took flight."

NEUMANN.

(Not translated.)

JULIEN.

dig a ditch one *chang* (ten Chinese feet) long, and fill it with quicksilver. When it rains, the water runs upon the quicksilver. In the markets (in the place of money) they use the most esteemed fruits. [NOTE.—M. Julien has evidently mistaken the character PAO, "a gem" (see No. 711), for the very similar character SHIH, "fruit" (see No. 696), and hence has erroneously translated the last word "fruits" instead of "gems."—E. P. V.]

D'HERVEY.

there is a ditch of ten cubits width, which is filled with quicksilver. When it rains, the water flows upon the quicksilver. The transactions in their markets are made by means of precious objects.

M. d'Hervey de Saint-Denys adds, in his "Ethnography," page 60, the following, derived from the "NAN-SSE," i. e.: He who has committed a petty crime is scourged. He who is accused of a crime deserving death is thrown to wild beasts to be devoured. If the accusation is calumnious, the beasts keep at a distance from him, it is said (instead of devouring him); then, after a night (of trial), he is set at liberty.

WILLIAMS.

with a moat, over ten feet broad. When it is filled with quicksilver, and the rain is allowed to flow off from the quicksilver, the water is then regarded in the markets as a precious rarity.

VINING.

They make a ditch of a breadth of one rod (of ten Chinese feet, or nearly twelve English feet), which is filled with "water-silver" (i. e., *ice*). When it rains, then the rain flows upon the surface of the water-silver. In their traffic they use precious gems (or valuables, as the standard of value, instead of gold or silver).

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
712	大	839	TA	Same as 28.	GREAT
713	漢	164	HAN	This character is composed of "water" and "hardship." The Milky Way. The large branch of the Yang-tsz River. A Chinese; relating to China. The Han dynasty, which was named from the Duke of Han.	HAN.
714	大	839	TA	Same as 28.	GREAT
715	漢	164	HAN	" " 713.	HAN, during the
716	梁	525	LIANG	" " 552.	LIANG dynasty's
717	時	759	SHI	" " 626.	TIME, was
718	聞	1041	WAN	" " 627.	REPORTED TO BE
719	焉	1082	YEN	" " 188.	TRULY
720	在	941	TSAI	" " 27.	SITUATED from
721	文	1041	WĂN	" " 89.	MARKED
722	身	735	SHĂN	" " 161.	BODIES'
723	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	KINGDOM
724	東	930	TUNG	" " 31.	EAST
725	五	1060	WU	" " 383.	FIVE
726	千	980	TS'IEN	" " 468.	THOUSAND and
727	餘	1121	YŬ	" " 34.	MORE
728	里	518	LI	" " 35.	LI. Its people are
729	無	1059	WU	" " 85.	DESTITUTE OF
730	兵	698	PING	" " 98.	MILITARY
731	戈	489	KWO	A kind of lance, a javelin, a spear, weapons, war.	WEAPONS, and do
732	不	717	PUH	Same as 100.	NOT
733	攻	461	KUNG	" " 101.	WAGE
734	戰	45	CHEN	" " 102.	WAR. Their
735	風	155	FUNG	" " 453.	MANNERS'

DE GUIGNES.

At a distance of five thousand *li* from *Ven-chin*, toward the east, *Ta-han* was found. The inhabitants of this country had no military weapons; their customs

NEUMANN.

In the times of the Leang dynasty, in the first half of the sixth century of our era, the Chinese heard of a land which lay five thousand of their miles easterly from the country of the "Pictured People," and named it "*Ta-han*," or "Great China." The people of Ta-han carried no weapons, and knew nothing of war and strife. In their customs and usages, the people of Ta-han, on the whole,

JULIEN.

The kingdom of Ta-han was made known (to the Chinese) under the dynasty of the Leang (502–558); it is situated about five thousand li to the east of the kingdom of Ouen-chin. The inhabitants have no arms, and do not wage war. Their manners and their

D'HERVEY.

In the time of the Leang dynasty, it was said of the kingdom of *Ta-han:* This kingdom is situated to the east of the country of the *Ouen-chin* more than five thousand *li*. Its people have no arms, and do not wage war. Their manners

WILLIAMS.

TA HAN, OR GREAT CHINA.

It was reported, during the Liang dynasty, that this kingdom lay more than five thousand *li* east of Wăn Shăn. The inhabitants have no soldiers or weapons, and never carry on war. Their manners and

VINING.

GREAT HAN.

During the reign of the LIANG dynasty, Great HAN was reported to be situated five thousand LI or more to the east of the "Marked Bodies" country. Its people have no military weapons, and do not wage war.

No.	Character.	Page.	Sound.	Definition.	Translation.
736	俗	822	SUH	Same as 420.	RUDENESS
737	並	700	PING	Two together, both, with, and, even with, to compare.	is COMPARED
738	與	1125	YÜ	Same as 369.	WITH
739	文	1041	WĂN	" " 89.	that of the MARKED
740	身	735	SHĂN	" " 161.	BODIES
741	國	491	KWOH	" " 5.	COUNTRY
742	同	933	TUNG	" " 372.	the SAME,
743	而	719	'RH	" " 68.	BUT
744	言	1083	YEN	" " 584.	their LANGUAGE
745	語	1126	YÜ	" " 585.	's WORDS
746	異	281	I	To divide, different, foreign, to oppose, a difference.	are DIFFERENT.

THE LAND OF "MARKED BODIES."

In all the foregoing translations the character SHIH (No. 696, page 322) has been rendered "filled." Its fundamental meaning seems to be "fruit," from which the secondary signification of "solid, hard, compact, full, crammed," was derived. When used as a verb, it seems to me to mean "to solidify, to harden, to pack together, to cram"; and, while it is applicable to the process of filling a confined space with solid substances or articles closely packed together, I doubt whether it can be used with propriety to express the filling of a receptacle with a liquid. It therefore appears to me that the word, when used as a verb, should be translated "to harden, to solidify, to make compact," rather than "to fill," and that the description of the country should be read (punctuating after characters Nos. 689, 695, 699, and 707):

"The residence of the king of the country is adorned with gold and silver, and precious and beautiful objects about it. The dwellings consist of excavations of a breadth of one rod. These (dwellings) are made solid, hard, compact, or impervious

DE GUIGNES.	were essentially the same as those of the people of *Ven-chin*, but they had a different language.
NEUMANN.	resembled the "Pictured People." The two nations, however, spoke quite different languages.
JULIEN.	customs are the same as those of the kingdom of *Ouen-chin*, but the language is different.
D'HERVEY.	are the same as those of the *Ouen-chin*, but their language is different.
WILLIAMS.	customs are the same as those of the Wăn Shăn, but their speech differs.
VINING.	The rudeness of their customs is the same as that of the people of the country of "Marked Bodies," but the words of their language are different.

by the use of water-silver [i. e., *ice*]. When it rains, then the rain flows off from the surface of the water-silver."

I should understand that Hwui Shăn meant to say that the walls and roof of the dwellings were made solid and impervious to either air or water by means of *ice*. The houses of this region of the world are described by modern travelers as consisting of an excavation, with low, earthen side-walls, and a roof of earth thrown over beams and branches used for its support.

If, now, water was poured over these walls and the roof, it would soon freeze, and render them compact and impervious to rain, so that "when it rained, then the rain would flow off over the surface of the ice."

This translation suggested itself to me at so late a date that I have not had time to consult competent Chinese scholars as to the possibility of so rendering the passage. I have, therefore, followed former translators in the version which is discussed in Chapter XIX. I believe, however, that the Chinese text is susceptible of the rendition given above, and that such a version removes all difficulties in the account, and brings Hwui Shăn's description into strict conformity with the truth.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE LENGTH OF THE LI.—THE NAME "GREAT HAN."

The direction from Japan in which Fu-sang lay—Variations in standards of measure—The Chinese *li* about one third of a mile in length—The greater length of the Japanese *li*—Possibility of still another standard in Corea—Communication between Corea and Japan and between Corea and China—Chinese knowledge of the route to Japan derived from Corean sources—Fu-sang farther from "Great Han" than Japan is—Distances stated with at least approximate accuracy—The country of "Marked Bodies" identified as the Aleutian Islands—Allowances for changes and misunderstandings—Cæsar's account of the inhabitants of Britain—Maundevile's repetition of the story—"Great Han" identified as Alaska—Land found in the regions indicated by Hwui Shăn—Meaning of the character "Han"—Nature of the Chinese characters—The manner in which they are compounded of two parts—Some characters in which the meaning is affected by that of both parts—Application of the character "Han" to a swirling stream and to the Milky Way—Hence its possible meaning of "dashing water"—Meaning of the name "Alaska"—The breakers of the Aleutian Islands—The population—A philological myth—The hypotheses upon one of which Hwui Shăn's story must be explained—The explanation should be consistent.

Having thus given the Chinese accounts of the land of Fu-sang, and of the countries found upon the route from China to that region, together with the arguments of former writers as to their location, let us now examine the question for ourselves.

Fortunately, there is no doubt as to the first of the countries that is named as lying upon the route. Long before the days of Hwui Shăn, the Chinese were acquainted with this kingdom of Japan, and, when it was mentioned by him, there was no necessity for describing its location.

At a distance of over seven thousand *li* to the northeast of Japan, it was stated that the country of "Marked Bodies" was to be found. More than five thousand *li* to the east of this the land of "Great Han" was situated, and over twenty thousand

li easterly from this last-named country lay the land of Fu-sang. As it is expressly stated, however, that Fu-sang lay to the east of China, and as the greater part of the route from Japan to Great Han was in a northeasterly direction, it is evident that Fu-sang must have lain farther south than Great Han, and that its true bearing from this last country was southeasterly rather than east.

With these explicit statements as to the direction of the route, there would be no difficulty in laying it down upon a chart, provided that we knew the exact length of the *li*.

It is the case, however, that nearly all standards of measure were more or less indefinite when they were first established, and that, even after having been fixed with some degree of precision, they have been subject to change in the course of centuries. The chief difficulty is found in the earlier stages of civilization, however. Crawfurd, for instance, in speaking of the Javanese, says that,[1132] in countries where there are no roads, where the principal conveyance is by water, and where the paths are circuitous and little frequented, it is not reasonable to suppose that any determinate measure of considerable distances should exist. Such contrivances, although familiar to Europeans, are the result of much improvement and civilization. The Indian islanders, in traveling, speak of a day's journey, which, with tolerable uniformity, may be reckoned at twenty British miles.

In another place he states that,[1131] from their very nature, the measures of grain among the Javanese are indefinite, and hardly insure greater accuracy than we imply ourselves when we speak of sheaves of corn. In the same district they are tolerably regular in the quantity of grain and straw they contain; but such is the wide difference between the different districts or provinces that the same nominal measure is often twice—nay, three times—as large in one as in another.

This difficulty usually ceases to exist, however, by the time that the state of civilization is reached which the Chinese had attained in the fifth century. Long before that time their standards of measure had apparently become so well established that they have remained to the present time, with but few other changes than those recently made by the Europeans.

Bretschneider[794] says: "Having often had the opportunity of comparing distances given by the Chinese with our measures, I

came to the conclusion that we make no considerable error in taking three Chinese *li* of our days as equal to one English mile; and it can be proved, from ancient itineraries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, that the length of the Chinese *li* has not changed since that time."

The "Chinese Repository" [1015] says that there is great difficulty in estimating the Chinese *li*, or mile. It appears, by the "History of the Ming Dynasty," that the measures have varied under the different dynasties. The Chinese have never been able to measure distances by astronomical observations. It may be doubted whether they have ever taken the trouble to measure roads. On those which are prepared for the emperor, and at great expense, the number of *li* is written up all along the road; but it is a fact that those *li* are not all of equal length. The traveler, when inquiring the distance from one place to another, is told so many *li*, and it is often added, "They are great or small." It is admitted that in the north the *li* are longer than in the south. It would appear that popular tradition has determined their number. A geography, printed by order of government, states that from Canton to Pekin the distance is 8,185 *li*. As the positions of Canton and Pekin are known, it seems that they might serve to estimate the Chinese *li;* but there is no doubt that the windings of the road are included in those 8,185 *li*. Now, the routes in China, both by land and water, wind without end; so that there seems no way of estimating the *li* with precision. However, it is generally believed that there are two hundred *li* to a degree of latitude.

In another place it states that [971] the *li*, or mile, is an uncertain measure. Its common measure is 316¼ fathoms, or 1,897½ English feet, and it is the usual term in which length is estimated. The Chinese reckon 192½ *li* for a degree of latitude and longitude (for a degree of a great circle—say, 65 miles—this is 1,918 feet); but the Jesuits divided the degree into 250 *li*, each *li* being 1,826 English feet, or the tenth part of a French league, which is the established measure at present. A *li*, according to this measurement, is a little more than one third of an English mile.

A long article on the true length of this standard of measure [1036] is also given, in which the same general conclusion is reached—that the *li* is about one third of an English mile.

Rémusat, in a note upon "The Pilgrimage of Fa Hian,"[1347] makes the statement that the length of the *sheu*, or cubit, is variously estimated: sometimes at two *chih* (0·610 metres); sometimes at one *chih* and two *tsun* (0·4575 metres). Four *sheu* make one *kung* (bow), and three hundred *kung* make one *li*. According to this calculation the *li* would be either 549 or 732 metres.

Prinsep says that[2095] a *li* is not quite one third of a mile; for two hundred *li* equal a degree of latitude, or some sixty-nine statute miles.

Professor Williams states that[2509] a discrepancy exists regarding its precise length, owing to the various measures of the *chih*. It is usually reckoned at 1,825·55 feet, English, which gives 2·89 *li* to an English mile. This is based on the estimate of 200 *li* to a degree; but there were only 180 *li* to a degree before Europeans came, which increases its length to 2,028·39 feet, or 2·6 *li* to a mile, which is nearer the common estimate; and Summers[2415] says that the *li*, or Chinese mile = 316¼ fathoms = 1,897½ English feet: 192½ *li* = 1 degree of latitude or longitude, according to the Chinese; but the Jesuits make 250 *li* = 1 degree, each *li* being = 1,826 feet, or $\frac{1}{10}$ of a French league.

It will not be necessary to quote other authorities upon the subject; but, at the risk of being tedious, it seemed best to give the foregoing, for the purpose of showing that, after all that has been said as to the uncertainty as to the true length of the *li*, there is really but little disagreement as to what that length was before the coming of the Jesuits, and that if it be estimated at one third of an English mile the result will be very close to the truth.

The Chinese *li* is sometimes stated to be equal to three hundred and sixty (double) paces, and a comparison of this number with the one thousand (double) paces which was the original basis for the length of our mile, gives substantially the same result.

Attention should be called, however, to the fact that, just as there is a great difference between the lengths of the English mile, the German mile, and the nautical or geographical mile, so there is a great difference between the standards of distance used in Japan and China, respectively, and there is some reason for thinking that still another standard may have been used in Corea.

The Japanese and Coreans, who do not use the letter "*l*," substitute "*r*" for it, and pronounce the word "*ri*," instead of "*li*." The same character is used by them when writing the word, however, that is used by the Chinese for the "*li*."

Klaproth[1651] says that the *ri* of Corea, which is the same as that of the Mantchoos in China, contains only three and a half Japanese *matsis*, and, as the Japanese *ri* contains thirty-six *matsis*, ten Corean *ri* are hardly equal to one Japanese *ri*.

This last standard is equal to about three English miles ; and if Klaproth is correct in his statement that the Corean *ri* or *li* is the same as the Chinese, its length is about one third of a mile. Oppert, in one place,[1999] says, however, that thirty Corean *li* equal three English miles; and if his statement can be relied upon, this reduces the Corean *li* to about one tenth of a mile.

About a century after the visit of Hwui Shăn, Li Yen-shau, who copied the official records of the story of the Buddhist priest, also gave an account of the country of Japan, in which (or in the copies which the Chinese now have) the distance from the port of *Lo-lang*, in western Corea, to Japan, is stated to be twelve thousand *li*. As the actual distance to the capital of Japan is not more than fifteen hundred miles, it follows either that there is a serious error in his account, or else that the *li* used as a standard must be only about one tenth of a mile in length. This statement of Li Yen-shau's has been the cause of nearly all the misunderstanding as to the true position of the countries described by Hwui Shăn. No other instance seems to occur in the Chinese records in which the length of the *li* varies materially from one third of a mile ; yet from this single instance, of a standard apparently only one tenth of a mile in length, used by a writer who lived long after the days of Hwui Shăn, his whole story has been discredited, and an effort has been made to show that the distance which he described as twenty thousand *li* was in reality only the trifling distance between the island of Saghalien and Japan.

It will be shown in one of the following chapters that the chief early intercourse of the Japanese was with the people of Corea. These in turn were frequently visited by the Chinese. Klaproth[1656] says that there was constant communication between the two countries, and that Corea paid tribute to China throughout the fifth and sixth centuries. Their histories also show that

when the Chinese visited Japan it was by way of Corea. It is therefore evident that the Chinese relied upon the Coreans for information as to the route to Japan, and for assistance in reaching that country, and nothing can be more probable than that Li Yen-shau, when gathering information as to Japan, obtained much of it, either directly or indirectly, from Corean sources. Whether it is a fact that the Corean *li* is, or ever has been, only one tenth of a mile in length, and that the Chinese borrowed the description of the route given by the Coreans, without making the correction for the difference in the length of the *li* used in the two countries, or whether, as is indicated by a discovery of M. de Rosny, mentioned in a note given in Chapter XXXIV, a serious error was made by the Chinese in copying from their early records, by which they doubled the distance, must be left to the decision of competent scholars ; but that the true explanation of the great distance that is named will be found either in one cause or the other, there seems little room to doubt.

Whatever the cause of the error in the description of the route to Japan may have been, Hwui Shăn, when describing the length of his journey, to the representative of the Chinese emperor, could not have meant by the word *li* anything else than the distance then called a *li* by the Chinese—that is to say, about one third of an English mile. He certainly can not be blamed for his failure to foresee that a century after his death his story would be confused with another account, in which there would be either a serious error or else in which another standard of distance would be used.

Those who have placed Fu-sang in Japan have either ignored so many difficulties, or disposed of them so satisfactorily to themselves, that the trifling discrepancy that, according to their views, the distance from Japan to Great Han was twelve thousand *li* (of a length never used elsewhere in Chinese accounts), while the distance from Great Han to Japan (Fu-sang) was twenty thousand *li*, seems unworthy of notice.

In addition to the difficulty which a number of former investigators have found in determining, approximately, the length of the *li*, the second objection is raised that Hwui Shăn, or the mythical Chinese voyagers who have been supposed to have visited the country of Marked Bodies and Great Han, could not have had any means of determining with accu-

racy the distances which they traveled or the direction of their voyage.

Admitting that the distances and the direction may not be accurately given, it certainly does not follow that they are not a reasonable approximation to the truth. Surely there was no greater difficulty in those days than there is now in making a rough estimate, with reasonable accuracy, as to the distance traveled and the general direction of the course. Of all the men who sail the seas, it is doubtful whether there is one who, if he had pursued a southerly course of a thousand or twelve hundred miles, could be so egregiously mistaken as to believe that he had sailed seven thousand miles easterly; and if it be assumed that Hwui Shăn attempted to describe his journey in good faith, it certainly ought not to be taken for granted that he was liable to make so gross a blunder.

Klaproth says[1652] that the navigators who visit the Japanese Islands estimate even the distances which they have themselves traveled only approximately. It is evident, however, that they *do* estimate them *approximately*, and would not be likely to be guilty of such stupidity as calling south, east, and thinking one mile to be seven.

The "Chinese Repository,"[1017] when referring to distances reckoned in "days' journeys," says that "the day's journey is usually considered one hundred *li*, a little more or less"; and it is not improbable that the Buddhist traveler, when journeying along the shore or paddling from island to island, estimated each day's journey as about this distance. However this may have been, there can be no question that a man possessed of courage, persistency, and hardihood sufficient to carry him through a journey of forty-one years, in countries previously unknown, can hardly have lacked the amount of knowledge necessary to enable him to distinguish between east and south, or between one mile and half a dozen. When he says that the country of Marked Bodies lies twenty-three hundred miles northeasterly from Japan, we may grant that this is a mere estimate. Possibly the distance was only two thousand miles, or it may have been twenty-five hundred; the course, also, may have varied a few degrees from northeast; but if we are to assume that he may have meant a country less than five hundred miles from Japan, and lying directly north, we assume that he

was either grossly ignorant or thoroughly dishonest, and in either case it would be useless to examine his story further.

Let us for the present, however, proceed upon the assumption that he may have been honest and intelligent, as he must have been brave and resolute, and see whether his story is or is not true.

If we sail from Japan, in a northeasterly direction, for a distance of some two thousand miles, where do we find ourselves? *Not* in the island of Jesso, but among the Aleutian Islands. Do these islands or their people correspond with Hwui Shăn's account? If they do, we have a strong proof that his story is true. If they do not, it is useless to look elsewhere for the country described by him, and his story may be dismissed as false.

Allowance must be made, however, for the changes that have taken place in the fourteen centuries that have elapsed since the time of his travels. It could not be expected that all the customs mentioned by him should have come down to the present day, or that those which still exist should be found identical in all respects with the form which they had so long ago. It is also to be presumed that those which have survived will be found, in many cases, scattered among tribes now living at some distance from the region inhabited by their ancestors fourteen hundred years ago.

Cæsar's account of the people of Gaul and Britain antedates by only some four centuries Hwui Shăn's story of the lands visited by him; but if we had no other means of proving that Cæsar actually visited western Europe and England than a comparison of his account with existing customs, his credit would suffer as has our Buddhist priest's.

When speaking of the people of Britain, he says[916] that they do not consider it right to eat the hare, the domestic fowl, or the goose, and adds that[917] "most of the inhabitants of the interior do not sow grain, but live upon milk and flesh, and clothe themselves in skins. All the men of this country dye themselves with woad, which gives them a bluish colour, and makes their appearance in battle more terrible. Their hair is long, and all parts of their body are shaved except the head and upper lip. Ten or twelve have their wives in common, usually brothers with their brothers, or parents with their children; but the offspring

are considered the children of him by whom the maiden was first espoused."

It is a curious illustration of the persistency with which historical tales survive, and of the fact that even the most incredible are frequently founded upon some warped or perverted truth, and hence are deserving of study in order that the truth which they contain may be separated from the error, that Sir John Maundevile, returning to England some twelve centuries later, with his mind filled with marvels—not only those which he had himself seen in the Orient, but also all that he had been able to gather from others regarding the countries still farther east—should have brought back to Britain the story which had started from it so long before. The tale had survived, but the location of the land had been forgotten, and hence it was supposed to be situated in the distant East.

1835 "Beyonde that Yle, is another Yle, where is gret multytude of folk; and thei wole not for nothing eten Flesche of Hares, ne of Hennes, ne of Gees; and yit thei bryngen forthe y now, for to seen hem and to beholden hem only. But thei eten Flesche of alle other Bestes, and drynken Mylk. In that Contre thei taken hire Doughtres and hire Sustres to here Wyfes, and hire other Kynneswōmen. And gif there ben 10 or 12 men or mo dwellynge in an Hows, the Wif of everyche of hem schalle ben comoun to hem alle, that duellen in that Hows."

Returning again to the account of the Buddhist traveler, it will be seen that he says that, about sixteen hundred miles east of the land of "Marked Bodies," there lay a country called Great Han. At about that distance east of the center of the Aleutian Islands, Alaska is found; and if his story is true, Great Han was located in or near Alaska.

It should first be noticed that here are two instances in which land exists in the Pacific Ocean, just where he says it is to be found. A glance at a map will show how unlikely it is that he would be right as to the existence of land in a certain direction, and at a certain distance, if his story were but a figment of the imagination. With all the islands in the Pacific Ocean to choose from, those who attempt to locate Fu-sang elsewhere than in America, can do so only by ignoring both the distance and the direction. If any other *li* than the true one is used, and if the bearings mentioned by Hwui Shăn are preserved, the

end of the route will fall into the fathomless depths of the Pacific.

The name of the easternmost of the two countries is given as 大, TA (Great), 漢, HAN. The last character being made up of two parts, meaning respectively "water" and "hardship."

Instead of being composed,[2390] as is frequently supposed, of a vast number of arbitrary and complicated symbols, the characters of the Chinese language are compounded of very simple elements, which carry along with them into their derivatives something of their own meaning, while each generally preserves its figure unchanged. These elementary characters supply the place of an alphabet; but it is an alphabet of ideas, not of sounds.

The earliest Chinese characters were evidently pictorial; but pictures could not be made which would clearly express all ideas. Among the means resorted to, for obtaining characters to express conceptions that could not be indicated by a simple sketch, was that of combining two familiar pictures to give rise to a new idea, sometimes of an abstraction, sometimes the name of a real thing.[2392] For instance, a *man* with a *large eye* represents "seeing"; *two men*, "to follow"; *three men*, "many";[1558] *two men* on the *ground*, "sitting."

All other means failing, the present great mass of characters was formed by a principle from which the class is called "phonetic"; because in the characters classed under it, while one part (called the "radical") preserves its meaning, the other part (called the "phonetic" or "primitive") is used to give its own sound to the whole figure. This part does sometimes, however,[2393] convey also its symbolic meaning as well as its sound.

As a specimen of the influence which the primitive frequently exerts upon the meaning of the compound, the following is given:[1027]

氐, TI, means low or mean; when compounded with the radical "man," it means a low man, a base fellow, a vagabond; when with "heart," it means a sordid mind, meanness; when with "hand," it means underhanded, crafty; when with a "tree," the roots; when with a "stone," the foundation; when with a "horn," to put the horn down, to gore; when with an "eye," to look down, humble, condescending; when with a "boat," perhaps the bottom of the boat or rudder; when with "words,"

low words, vulgarisms, slander; and when with "grain," ripe grain that bends down.

G. T. Lay, in an article in the "Chinese Repository," insists upon the importance of recognizing the influence of the "phonetic" upon the meaning of the character, in the following words: [1042]

"The Chinese primitives or vocal portions may not be exchanged (for others of the same sound) without producing the greatest change in the sense. Every student of a few months' standing knows that you can not substitute one primitive for another without producing a different sense; with this fact before him, will any man have the hardihood to tell me that the primitive in composition serves only for the purposes of sound? We acknowledge that Chinese sometimes exchange these primitives in their books, and more frequently in their petitions, letters, and private documents, and thus occasion doubt and difficulties which might have been avoided. The number of substitutions is always in the direct ratio of the composer's ignorance of the written language. Many a time has the foreigner mortified the pride of the native by showing him that he had written the wrong primitive, and perhaps not less frequently has the native repaid the little affront by pointing out a similar mistake which the foreigner had made. This is an every-day proof that the Chinese recognize the principle that the primitive has a meaning as well as a sound."

There are at least five or six hundred common Chinese characters in which it is universally admitted that the meaning of the so called "phonetic" is preserved in the compound character.

Let us see whether this character Han should not be included in this class. Professor Williams defines the word as follows: "The Milky Way; the large branch of the Yang-tsz' River; a Chinese; relating to China; the Han dynasty, which was named from the duke of Han."

Its most common use at present is in the meaning "Chinese." The "Land of Han" is China,[1363] and hence the term "Great Han" has been considered to mean either "Great China," or a land inhabited by "Great Chinese." It is evident, however, that the term "Han" was first applied to the Chinese as subjects of the Han dynasty,[1363] which took its name from its founder,

the duke of Han. He in turn derived his title, like many English noblemen, from the small district over which he first ruled, and this district took its name from the river Han, upon the bank of which it was situated.

If we now inquire how the character in question first came to be applied to the river Han, and if we bear in mind that the character is composed of two parts, meaning "water" and "hardship," it is readily seen that it may have been adopted as the name of the river to express the idea that its leading characteristic was that its "water" could be navigated only with "difficulty," if at all. The Chinese "Historical Classic," the SHU KING, as translated by Mr. James Legge, mentions "the Han with its eddying movements," [1708] and Professor Williams refers to [2533] the *swirling waters* of the river Han, thus showing that the two parts of the character correctly describe the stream.

The character Han also means the Milky Way.[2528] And here again the idea of foaming, dashing water is apparent; the Milky Way resembling a foaming stream among the stars.

When Hwui Shăn reached the Aleutian Islands, or Alaska, what name did he find the country to bear? what was the meaning of the name, and how would he probably attempt to transcribe it in Chinese characters?

It is stated in the "Chinese Repository" that [1007] the etymologies of the Chinese are sometimes deserving of notice as an index of their habits of thought, and modes of combining relative ideas in order to embody a new one; and Professor Williams says that [2494] scholars are fastidious as to the introduction of merely phonetic words into their compositions, and prefer to translate everything that they can.

Hence, the probability is strong that Hwui Shăn would attempt both to translate the name, and to adopt a character which would to some extent *describe* the country.

Dall gives the following statement as to the name applied by the natives of the Aleutian Islands to the adjoining continent, and as to its meaning: [1166]

"Alaska.—This name, now applied to the whole of our new territory, is a corruption, very far removed from the original word. When the early Russian traders first reached Unalashka, they were told by the natives that to the eastward was a great land or territory. This was called by the natives Al-ak-shak, or

Al-ay-ek-sa. The island now known as Unalashka was called Na-gun-alayeksa, or the land near Alayeksa. From Alayeksa the name became, by corruption, Alaksa, Alashka, Aliaska, and finally Alaska. . . . We have then Alaska for the territory, Aliaska for the peninsula, and Unalashka for the island; all derived from the same root, *meaning a* GREAT *country or continent.*"

Pinart also states that among the Aleuts [2039] a tradition of the people is mentioned, in which they say that, before coming to their present home, they lived "in a great land, which was also called *Aliakhskha*—that is to say, '*a continent.*'"

Coxe also mentions the acquaintance of the Aleutian Islanders with the size of the adjoining continent, in the following words: [1123]

"Glottof did not land till he reached the last and most eastward of these islands, called by the inhabitants Kadiak; from which the natives said it was not far to the coast of a wide, extended, woody continent."

Hence, when Hwui Shăn was in the Aleutian Islands, he, too, probably heard of the "great land," "the continent," to the east; and this he indicated by the character TA, meaning "great."

That the character is used with this meaning, and not as a mere phonetic, is quite conclusively proven by the fact that in the twenty-eight cases in which it is used by Hiuen Ts'ang,[1616] in the names of towns or districts of India, it is invariably a translation of the Sanskrit "Mahâ," having the same meaning, while in the twenty cases in which the syllable "TA" is transliterated, some other character is always used.[1617]

While it is possible that he may have meant "China" by the character "Han," thus intending to call the continent "Great China," and so indicate the fact that it was larger than China, it seems more probable that he meant to go back to the original meaning of the character, and thus indicate that it was a *great* country of *dashing water*, or a *great* country reached with *difficulty* by *water*.

This would be very appropriate, as Langsdorff says that [1699] the current, or the influence of the ebb and flood tides, is very violent and irregular here between the numerous islands, and needs to be carefully watched by every sailor. While the Encyclopædia Britannica states that [1292] the Aleutian Islands are bare and mountainous, and their coasts are rocky and surrounded by

breakers, by which the approach is rendered exceedingly dangerous.

Although the population of the Aleutian Islands is now very small, the islands were once thickly peopled. Langsdorff says, for instance, that [1700] about 1770 the population of Kadiak and the neighbouring islands was estimated at fifty thousand people.

One curious indication of the location of the country named "Han" is found in the Chinese character 槎, of which the Hok-keën pronunciation is CHAY. This is defined as [1864] "driftwood floating down a river, upon which they fable that genii ride in order to float into the Milky Way, or Heavenly River, and thus get among the stars." Here is evidently a myth founded upon the character "Han," which was applied by Hwui Shăn to a country far to the northeast, *upon which driftwood floating in the* Kuro-siwo, *or gulf-stream of the Pacific, would ultimately be thrown.* After the existence of this country was partly forgotten, some surviving statement, that the driftwood floated to "Han," was, on account of the fact that one of the meanings of the character is "the Milky Way," supposed to mean that the driftwood floated to this Heavenly River.

Before taking up the account of the lands of "Marked Bodies" and "Great Han," and examining them clause by clause to see whether similar accounts are given by other travelers to the same region, attention should be called to the fact that a thorough examination of Hwui Shăn's story should lead to some one of the following conclusions:

First.—His story is entirely false; nothing more than an effort of the imagination of a "lying Buddhist priest."

Second.—He himself had not visited the countries which he described, but he had heard some account of them from others who had visited them, and he attempted to repeat their stories.

Third.—He had actually visited the countries described by him, and he attempted to give a truthful account of his travels.

In deference to the views of those scholars who see in every nursery tale and every history a myth of the rising sun, a fourth theory might be added: that the story of Fu-sang is a "sun-myth." This Procrustean theory is so all-embracing—applying with equal force to "Sing a Song of Sixpence" and the Iliad; to the history of Jacob and the life of either of the Napoleons—

that the various arguments used to adapt it to any tale whatever might be applied (even with special force, as to some points) to the history of Fu-sang, "the Land of the Rising Sun." A sprinkling of Sanskrit, and a reference to the clouds surrounding the rising sun as "cows" or "herds," would make the argument complete.

As it is reasonable to presume, however, that not more than nine tenths of early history is a variation upon the sun-myth theme, let us assume that the story of Fu-sang is among the few early tales that have some claim to other foundation.

In such case it is but reasonable to ask that the story as a whole should lead to some *one* of the three conclusions before mentioned. A portion of the story should not be accounted for by one hypothesis, and another of its statements by a different theory, wholly inconsistent with the first. It is not proper, for instance, to arrive at the conclusion that there was no such land as Fu-sang, and then in the next sentence attempt to prove that there was a land of Fu-sang, but that it was located in Japan.

The author will attempt to show that the third theory is the true one. It is not necessary to remove every objection ; some difficulties will unquestionably remain unsolved. But the true point to be decided is as to which one of the possible theories offers the fewest and least serious perplexities. If it be shown that Hwui Shăn describes a particular region in America, with its characteristic plants, and mentions peculiar customs of its people, such as are not known to have ever existed elsewhere ; if truth after truth is told, of a nature such as could never have been imagined if America had not actually been visited — a point will soon be reached when even explanations that would otherwise seem improbable may be accepted in regard to some few difficulties that present no other solution.

If it requires infinitely more explanation to account for Hwui Shăn's story upon either the first or second theory than it does upon the third, then the third may be considered as established with reasonable certainty. In the following pages an effort will be made to show that this is the case.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CUSTOMS OF THE LAND OF "MARKED BODIES," AND OF GREAT HAN.

Necessity of examining the account in detail—The resemblance of the people of the two countries—Their customs—Their languages—The marks upon their bodies—Tattooing with three lines—Existence of the custom in America—The marks a sign of the position of their bearer—The merry nature of the people—Their feasts and dances—Their hospitality—Hospitality of the American Indians—The Iroquois—The Esquimaux—The Aleutians—Absence of fortifications—The chiefs—The decoration of their dwellings—The Haidah Indians—Other Indian tribes from British Columbia to Alaska—Esquimaux fondness for ornamentation—Ditches—The dwellings of the people—Water-silver—Proof that ice is meant—Quicksilver—No country ever had ditches filled with quicksilver—The traffic by means of precious gems—No money used—Value of amber—The peaceful nature of the people—The punishment of crime—Summary of facts mentioned by Hwui Shăn—Application of the doctrine of chances—The two countries bearing the name of Great Han.

MARSDEN, in his edition of the "Travels of Marco Polo," 1789 states that while much ingenuity has been shown, on the one side, in pointing out what seem to be improbabilities, defects, and inconsistencies in his work, and, on the other, in defending it upon general principles, little has hitherto been done, by editors or commentators, toward an examination of the particular details, with the view of bringing them to the test of modern observation; and yet it is upon the unexceptionable evidence of their consistency with known facts, rather than the strength of any argument, that the reader is expected to ground his confidence in the intentional veracity of the author.

This criticism seems equally true in regard to the Chinese descriptions of eastern lands; and this chapter will therefore be devoted to an examination of "the particular details" of the account of the Countries of Marked Bodies and Great Han, in order to show "their consistency with known facts."

I.—The rudeness of the customs (of the people of the two countries) is the same, but their languages are different.

Latham says[1707] that the inhabitants of the Aleutian Islands, properly so called (i. e., of Behring's and Copper Islands), of the Rat Islands, of the Andreanowsky Islands, of the Prebülowüni Islands, of Unalaska, and of Kadiak, are all Esquimaux; a fact which numerous vocabularies give us full means of ascertaining. In respect to the difference of speech between particular islands, there is external evidence that it is considerable. The people of Atka have a difficulty in understanding the Unalaskans, and *vice versa*. Again, the Kadiak vocabulary, as found in Lisiansky, differs very notably from the Unalaskan of the same author; indeed, it may be doubted whether the two languages are mutually intelligible.

Dall states that[1154] the language of the western Innuit differs totally in the vocabulary from that of any Indian tribes, while there are many words common to the Greenlanders and the Behring's Strait Esquimaux. On the other hand, the words of the language of the Aleutians are in very large part quite dissimilar to those of the most adjacent Innuit. There is more difference in this respect between them and the Innuit of Kadiak than exists between the Greenlandic and Behring's Strait dialect. Nevertheless, the Aleutian language is clearly of the Innuit type, and is only entitled to rank as a branch of the Orarian stock.

While Langsdorff repeats, almost *verbatim*, the words of Hwui Shăn: "The inhabitants of Kadiak are but slightly different from those of Unalaska. In general the people are somewhat taller and more robust, but otherwise they are undeniably of the same race. *The language is different. The customs, manners, methods of living, means of sustenance, and the clothing, however, are almost exactly the same.*"[1702]

II.—The people have marks upon their bodies like wild beasts.

It does not seem quite certain whether Hwui Shăn meant that the marks were like those upon animals, or that they were pictures of wild beasts, or merely that the people resembled animals from the fact that their bodies were marked.

If it is meant that the marks were representations of wild beasts, the Haidah Indians, of Queen Charlotte's Islands, who

live not far from Alaska, and who may have moved from a still nearer neighbourhood during the last fourteen centuries, exactly meet the description. They seem to be intruders in their present location, as Swan states that there is a [2424] marked difference in their manners and customs from the Indians of the mainland. He adds that a singular [2423] custom which prevails among them, and which seems to be a distinctive feature of this tribe, is that of tattooing their bodies with various designs, all of which are fanciful representations of animals, birds, or fishes, either an attempt to represent in a grotesque form those which are known and commonly seen, or their mythological and legendary creations; he says also that [2422] each of the people will have on some part of the body a representation in tattooing of the particular figure which constitutes his or her family name or connection. The chief will have all the figures tattooed on his body to show his connection with the whole.

If it is merely meant, however, that the people resembled wild beasts rather than men, because their bodies were marked or tattooed, it is not necessary to look farther than to the tribes now living in Alaska and the Aleutian Islands.

Bancroft says that,[101] were these people (the Esquimaux) satisfied with what nature has done for them, they would be passably good-looking. But with them, as with all mankind, no matter how high the degree of intelligence and refinement attained, art must be applied to improve upon nature. The few finishing-touches neglected by the Creator, man is ever ready to supply. Arrived at the age of puberty, the great work of improvement begins. Up to this time the skin has been kept saturated in grease and filth, until the natural colour is lost, and until the complexion is brought down to the Esquimaux standard. Now pigments of various dyes are applied, both painted outwardly and pricked into the skin.

John Ledyard, who visited Unalaska with Captain Cook, stated that, among the people whom they saw,[108] both sexes had undergone the usual face painting and ornamentation; and Langsdorff mentions that [1698] tattooing was very customary in former times in the Aleutian Islands, especially among the women. They punctured the chin, the neck, and the arms.

III.—In front (or upon their foreheads) they have three marks.

Richardson says:[102] "The women tattoo their faces in blue lines, produced by making stitches with a fine needle and thread smeared with lamp-black." Beechey reports that, between Kotzebue Sound and Icy Cape,[102] "all the women were *tattooed upon the chin with three small lines.*" Armstrong states that,[102] at Point Barrow, the women have on the chin a vertical line about half an inch broad in the center, extending from the lip, with a parallel but narrower one on either side of it, a little apart. Choris assures us that,[102] on Behring's Isle, men as well as women tattoo; many men having the face tattooed. Coxe mentions that[1116] the women of the Aleutian Islands were ornamented with different figures sewed into the skin, and that[1120] the faces of the women of the Fox Islands were marked with blackish streaks made with a needle and thread in the skin; and Bancroft says that[105] young Kadiak wives secure the affectionate admiration of their husbands by tattooing the breast and adorning the face with black lines; while the Kuskoquim women sew into their chin two parallel blue lines.

This custom seems to have spread over a large portion of Northwestern America.

Ross says that all the Esquimaux women met by him[2162] were tattooed to a greater or less extent, chiefly *on the brow*, and on each side of the mouth and chin; this ornament consisting in lines alone, without any peculiar figures, and thus conforming to the usages of the Northwestern Esquimaux of America, as they have been described by different voyagers.

Mackenzie, after mentioning that[1773] the Chepewyans have a tradition among them that they originally came from another country, inhabited by very wicked people, and had traversed a great lake which was narrow, shallow, and full of islands, where they had suffered great misery, it being always winter, with ice and deep snow, adds that[1774] both sexes have blue or black bars of from one to four straight lines on their cheeks or forehead, to distinguish the tribe to which they belong. He also asserts that[1775] the men of both the Slave and Dog-rib tribes of Indians have two double lines, either black or blue, tattooed upon each cheek, from the ear to the nose, and that some of the Knistenaux women[1771] tatoo three perpendicular lines, which are sometimes double, one from the center of the chin to that of the under lip, and one parallel on either side to the corner of the mouth.

Powers remarks that the Karok[2056] squaws tattoo in blue three narrow fern-leaves perpendicularly on the chin, one falling from each corner of the mouth, and one in the middle, and that the Wintun[2059] squaws all tattoo three narrow lines, one falling from each corner of the mouth, and one between.

IV.—IF THE MARKS ARE LARGE AND STRAIGHT, THEY INDICATE THAT THOSE WHO HAVE THEM ARE OF THE HIGHER CLASSES; BUT IF THEY ARE SMALL AND CROOKED, THEN THEIR POSSESSORS ARE OF THE LOWER CLASSES.

Armstrong states that at Point Barrow some of the women[102] "have two vertical lines protruding from either angle of the mouth; *which is a mark of their high position in the tribe.*"

V.—THE PEOPLE OF THE LAND ARE OF A MERRY NATURE, AND THEY REJOICE WHEN THEY HAVE AN ABUNDANCE, EVEN OF ARTICLES THAT ARE OF LITTLE VALUE.

It is singular that nearly every traveler to Alaska and the Aleutian Islands has mentioned this peculiarity in the disposition of the people, by which they are clearly distinguished from the taciturn and phlegmatic tribes occupying other portions of the American Continent.

Bancroft states that[109] the Aleuts are fond of dancing. Langsdorff asserts that[1695] the character of the people of the island of Unalaska is in general kind and good-natured, submissive, and obedient. Dall states[1156] that originally the Aleutian tribes were active and sprightly, and that,[1172] like most of the Innuit tribes, they were fond of dances and festivals, which, like those of Norton Sound, were chiefly celebrated in December. Food was then plenty, and the otter-hunting season did not commence till a little later.[1157] Whole villages entertained other villages, receiving the guests with songs and tambourines. Successive dances of children, naked men beating their rude drums, and women curiously attired, were followed by incantations from the shamans. If a whale was cast ashore, the natives assembled with joyous and remarkable ceremonies. They advanced and beat drums of different sizes. The carcass was then cut up, and a feast held on the spot.

This peculiarity seems to be shared by the Kamtchatkans, for it is stated of them that[1641] they pass their time in singing and dancing, and in relating their intrigues, and the greatest

misfortune that they can suffer is to be deprived of these amusements.

VI.—Traveling visitors do not prepare food for their journeys, and they have the shelter of their (the inhabitants') dwellings.

By referring to the seventeenth chapter, it will be seen that some of the former translators of this passage have thought that reference was made to "a fertile land, where all that is necessary to sustain life may be found in abundance"; to a country where "the various products are abundant and cheap," and where "the travelers who pass through it have no need to furnish themselves with provisions." The Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys renders the first clause of the paragraph above quoted, "The traveler easily finds food"; and in another place translates the same clause, "The traveler has no need to carry food with him (the country furnishing it to him in abundance)."

The version of this passage by Professor Williams will be seen, however, to agree in its main features with that given by the present author.

The statement of the Chinese account is, that "traveling visitors do not prepare food for their journeys"; and the *inference* of former translators, that the reason is that "the country furnishes it in abundance," is merely an *inference*, and happens to be erroneous.

The true reason is, that the people, although poor, are so hospitable that they supply travelers freely with all that they themselves have. This complete hospitality, which is carried to such a point that it is considered to be a right of the traveler to share freely of all that may be found in the dwellings that he enters, and that there is no thought on either side that it is an act of mere courtesy, is characteristic of the aborigines of the American Continent; as it existed throughout all of North America, at least, and was probably found in South America also; while it is doubtful whether the same universal and complete hospitality has existed anywhere else in the world.

So accustomed were all or nearly all of the tribes of America to this hearty welcome in every house that they entered, that Mr. Stephen Badger, in a letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society, published in 1798, complains that [86] the Indians are strangely disposed and addicted to wander from place to

place, and to make excursions into various parts of the country, and sometimes at no small distance from their proper homes, without anything on hand for their support in their perambulations, as for this they depend, with unanxious concern, upon the charity and compassion of others.

Morgan says that[1936] one of the most attractive features of Indian society was the spirit of hospitality by which it was pervaded. Perhaps no people ever carried this principle to the same degree of universality as did the Iroquois. Their houses were not only open to each other, at all hours of the day and of the night, but also to the wayfarer and the stranger. Such entertainment as their means afforded was freely spread before him, with words of kindness and of welcome. He states again that,[1949] among the Iroquois, hospitality was an established usage. If a man entered an Indian house in any of their villages, whether a villager, a tribesman, or a stranger, it was the duty of the women therein to set food before him. An omission to do this would have been a discourtesy amounting to an affront. If hungry, he ate; if not hungry, courtesy required that he should taste the food and thank the giver. This would be repeated at every house he entered, and at whatever hour in the day. As a custom it was upheld by a rigorous public sentiment. The same hospitality was extended to strangers from their own and from other tribes. Upon the advent of the European race among them it was also extended to them. Quotations follow from "Smith's History of Virginia," from the Rev. John Heckewelder, from Lewis and Clarke, and from many others, to show that this hospitality is universal among the Indian tribes.

In another place[1937] Morgan gives the following anecdote in illustration of the difference between the hospitality of the Indians and that of the whites:

Canassatego, a distinguished Onondaga chief, who flourished about the middle of the last century, said, in a conversation with Conrad Weiser, an Indian interpreter: "You know our practice. If a white man, in traveling through our country, enters one of our cabins, we all treat him as I do you. We dry him if he is wet, we warm him if he is cold, and give him meat and drink that he may allay his hunger and thirst; and we spread soft furs for him to rest and sleep on. We demand nothing in return. But if I go into a white man's house at Albany, and ask

for victuals and drink, they say, 'Where is your money?' And if I have none, they say, '*Get out, you Indian dog!*'"

Mackenzie speaks particularly [1172] of the generosity and hospitality of the Knistenaux; and Ross [2165] mentions several instances [2164] in which he had "ample proof of the hospitality" [2163] of the Esquimaux whom he met.

To return to Alaska and the Aleutian Islands: Dall mentions a case of great kind-heartedness shown to him by two of the natives of Alaska.[1152] He says again of the Aleutians that [1171] hospitality was one of their prominent traits.

Quoting from Veniaminoff, he says [1159] that it is the custom of the Aleutians for the successful hunter or fisher, particularly in times of scarcity, to share his prize with all, not only taking no large share, but often less than the others; and if he has forgotten any one at the distribution, or any one arrives too late, he shares the remainder with him. All those in need of assistance hasten to meet the returning hunter at the landing, and sit down silently by the shore. This is a sign that they ask for aid; only the infirm or orphans send persons to represent them: and the hunter divides his prize, without expecting thanks or restitution.

Continuing his quotations from the same authority, he adds: [1161]

"The Aleuts are not inhospitable, but they practice hospitality in their own way. They meet all strangers at the landing-place, though rarely saluting them by word or sign, except where they have learned the custom, daily becoming more universal, from the Russians. If the stranger has a relative or intimate friend, he goes to him; if not, no one will invite him, but all are ready to receive him: he can choose his quarters himself. Then he is entertained in the best manner; the woman of the house takes care of his clothing, mending his kamlayka, or whatever stands in need of repair; but she is not obliged to receive him, as was formerly customary. They never think of asking their guest for anything, but let him stay as long as he may; *they even provide him with food of every kind when he departs.*"

The duplication by Veniaminoff, in the clause in italics, of the statement given in the Chinese account, should be particularly observed.

Bancroft says that [109] the Aleuts are given to hospitality; and Coxe mentions that [1124] when the natives of the Fox Islands are on a journey, and their provisions are exhausted, they beg from

village to village, or call upon their friends and relations for assistance.

VII.—THEY HAVE NO FORTIFICATIONS OR WALLED CITIES.

This is so well known to be true of the Aleutians and Alaskans, that no quotations upon the subject will be necessary.

VIII.—THE RESIDENCE OF THE KING (OR KINGS) OF THE COUNTRY IS ADORNED WITH GOLD AND SILVER AND PRECIOUS AND BEAUTIFUL OBJECTS ABOUT THE DWELLING.

First, as to the ruler, Bancroft states that,[110] in the Aleutian Islands, every island, and, in the larger islands, every village, has its toyon,* or chief, who decides differences, is exempt from work, and is allowed a servant to row his boat, but in other respects possesses no power.

The houses of the chiefs are not now decorated in the Aleutian Islands as described in the account, but some remnants of such decoration still exist in Alaska, and, by going a little way down the American coast, we find, among the Haidah Indians (who, as has already been stated, seem to be intruders in their present position, and who may have migrated from the Aleutian Islands or their neighbourhood during the last fourteen hundred years), carvings and decorations which recall the description given above.

As it is mentioned, a little farther on in the account, that, in their barters, precious gems are used (as the standard of value, instead of gold and silver), it is evident that, at the time when the residence of the chief was adorned with gold and silver, these metals were used merely as ornaments. After their value as the medium of exchange with foreign nations was learned, it is not likely that the outside of any dwelling would long be covered with them, and they would, therefore, soon be replaced with other decorations.

Swan, in his account of the Haidah Indians, gives an engraving which he says [242] is intended to represent one of the carved posts or pillars which are raised in front of the houses of the chiefs or principal men. These pillars are sometimes from fifty to sixty feet high, elaborately carved, at a cost of hundreds of

* This word, which is found with the same meaning, and with but slight changes in sound, throughout Eastern Asia, and in the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, is a proof of an early communication between the two continents.—E. P. V.

blankets ; some of the best ones even costing several thousand dollars : consequently, *only the most wealthy individuals of the tribe* are able to purchase the best specimens. These pillars are carved out of a single cedar-tree, the back hollowed so as to relieve the weight when raising it in a perpendicular position. They are deeply and firmly set in the earth, directly in front of the lodge, and a circular opening near the ground constitutes the door of entrance to the house. The Chimsean Indians, at Fort Simpson, *and the Sitka tribes*, have this style of carved posts, but they set them at a short distance from the front of their houses. The figures carved on these posts are the family totems, or heraldic designs of the family occupying the house ; and as these Indians build large wooden lodges, capable of containing several families, the carvings may be said to indicate the family names of the different occupants. The chief or head man owns the house, and the occupants are his family and relatives.

Dall mentions similar [1162] high posts, curiously carved, as being frequently erected before the houses of the Thlinkeets, and says that they are sometimes placed directly in front, so that an entrance is made through the block or log, which is often of enormous size.

The Niskah or Naas Indians, of British Columbia, have elaborately carved poles in front of many of their houses. Some of the houses have their fronts built in the form of an animal's head. The front of one of their houses is described as shaped like a wolf's head, the nose being the porch, and the mouth the door.[1424] A chief's rank is marked by the height of the pole erected in front of his house (on which the crest which distinguishes his division of the tribe is carved); and no offense leads to more frequent quarrels than the attempt on the part of a chief to put up a pole higher than his rank warrants.[1423]

Fondness for ornamentation is shown by both the Alaskans and Aleuts, their boats being frequently [1173] inlaid very prettily with lozenge-shaped pieces of gypsum.

The same love for such ornamentation, which led to the decoration of their houses, is still shown in many smaller matters. Langsdorff says that [1697] the Aleutian, who but seldom has an opportunity of obtaining a piece of good wood a few inches in diameter, when he obtains a suitable piece, occupies himself for weeks together in shaping it into a board so made that, when it has

been soaked in water for some little time, it can be bent evenly and uniformly. He then attempts to gradually bring together the two corners of the little board, which he has previously given the form of a semi-oval, and sew them together with sinew-thread, by which means a pyramidical cap is made. If he is successful in this work, which is not always the case, for the board often either breaks or bends unevenly, he paints it with coloured earth and ocher, brought from the far distant crater of the volcano, and adorns it with figures labouriously carved from walrus-tusks, without any tools worthy of the name. He also decorates it with glass or amber beads, obtained from the Russians, and with the bristles from the muzzle of the sea-lion, which to a certain extent take the place of the ornamental plumes used by Europeans; the Aleutians placing a high value upon a bunch of these bristles—which are the trophies of a successful hunter—as each sea-lion has but four.

IX.—THEY MAKE A DITCH OF A BREADTH OF ONE ROD (of ten Chinese feet, or nearly twelve English feet), WHICH IS FILLED WITH WATER-SILVER. WHEN IT RAINS, THEN THE RAIN FLOWS UPON THE SURFACE OF THE WATER-SILVER.

As the Chinese seldom punctuate their writings, it is uncertain whether the clause "ABOUT THE DWELLING," which in the present translation was used as the closing member of the preceding phrase, may not really be the opening clause of the present sentence; in which case the ditch above mentioned should be considered as surrounding the house or houses, either of the ruler or of the people.

Coxe says that the inhabitants of some of the Aleutian Islands [1122] live in holes dug in the earth, but elsewhere [1119] explains his meaning more clearly by saying that their [1121] dwellings are hollowed in the ground, and covered with wooden roofs, resembling the huts in the peninsula of Kamtchatka. These are described as [1643] surrounded by a wall of earth, or by a palisade. Langsdorff states that [1696] the dwellings of the Unalaskans consist of pits, which are covered with a roof of earth thrown over them, upon which, after they have stood for a few years, high grass grows, so that a village then resembles a European church-yard with high grave-mounds. He adds that,[1701] although the dwellings of the inhabitants of Kadiak are in most respects like those of the Unalaskans, they differ somewhat, from the fact that more

wood is used in their construction. These houses, half-buried in the earth, although without stoves, are warm enough in the winter to protect their inhabitants from the cold.

It is evident from these quotations that the earth, excavated within the walls of the dwelling, is thrown up about them outside and upon the roof. Those who have had occasion to erect tents know that one of the most essential precautions to secure comfort is to dig a small trench about them, to carry away any rain that may fall; and in a country so intolerably [1164] rainy as is Alaska,[1163] it would seem as if a ditch about the houses were an absolute necessity. Hayden describes the cabins or huts of the Arikaras [1463] in very much the same language as that used above in picturing the dwellings of the Alaskans, and adds: "Around the house, on the outside, a small trench is dug, to carry away the rain." No such ditches are described as existing in Alaska, however, although Petroff states that [2030] storms and tides often inundate the swampy shore on which their partly subterranean dwellings are built, and, filling them with water, drive the inmates out; while Dall also concurs in the statement that [1151] their underground houses are, in summer, full of water.

It is not certain, however, that Hwui Shăn meant to say that the ditch or ditches surrounded the houses. All that can be derived with certainty from his words is, that somewhere in the country he saw one or more ditches filled with a substance sufficiently remarkable to be, in his opinion, worthy of mention.

He describes this substance as "water-silver." Now, although this term usually means *quicksilver* [1190] (and it has therefore been so translated by all others), yet here it seems to be impossible that it can have been used otherwise than as a descriptive phrase for *ice*. We, who see every year the wonderful transformation of water into a solid crystalline substance, easily forget the surprising nature of the change to one who has not been accustomed to it. The king of Siam could believe all the marvelous tales of foreign lands that were told to him, until this transformation was mentioned. Then his credulity was taxed too far, and he announced his disbelief, and the reasons for it. "Water," said he,[1038] "is a fluid, and a fluid is not a compact body; therefore, water can never appear in a compact form, and all the fables about ice, snow, and hail are unworthy of credit."

Now, although ice is occasionally formed in Northern China,

the temperature is seldom low enough [986] to form it at Canton; and, as it is seen throughout the most of China and other countries of Southern Asia, it is merely a thin and easily melted cake, differing widely from the glittering and immensely thick mass which is formed in the ditches in the Aleutian Islands. It is therefore not surprising that Hwui Shăn should have spoken of the great thickness of ice seen in this country. The character CHI,* in the phrase, may possibly be used, not in its most common sense, as a mere particle indicating the relations to each other of the words between which it is placed, but in its original sense as a verb, meaning [2412] "to proceed, to go to," [1305] "to proceed to," or, as Professor Williams defines it, "to pass from one state to another," and it seems not impossible that Hwui Shăn may have meant that the rain passed from the state of a fluid into that of the "water-silver." The passage is very obscure, and many educated Chinamen have confessed that they were unable to decide with certainty as to its meaning.

Had it been the intention to say that the ditches were filled with quicksilver, there is [2531] a character [1866] (汞, HUNG) meaning quicksilver, which could have been used instead of the compound "water-silver." This would have placed the meaning beyond question, and the nature of the Chinese language is such that it will hardly permit two characters to be used when one would fully express the meaning.

It is possible that the original term may have been "icy-silver," as 冰, PING, *ice*, [2555] differs by only one dot from 水, SHUI, *water*. It seems more likely, however, that Hwui Shăn wished to distinguish between this hard, solid, transparent ice of the Arctic regions, and the thin crusts, scarcely deserving the name, which were all that could be seen in China; and, in order to do so, he used a compound analogous to a number of others existing in Chinese. Quartz crystal is, for instance, called [2574] SHUI-TSING, "water-crystal," or [2578] SHUI-YUH, "water-gem." This last term was also applied to glass, [2558] "because it is clear as water and hard as a gem," when that substance was first introduced in China a few centuries ago. "Water-silver" is as appropriate and natural a term for ice as the other compounds above named are for the substances to which they are applied.

It should be again insisted that Hwui Shăn is fairly entitled

* See chap. xvii, character No. 706.

to that translation of his account which will make his story conform with the truth, provided that such a translation is possible. If he were relying upon his imagination, innumerable statements would be made which no possible ingenuity could harmonize with the truth. If "water-silver" is translated "ice," all difficulties vanish, and his account becomes simple and truthful. If it is translated "quicksilver," we become involved in manifest absurdities, as, for instance: "When the ditch is filled with quicksilver, and the rain is allowed to flow off from the quicksilver, the water is then regarded in the markets as a precious rarity." This should not be understood as an imputation upon the scholarship of the late Professor Williams, the depth of whose learning, and whose thorough acquaintance with the Chinese language are too well known to need mention. His translation is quoted merely as showing the utter absurdity of the whole passage if "water-silver" is translated by its usual equivalent of "quicksilver." There never was a country in which there was a ditch filled with quicksilver. If such a country had ever existed, rain-water flowing upon it, and then flowing off from it, would not be in any way affected by it; and if the water were affected by it, it could not be considered in the markets as a precious rarity, as an unlimited amount of water could have been permitted to flow over it. Can it be believed that any sane man would ever have told so absurd a story?

X.—In their traffic they use precious gems (or valuables—as the standard of value—instead of gold or silver).

As late as the beginning of the nineteenth century, Langsdorff stated that [1703] no money was current in the country. Veniaminoff [1160] describes the custom of bartering existing among the Aleuts, and says that "it is of great age, and has been preserved without change." Dall mentions [1165] amethysts, zeolites, tourmalines, garnets, spinel, agates, carnelians, variegated marble, hypochlorite (commonly used for ornaments by the natives, resembling jade, and sometimes called malachite), and fossil ivory, as existing in Alaska.

Langsdorff says that [1704] a species of mussel-shell, the sea-tooth (*Dentalium entalis*), which is called *tache*, or *heikwa*, is very highly prized by the Aleutians, and even now is in great request. Bancroft states that [106] at times amber is thrown up in large quantities by the ocean on the south side of Kadiak, gen-

erally after a heavy earthquake, and that at such times it forms an important article of commerce with the natives. Dall[1158] also speaks of their fondness for amber, and states that among[1174] the relics forwarded to the Smithsonian Institution from the Aleutian Islands, was one rude amber bead, evidently of native make, on a sinew thread. The amber was obtained from the lignite beds, which are reported on the islands of Amchitka, Atka, and Unalaska, and may exist elsewhere. We know that amber was held in great esteem by the early natives, and extraordinary value set upon it. This bead, therefore, may have represented in value a good many sea-otter skins.

Amber is among the articles included by the Chinese under the general term "gems," and its value in China was formerly very great.[972]

XI.—THEY (the people of Great Han) HAVE NO MILITARY WEAPONS, AND DO NOT WAGE WAR.

This well characterizes the peaceful Esquimaux, and is a statement that it would be impossible to make with truth regarding any of the tribes of Northeastern Asia.

XII.—HE WHO HAS COMMITTED A PETTY CRIME IS SCOURGED. HE WHO IS ACCUSED OF A CRIME DESERVING DEATH IS THROWN TO WILD BEASTS TO BE DEVOURED. IF THE ACCUSATION IS CALUMNIOUS, THE BEASTS KEEP AT A DISTANCE FROM HIM, IT IS SAID (instead of devouring him); THEN, AFTER A NIGHT (of trial), HE IS SET AT LIBERTY.

This statement was copied by the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys from the Chinese "History of the South." Ma Twan-lin, for some reason, did not think it best to include it in his account. The white bears and other large wild beasts, which once existed in the Aleutian Islands, have long been extinct. No trace of the custom above referred to can therefore now be found in those islands, and the most that could be expected to have survived to the present day would be some dim trace, to be found among the nearly allied tribes of Kamtchatka or Alaska.

The author fancies that he has seen an account of the abandonment to wild beasts, by the Alaskans, of some alleged witches; but if so, he is unable to find it again. Possibly the night of trial through which their medicine-men pass before assuming the office, when, alone in the forest or plains, they wait for their

guardian spirit to appear to them in the guise of some wild animal, may be a trace of the ancient custom.

Something of the kind may still exist in Kamtchatka, as it is stated that those who have committed a theft [1642] are released, for the first offense, by returning what they have taken, and by *living isolated* from dealings with their countrymen, *without being able to expect any help from them.*

If it be considered that any difficulties in the foregoing account are not satisfactorily explained, let it be asked again, Which one of the possible theories upon the subject is accompanied by the fewest and least serious difficulties?

Is it possible that Hwui Shăn could have told the following truths, except as the result of an actual visit to America by way of the Aleutian Islands?

1. Land was to be found in the Pacific Ocean, some twenty-three hundred miles northeasterly from Japan.

2. Some sixteen hundred miles farther east, land was again to be found.

3. The journey could be continued easterly, for some six thousand miles at least, and land would still be found.

4. The second of the countries mentioned by him was known as a "great" land; and it not only lay east of the first country, but was so extensive that it also lay to the east of China.

5. The people of the first two countries were alike in their customs, but their languages were different.

6. The people of the first of the countries tattooed their bodies.

7. They had the custom of tattooing some portion of the face with three lines.

8. These lines indicated the position of their owner in the tribe.

9. The people were of so merry and joyous a nature that the fact was worthy of notice.

10. They were so hospitable as to furnish their visitors, not only with shelter, but also with food for their journeys.

11. They had no fortifications or walled cities.

12. They had no military weapons and did not wage war.

13. The dwellings of their chief men were curiously adorned, externally.

14. The ditches in their land were filled with some singular

substance to which the term "water-silver" could be applied, and this substance was in some way connected with the rain.

15. Gold and silver were not used as the standards of value, but their place was filled by "gems."

If it be assumed that there is just one chance out of two that each one of these statements would be true as to any newly discovered land, then the probability that they would *all* be true is as one to the fifteenth power of two, or one to over thirty-two thousand, a proportion which makes it practically impossible that the story can have been imaginary. It will readily be admitted that there is no more than one chance out of two that any one of the fifteen statements above referred to would be true of an unknown region, and it is evident that of some of them the chance is not one in a dozen. The probability that such a story, if invented by one who knew nothing of the region, would prove, upon exploration, to be true, instead of being one in thirty-two thousand, is really, therefore, but one in millions, and it is easier to accept almost any difficulty, as to one or two of the points, than to believe that the account was imaginary, or that it related to any other country.

D'Hervey (see Chapter XII) has clearly explained the difficulty into which earlier writers had been led by confounding the two regions called Ta Han, or Great Han—one to the north of China (and hence on the Asiatic Continent), and the other to the east or northeast (and hence on the American Continent). This confusion between the two countries, which caused de Guignes and other writers to look upon the Asiatic Continent for Hwui Shăn's Great Han country, has been the chief cause of the desperate attempts to locate Fu-sang, also, somewhere else than in America.

CHAPTER XX.

THE COUNTRY LYING IN THE REGION INDICATED BY HWUI SHĂN.

The direction from China, Japan, and Great Han in which Fu-sang lay—The trend of the American Pacific coast—The distortion of the common maps—Mexico lies in the region indicated—The nations inhabiting Mexico in the fifth century—Their language—Traces of their beliefs and customs existing one thousand years later—Aztec traditions—The Toltecs—Their character—Their civilization—The time of their dispersion—Their language—The Pacific coast—The evidence of place-names—The Aztec language—Limits of the Mexican empire—The name of the country—The city of Tenochtitlan—The application of the name "Mexico"—First applied to the country—Early maps—Late application of the name to the city—Pronunciation of the word—Similar names throughout the country—Meaning of the syllable "co"—Varying explanations—Real meaning of the term—"The Place of the Century-plant"—Meaning of the syllable "ME"—Meaning of the syllable "XI"—Its meaning in other compounds—Other abbreviations—Appropriateness of the designation—The god Mexitli—Proof that he was the god of the century-plant—Reason that the Spaniards were misled as to the meaning of "Mexico."

HAVING, in the preceding chapters, arrived at the conclusion that the country referred to by Hwui Shăn under the name of "Great Han" was located in the region now known as Alaska, let us continue the examination of his story, and endeavour to identify the land which he calls the country of Fu-sang.

His first reference to it is as follows :

I.—FU-SANG IS SITUATED TWICE TEN THOUSAND LI OR MORE TO THE EAST OF THE GREAT HAN COUNTRY. THAT LAND IS ALSO SITUATED TO THE EAST OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM (China).

Attention should first be called to a fact, already noticed, that, as the greater part of the route from Japan to the Great Han country bears in a northeasterly direction, the route from the land of Great Han to a country lying to the east of China can not be directly east, but must lie somewhat southerly.

Probably but few realize how the western coast of America

trends toward the east. We are so accustomed to consider the top of our maps as the north, and the bottom as the south, and to think, half unconsciously, that a perpendicular line upon the map represents a true north and south line, that, when we see the usual maps of North America drawn upon the customary projection, in which, in order to represent the rounding surface of the earth upon a plane surface with as little distortion as possible, the westerly meridians are drawn sloping from near the center of the upper margin of the map toward the lower left-hand corner, we forget that these sloping lines are the true meridians, and learn to consider the western coast of America as bearing almost north and south. If Hwui Shăn had said that the land six thousand miles beyond Alaska lay to the south of that country, probably no one would have thought of objecting that it lay also to the east; and yet it is quite as true to say that Mexico lies to the *east* of Alaska as it is to say that it lies to the south. A map of the northern half of the hemisphere including the North Pacific Ocean, drawn upon the customary projection, in which the meridians passing through the western coast of America are placed upon the right side of the map, instead of on the left, as we are accustomed to see them, will help to fix the true direction of the coast in the mind, and will also show how natural it would have been for Hwui Shăn to consider his journey beyond Alaska as a continuation of the same general course which he had been pursuing, and not as an abrupt turn at right angles from the east to the south. (See Frontispiece.) It is difficult for us to realize that San Francisco lies farther east of the westernmost of the Aleutian Islands than Portland, Maine, lies east of San Francisco, and that, in going from California to Panama, the route trends so much toward the east that its terminus is found to be upon nearly the same meridian as Washington.

If a voyage of some six thousand miles (making a due allowance for the sinuosity of the coast, and for a slight but natural exaggeration by a traveler who had no means of measuring the distance accurately) were made from Alaska, in an easterly direction, but trending toward the south, so that at the end of the journey the destination would lie easterly from China, where would the traveler find himself?

A few moments' study of a map will answer the question clearly and unmistakably: on the coast of *Mexico*.

If a traveler had made this journey in the latter part of the fifth century, A. D., what tribe of people would he have found upon the Pacific coast of Mexico, what language was then spoken there, what were the manners and customs of the people, what was their state of civilization, and by what name was the country then known?

Here, unfortunately, except for the account given by Hwui Shăn himself, we are compelled to rely upon tradition, supplemented only by a few scanty hieroglyphical records, and by vague recollections of more complete accounts which once existed; upon the ruins scattered about the country, and upon customs and arts, which had evidently come down from distant generations, which were found to exist in the land at the time of the Spanish conquest. It is surprising, however, to find how much of the history of Mexico at the time spoken of may, on close and careful study, be vaguely discerned through the mists of the intervening centuries.

M. Lenoir very justly observes that [1726] there necessarily existed a great affinity between the customs, arts, and beliefs of the Mexicans, at the time of their conquest by the Europeans, and those which existed, when the population of Guatemala flourished, and Palenque and Mitla were founded. We may, therefore, by first examining the religion, the customs, the arts, and even the literature, of the Mexicans during the reign of Montezuma, hope to obtain some knowledge of these earlier tribes, even though the Mexicans seem to have—to a great extent—forgotten them, and to have been ignorant in regard to the state of civilization which had been reached by the nations who were the founders of their arts and sciences.

There is no question that several races of conquerors succeeded one another in the Mexican empire, and that they had successively adopted the religion and the customs of the vanquished people; and it may be again repeated that it is indisputable that some traces of the primitive religion and customs must have survived, and that a mixture of the old and the new religion must have occurred, as was the case in the history of Christianity when it overcame paganism.

According to the traditions of the Aztecs, they migrated during the eleventh [1601] or twelfth [1226] century to the region where they dwelt at the time of the conquest. When they reached

this country[1226] they, according to Humboldt, found the pyramidal monuments of Teotihuacan, of Cholula, or Cholollan, and of Papantla. They attributed these immense works to the Toltecs, a powerful and civilized nation which had lived in Mexico for five hundred years; they used hieroglyphic writing, and knew the length of the year more exactly than the greater part of the nations of the Old World. The Aztecs did not certainly know whether other tribes had lived in the country of Anahuac before the Toltecs. In regarding the "Houses of God" of Teotihuacan and Cholollan as the work of this last nation, they assigned to them the greatest antiquity of which they had any knowledge. It is possible, nevertheless, that they were constructed before the invasion of the Toltecs—an event which, according to some writers, occurred in the year 648 of our era.

Humboldt also states, in another place,[1601] that the Toltecs preceded the Aztecs, in the country of Anahuac, by more than five centuries, and differed from them by that love for the arts, and that religious and peaceful character, which distinguished the Etruscans from the first inhabitants of Rome.

M. Lenoir says that[1727] the Toltecs, who inhabited this part of America toward the seventh century, and who, according to tradition, had a mild and gentle religion, and offered only flowers and fruits to their gods, were displaced successively by the Chichimecs and the Aztecs, whose ferocious and sanguinary religion was practiced by the nation over whom Montezuma ruled at the time of the Spanish conquest. According to the Mexican tradition, the Toltecs who inhabited the land of Anahuac were far advanced in the arts and sciences. After their migration to the Bay of Campeche and Honduras, their country was occupied by the Chichimecs, a warlike and ferocious nation, but one whose people profited by the presence of some Toltecs who still remained in their old home, and acquired, from them, a knowledge of agriculture and the arts.

Bancroft also refers to "the old-time story, how the Toltecs in the sixth century appeared on the Mexican table-land; how they were driven out and scattered in the seventh century; how, after a brief interval, the Chichimecs followed their footsteps; and how these last were succeeded by the Aztecs, who were found in possession."

The preceding quotations fix the date of the arrival of the

Toltecs in the land of Mexico as in the sixth or seventh century. The traditions are too vague and unreliable, however, and the scanty paintings which confirm them too brief and uncertain as to their precise meaning, to permit the exact century to be determined with accuracy. No writer fixes the date later than the sixth or seventh century, but many set it much earlier.

The Mexican historian, the Abbé Domenech,[315] places the Toltecs' arrival in New Spain about the third century before the Christian era.

The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg says that[624] the uncertainty regarding the origin of the Toltec race prevents the fixing, with any surety, of the epoch when they appeared upon the shores of Mexico; everything leads to the belief, however, that it was during the century before the Christian era, or in the first century after Christ. A date mentioned by him, of which he does not undertake to guarantee the authenticity, appears to fix the time of the arrival of the tribes speaking the Nahuatl language as in the year 279 B. C.

According to Bancroft,[417] the date of the arrival of the Toltecs in Huehue Tlapallan is given by Ixtlilxochitl, in his first Toltec Relation (p. 322), as 2,236 years after the creation, or 520 years after the flood. That is, it occurred long before the Christian era. In other places (pp. 206 and 459) the same author represents the Toltecs as banished from their country, and migrating to Huetlapan, in California, on the South Sea, in 387 A. D.; and this last-named date is repeated by Gallatin (in Schoolcraft's "Arch.," vol. v, p. 96) and Müller ("Reisen," tome iii, p. 97).

As, according to Gallatin,[1402] we may safely conclude that, within a few years after the conquest, there did not exist a single historical painting in which events prior to the fifteenth century were faithfully recorded under their proper date, it is impossible to arrive at any positive conclusion as to the exact time when the Toltec empire was founded; but we can rely with much confidence on the general conclusion, stated by Bancroft, that[195] as the Nahua nations were living when the Spaniards found them, so had they probably been living for at least ten centuries, and not improbably for a much longer period.

We are, therefore, carried back to about the days of Hwui Shăn, and have reason to believe that if he had made the journey to Mexico he would have found there either the Toltecs,

or some nation speaking substantially the same language, and having many of the arts and customs which were possessed by the Toltecs of later days.

The quotations already given show that[245] the Aztecs derived their system of hieroglyphics from the Toltecs, and that the civilization of the latter was far superior to that of their successors. According to tradition, it was[195] during the Toltec period of Nahua culture that husbandry and all the arts pertaining to the production and preparation of food were brought to the highest degree of perfection, and similar traditions exist as to all other arts known to the Mexicans at the time of the conquest.

The indications which we have, all agree[1780] that the ancient Toltecs and the seven tribes of Nahuatlacas, or Nahuas, had the same origin, and spoke the same language, which was the Mexican, Nahuatl, or Aztec. Buschmann says:[862] "That the Aztecs were of a common origin with the Toltecs, Acolhuas, and other inhabitants of Mexico, is shown by the language common to all and still known as the Aztec, although the people are preferably and more usually called Mexicans."

Similar statements are made[421] by Bancroft,[356] McCulloh,[1843] Bandelier,[511] and all other authorities that have referred to the subject.

It might be thought, however, that the quotations which have been given refer only to the region in the neighbourhood of the city of Mexico, and that a different state of affairs may have existed upon the shore of the Pacific. It is found, however, that the Toltecs colonized that coast, and that the Aztec language was spoken upon nearly the whole of the western border of the country of Mexico.

Ixtlilxochitl,[433] in Kingsborough (vol. ix, p. 214), mentions a Toltec party that emigrated to the Michoacan region, and dwelt there for a long time. Sahagun (tome iii, let. x, pp. 145–146) refers to a Toltec migration as an issue from the same region. Veytia (tome ii, pp. 39–40) speaks of Toltecs who founded colonies all along the Pacific coast, and gradually changed their language and customs. Gallatin[361] says that Copan was a colony of Toltecs; and the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg says that the Pipiles, a tribe speaking the Mexican language, occupied a portion of Guatemala[655] before the great emigration of the Toltecs in the

eleventh century; and he also states that,[762] in that part of Anahuac which lay upon the sea-shore, north and south, and particularly upon the shore of the Pacific Ocean, the Nahuatl (Mexican or Aztec) language was found as the native dialect, and that [759] the Xinca language of Guatemala was probably a corrupt dialect of the Mexican.

Between the east and southeast from Zacatecas,[909] Hervas (vol. iii, p. 64) sets the Mazapili, who, according to him, probably spoke a dialect of the Aztec language. He also says that [1541] this language extended far beyond the limits of the Mexican empire, and quotes the statement of Herrera, that it was spoken in Nicaragua and in Guatemala.

A glance at a map of Mexico, by one having even a slight acquaintance with this tongue, will show that the names of places are nearly all Aztec, even in regions of the country in which other languages are spoken. The map given by Orozco y Berra,[2007] at the end of his "Geografía," and reproduced by M. Malte-Brun,[1780] shows that the Aztec or Mexican-speaking tribes had possession of the entire Pacific coast of Mexico, from latitude 16° 40′ (just south of Acapulco) to latitude 25° 20′ (about half-way between Mazatlan and Guaymas); but Mexican names will be found far beyond these limits.

It has been generally admitted that [2102] the presence throughout nearly the whole of the Spanish peninsula, of topographical names significant in the Euskarian language, and evidently derived from it, makes it a safe inference that this language had formerly a similar extension; and the same course of reasoning leads to the conclusion that the Mexican language must once have been spoken in nearly all portions of the present republic of Mexico.

To account for this,[154] says Bancroft, we have, if other causes are not sufficient, the unknown history and migrations of the Nahua people during the centuries preceding the Toltec era.

The Aztec language was, and is, according to Alexander von Humboldt, [863] the most widely extended of any in Mexico. It is, as he states, "at the present day extended from 37° north latitude to Lake Nicaragua, over a length of four hundred leagues."

Buschmann [885] adds that the first reasons that present themselves are not sufficient to explain the intensity of the extension of Aztec place-names: the thick setting of such names in provinces

in which other tongues, chiefly or only, were spoken, or their dispersion, although more sparsely, to great distances—from the extreme north of Mexico nearly to the southern boundary of the kingdom of Guatemala. As an example of the strong setting of Aztec names in provinces in which other languages ruled, Oaxaca, Michoacan, and the whole northerly half of Guatemala, may be mentioned.

Even at the time of the Spanish conquest, however, the Aztec civilization and the Aztec language ruled throughout a great portion of the country. Bancroft says that [365] the Nahua, Aztec, or Mexican, the language of Mexican civilization, was spoken throughout the greater part of Montezuma's empire, extending from the plateau of Anahuac, or valley of Mexico, as a center, eastward to the Gulf of Mexico, and along its shores from above Vera Cruz east to the Rio Coatzacoalcos, westward to the Pacific, and upon its border from about the twenty-sixth to the sixteenth parallel; thus forming an irregular but continuous linguistic line from the Gulf of California southeast, across the Mexican plateau to the Gulf of Mexico, of more than four hundred leagues in extent. Again, it is found on the coast of Salvador and in the interior of Nicaragua, and it also had some connection with the languages of the nations of the north.

Solis, speaking of the limits of the empire of Mexico at the time of the conquest, says [2342] its length from east to west was more than five hundred leagues, and its breadth from north to south was in some places fully two hundred leagues.

On the east it was bounded by the Atlantic Ocean, and extended along its shores from Panuco to Yucatan. On the west it touched upon the other sea, and looked out upon the Asiatic Ocean (or the Gulf of Anian), from Cape Mendocino as far as to the limits of New Galicia. On the south it was bounded by the South Sea, from Acapulco to Guatemala, and even insinuated itself through Nicaragua into that isthmus or stretch of land which both divides and unites the two Americas. On the northern side it reached to the district of Panuco, and included that province.

Orozco y Berra [2006] states that the Mexican empire, when it reached its greatest extension, included a part of the State of Mexico; those of Puebla and of Vera Cruz on the east; on the west the greater part of the country between the Zacatula River

and the Pacific Ocean; and that on the south it was bounded by the river Coatzacoalcos.

Clavigero [1053] says that it extended toward the southwest and south as far as to the Pacific Ocean; and Bancroft says that it [428] reached the Pacific coast, along which it extended from Zacalotlan to Tututepec.

As to the identity of the civilization of the other inhabitants of Mexico with that of the Aztecs or Mexicans, properly so called, we have the express statement of Gomara,[521] that "speaking of the Mexicans, is to speak in general of all New Spain."

Such information as we have, therefore, confirms us in the conclusion that if Hwui Shăn had visited the Pacific coast of Mexico during the latter half of the fifth century, he would have found there a nation of the same blood as that from which the Aztecs of Cortez's day descended, and one speaking substantially the same language as that which was found to be current at the time of the conquest: a nation resembling the Aztecs in many of their manners and customs, but of a milder, gentler nature; free from the horrors of the superstitious rites to which the Aztecs of later times abandoned themselves, and (unless the greater civilization that is mentioned by tradition was wholly the result of Hwui Shăn's visit) more advanced in many of the essential arts of civilization.

The question now arises as to the name of this country. Had it any general name? If so, what was it, and what was its meaning? It is well known that the country is now called "Mexico"; but it appears to be quite generally thought that this term was properly the name of the city of Mexico, and that it was not until after the coming of the Spaniards that it overspread the immense region now so designated. This statement is made by Bancroft [451] and Buschmann,[883] and was undoubtedly repeated by them from some of the older historians of the country. The weight of evidence is strongly against this conclusion, however. It is stated, time and again, by the best authorities, that the real name of the city was not Mexico, but Tenochtitlan, or some very similar term, different authors giving the variations Temixtitlan,[1200] Tenuchtitlan,[1200] Tenuthtitlan,[2349] Tenustitan,[2600] Temixtitan,[1102] Tenuxtitan,[1782] Tenuchtitan,[2603] Temixitan,[1091] Temistitan,[1605] Tenoxtitlan,[1605] Temihtitlan,[1605] Themisteton,[451] Timististan,[451] and Tenuchitlan.[451]

Torquemada[247] ("Monarq. Ind.," tome i, p. 293) says explicitly: "The natives do not call it (the city) Mexico, but Tenuchtitlan." Gage[1376] states that "the old and first name of the city, according to some historians, was Tenuchtitlan"; and Solis says,[2349] "The great city of Mexico was formerly known by the name of Tenuhtitlan, or by a similar name, which is given a little different pronunciation by others." Even Buschmann, who claims that the term Mexico was originally applied to the city, and not to the country, states in other places that[882] "the Mexicans themselves appear to have called it Tenochtitlan in preference, or at least a part of it (Tlatelulco not having been included in that designation[884]), and it appears that the Spaniards first made the name Mexico general." Diaz[1200] says that Temixtitlan, or Tenuchtitlan, was the proper name of the city, but adds that "Mexico" was certainly also an old appellation, which the elder Indians rejected after the conquest, but which was afterward accepted by the younger generation of Indians.

It certainly can not take long to decide whether the "elder Indians" or the "younger generation" best knew the true Aztec designation of the city. "Tenochtitlan" so evidently occurred in the name, that many of those, who think the term Mexico to have been also connected with it, give the compound "Mexico-Tenochtitlan"[248] as the true appellation.[451]

In order to explain this double name, Herrera stated that[1689] the old residence of the Aztecs, Tenuchtitlan, had two large divisions, of which one was called Tlatelulco and the other Mexico. Gage[1380] makes the same statement, and adds that, because the imperial palace was in this last-named portion of the city, the whole city was also sometimes called Mexico, although that was not its original name. Solis[451] is of opinion that Mexico was the name of the ward—Tenochtitlan being applied to the whole city; from which Bancroft concludes that the compound Mexico-Tenochtitlan would signify the ward Mexico of the city Tenochtitlan, but adds that it was but gradually that the Spanish records began to add Mexico to Tenochtitlan, and that in the course of time the older and more intricate name disappeared.

Brasseur de Bourbourg states, however, that[731] the city was divided into four quarters, sections, or wards, instead of two, and that the names of these were Teopan, Atzacualco, Moyotlan,

and Quepopan. Bandelier[503] copies this statement, spelling the last name "Cuepopan," and translating the four terms in their order, "Place of God," "House of the Heron," "Place of the Mosquito," and "Place of the Dike."

The term "Mexico" was first heard by Europeans when Grijalva landed on the coast in May, 1518, as the designation of a country rich in gold.[1683] Diaz says that when the Spaniards asked where the Indians obtained their gold and jewels,[1197] "they pointed toward the place of sunset, and said *Culhua* and *Mexico*." In another place[1196] he states, "They could not give us more gold, but in a land far away toward the setting sun it might be found in abundance. Then they said *Culba*, *Culba*, and *Mexico*, *Mexico;* but we did not understand the meaning of these words." Prescott[2072] and Zamacois[2586] repeat the statement.

Can it be believed that these Indians, when they pointed toward the land from which their gold was obtained, referred to a ward of the city of Tenochtitlan?

The early map-makers seem to have been for a long time undecided as to whether the term Mexico was the name of the city or of the country, and they usually compromised by so giving the name that it might be understood either way. The two oldest maps of America,[1689] have the name "Mexico" written in rather an uncertain manner some distance back in the country, and do not indicate whether they would have it understood to mean a province or a city. In "Apiano, Cosmographica," 1575, is a map, supposed to be a copy of one drawn by Apianus, in 1520, on which the name "Themisteton" is given apparently to a large lake in the middle of Mexico;[451] Fernando Colon, in 1527, and Diego de Ribero, 1529, both give the word "Mexico" in small letters, inland, as if applied to a town, although no town is designated; Ptolemy, in "Munster," 1530, gives "Temistitan"; "Munich Atlas," No. VI, supposed to have been drawn between 1532 and 1540, "Timitistan vel Mesicho"; Baptista Agnese, 1540–'50, "Timitistan vel Mesico"; Ramusio, 1565, "Mexico"; "Mercator's Atlas," 1569, "Mexico," as a city, and "Tenuchitlan"; Michael Lok, 1582, "Mexico"; in Hondius, about 1595, in Drake's "World Encompassed," the city is "Mexico," and the gulf, "Baia di Mexico"; Hondius, in "Purchas, His Pilgrimes," Laet, Ogilby, Dampier, "West-Indische Spieghel," Jacob Colon, and other seventeenth century authorities, give

uniformly to the city, or to the city and province, but not to the country at large, the name as at present written.

M. Nicolas Schötter, in connection with an essay regarding Americus Vespucius,[1091] exhibited to the Congress of Americanists, at Luxemburg, in 1877, a remarkable map of the world, which is "a reproduction upon a plane surface of a silver globe, which made part of a chalice which the Duke Charles IV, of Lorraine, brought from Germany, and which is now deposited in the library at Nancy." Neither the name of the maker nor the date of his work is known, although it is seen that the German cartographer gave to the southern part of the continent of America the name of "New America," to Mexico that of "New Spain," and that all the remainder of North America is represented as being an integral part of Asia, bearing the names of "Asia Orientalis," "Asia Magna," and "India Orientalis." The Indian Ocean is represented as extending from the eastern coast of Africa to the shores of South America. Its southeastern part, however, bears the names of the "Ocean of Magellan," and of the "Pacific Sea," proving, beyond controversy, that the globe in question was made after the year 1520.

Upon this map the capital of New Spain bears the name of "Temixitan," while the term "Mexico" is found to the southwest, not far from the Pacific Ocean. To the northwest again occurs the name "Messigo," while not more than a dozen names in all are given within the territory now covered by the country of Mexico.

It appears from these references that it was not until about half a century after the date of the conquest that the map-makers felt certain that they were right in applying the term Mexico to the city rather than to the country, and that in the earlier maps the indications are that it was thought that it might be the name of the land.

The Bishop Juan de Zumarraga dates a letter,[2602] in 1529, from "Tenuxtitlan"; again, in 1530, he speaks of "this great city of Tenuchtitan," and signs the same document, "Given in the said city of Tenuxtitan." In 1529 he dates one of his letters from "Mexico-Tenustitan"[2600] and in it says, "The Calzonzi of Michoacan was, next to Montezuma, the most powerful king of all Mexico." Here, only a few years after the conquest, the term Mexico is used not as the name of the city or of a province, but

as the name of the whole country, embracing even Michoacan, which was not subject to Montezuma. In a work, published in 1522, the following passage occurs, "They have conquered a city called Temistitan." [464] Here, again, in one of the first references to the city that appeared in Europe, there is no hint that its name was Mexico.

Cortez certainly had a favourable opportunity to learn the name of the city that he had conquered. Time and again he refers to [1100] "the great city of Temistitan"; and in one place he adds,[1102] "Before I describe this great city and the others already mentioned, it may be well, for the better understanding of the subject, to say something of the configuration of Mexico in which they are situated, it being the principal seat of Muteczuma's power. This province is in the form of a circle, surrounded on all sides by lofty and rugged mountains, its level surface comprising an area of about seventy leagues in circumference."

Summing up the evidence, it appears that the name "Mexico" was first heard as the designation of the country from which the Indians on the Gulf of Mexico obtained their gold; that Cortez applied the name to the valley in which the capital city and many others were situated, while de Zumarraga applied it to the whole region, including Michoacan; that the elder Indians did not recognize it as the name of their city, and that all its wards or divisions had other names; that in the earlier maps and accounts the name of the city is given (with variations of spelling) as Tenochtitlan; and that it gradually passed through the compound "Mexico-Tenochtitlan" to "Mexico," taking about half a century to make the change. During all this time, however, the term "Mexico" was steadily applied to the country substantially as it is still applied.

No other term is given in any place as the name of the country; and if the land had any general name by which it was known, that name must have been "Mexico."

This was neither pronounced "Mec-si-co," nor, as the Spaniards pronounce it, "Mejico," with the "j" sounding like the German "ch" or Greek "χ"; but "Mĕ-shi-co," the "x" being pronounced like "sh" in English [357] or "ch" in French.[2036]

Numerous place-names, either from the same root or from one very similar, will be found scattered over the country. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg mentions *Mexilla* [626] (evidently from *Me-*

xi + the Aztec place-termination "tlan"), *Meztitlan*[631] (from *Mez* + the terminations "ti" and "tlan"), *Iztacmixtitlan*[737] (from *Iztac* = white + *mix* + the terminations "ti" and "tlan"), *Mixiuhcan*[739] (from *Mi-xiuh* + the termination "can"), and *Mixco*[752] (from *Mix* + the place-termination "co"). Bancroft mentions "Mexi-caltzinco" and "Mexiuh-tlan,"[420] and a glance at a map of the country will also show the forms "Mixtan," "Mextitlan," and "Mexcala." If these words, or the majority of them, have a common root, it is evident that its meaning must be applicable in some way to a very large portion of the region known as Mexico.

The last syllable, "co," serves as a suffix[869] to many place-names,[2173] and "signifies *in* or *within* that which is signified by the noun" (Parades, p. 39); or possibly it conveys the broader meaning of the *region*, "in" which it is situated, or "at" or "near" that which is signified by the preceding syllables. Examples of its use are found in "Soconusco,"[648] (formerly "Xoconochco"[887]), "Matlatzinco,"[864] "Tenantzinco,"[870] "Azcapotzalco,"[880] "Xochimilco,"[881] "Tezcuco," "Acapulco,"[1963] etc.

The meaning of the remainder of the word "Mexico," or of the entire word, has been stated in many different ways by the various authors who have attempted to explain it. McCulloh says that[1842] the etymology of Mexico is, "Place of *Mextli*," the name *Mextli* being a synonym of *Huitzilopochtli*, the designation of their god of war. He borrows this statement from Clavigero, and is followed by Pimentel,[2035] Buschmann,[882] Tyler,[322] Bancroft,[247] and others.

Brasseur de Bourbourg states that,[662] according to several authors, the Mexicas, or Mexicans, derived their name from one of their first chiefs, *Mecitl*, or "the Hare of the Aloes." Sahagun says that[2209] the name *Mexicatl* was formerly pronounced *Mecitl*, formed from *me* or *metl*, which signifies the *maguey*, and from *citli*, a hare. This, therefore, should be written *Mecicatl;* but the change of *c* to *x* has produced the corruption *Mexicatl.* It is said that this name was given to the people because the Mexicans, when they first arrived in the country, had a chief or lord named *Mecitl*, who at the moment of his birth was surnamed *Citli* (or the Hare). As, moreover, a large leaf of the *maguey* was given to him for a cradle, he was therefore called *Me-citl*, as if to say, the man raised in this *maguey* leaf. When he had

grown up he became priest of their idol, and in this quality he had relations with the demon—a thing which insured him respect in the eyes of his subjects, who, according to the account of the elders, adopted the name of this high-priest, and were called *Mexica*, or *Mexicatl*.

Herrera says [1689] that, according to some, "Mexico" means a spring; and this statement is often copied: but, upon reference to the Aztec or Mexican dictionaries, it will be found that there is no word in the language having any such meaning which bears even the most distant resemblance to the term "Mexico."

Bancroft has the following on the subject: [451] "A number of derivations have been given to the word Mexico, as *mexitli*, 'navel of the maguey'; *metl-ico*, 'place amidst the maguey'; *meixco*, 'on the maguey border'; *mecitli*, 'hare'; *metztli*, 'moon'; *amexica*, or *mexica*, 'you of the anointed ones.' The signification, 'spring' or 'fountain,' has also been applied. But most writers have contented themselves by assuming it to be identical with the *mexi*, *mexitl*, or *mecitl*, appellations of the war-god, Huitzilopochtli, to which has been added the *co*, an affix implying locality; hence 'Mexico' would imply the place or settlement of *Mexica*, or *Mexicans*. This war-god, Huitzilopochtli, as is well known, was the mythic leader and chief deity of the Aztecs, the dominant tribe of the Nahua nation. It was by this august personage, who was also called Mexitl, that, according to tradition, the name was given them in the twelfth century, and in these words, 'Inaxcan aocmoamotoca inam azteca ye am mexica,' 'Henceforth bear ye not the name Azteca, but Mexica.'"

Torquemada [320] ("Monarq. Ind.," tome i, p. 293), referring to the principal god of the Aztecs, which had two names, Huitzilopuchtli and Mexitly, says that this second name means "Navel of the Maguey."

Clavigero gives the following account: [1061] "There is a great difference of opinion between different authors as to the etymology of the word *Mexico*. Some derive it from *Metztli*, 'the moon,' because they saw the moon reflected in the lake as the oracle had predicted. Others declare that *Mexico* means 'at the fountain or spring,' because they found a spring of good water upon its site. But these two derivations are too violent, and the first is not only violent, but also ridiculous. I thought at one time that the name should be *Mexicco*, which would mean

'in the center of the magueys,' or Mexican aloe-plants; but, from the study of the history of these people, I have been undeceived, and have become convinced that *Mexico* means 'the place of *Mexitli*,' (or Huitzilopochtli—who was the Mars of the Mexicans), because of the sanctuary there built to him; hence *Mexico* means to the Mexicans the same that *Fanum Martis* meant to the Romans. From words of this description, when compounded, the Mexicans take away the final letters *tl*. The *co* that is added is equivalent to our preposition *in*. The word *Mexicaltzinco* means the place of the house or temple of the god *Mexitli*: so that *Huitzilopochco*, *Mexicaltzinco*, and *Mexico*, the names of the three places which were successively inhabited by the Mexicans, mean substantially the same thing."

Professor J. G. Müller, commenting upon these various statements, says:[1924] "If we inquire concerning the meaning of 'Mexitli' and 'Mexico,' we find the singular answers that 'Mexitli' means 'the god of Mexico,' and that 'Mexico' means 'the city of Mexitli.' The name of the place called Huitzilopochco, and the name of the god Huitzilopochtli, might be explained in a similar way by their connection with each other, or the name of Tenoch, the mythical founder of Tenochtitlan, by its connection with the name of that city. Clavigero was therefore wrong when he was induced, by this course of reasoning in a circle, to withdraw his earlier view, according to which 'Mexico' meant 'in the midst of the maguey,' or the Mexican aloe. The Mexican word for maguey is 'metl,' from which the final consonants 'tl,' as is the custom in the case of that termination in the Mexican language, are dropped when the word is compounded with others. This gives a very good explanation of the name 'Mexico.' The usual name of the city in olden times was 'Tenochtitlan,' meaning 'the prickly pear upon the stone'; and this was also the hieroglyph of the city, it being clearly an emblem of the wandering multitude who at first were oppressed with many troubles. Soon, however, the place became a 'Mexico,' a *place in the midst of magueys*—the plants which were the richest of all in their blessings to the Mexicans, for they furnished them with their favourite drink, called 'octli,' and also with a species of hemp, and with paper."

Having given this full account of the views of others, the present author now hopes to show that the real meaning of the

term Mexico is "Place of the Century-plant." The name of the agave, or century-plant, in the Aztec language is *metl*,[1911] and, as already explained,[1987] nouns ending in *tl* lose that termination in compounds and derivatives. The syllable *me* is sometimes used as the plural termination of nouns,[1403] and it is in a few cases interchanged with *ma*, the root of *maitl*,[608] or *maytl*,[1906] the hand; as, for instance, in the word meaning to carry a burden on the shoulders, which is sometimes written *mama*[1907] and sometimes *meme*.[1909] With these exceptions, however, it is doubtful whether the syllable *me* occurs in any Aztec word, except as the representative of the name of the agave. There is no question as to the power of the termination *co*, and the misunderstandings as to the meaning of the whole word have all arisen from the difficulty of explaining the syllable *xi*. The only explanation that has been given is that of Clavigero, who, by writing the word "Me-xic-co," derived the middle syllable from *xic-tli*, "the navel." This is not a satisfactory derivation, however, and it is surprising that no one has noticed that the syllable *xi* is the abbreviated representative of the word *xihuitl*,[615] or *xiuitl*,[1981] meaning an herb or plant.[1928] In accordance with the rules of the Mexican language, the *tl* would be dropped in the compound, and the abbreviation of the remaining *xiui* to *xi* is less violent than that which takes place in the Mexican language in many other cases. Buschmann, who is one of the leading authorities upon the subject of the Aztec language, and whose soundness of judgment is universally recognized, speaks as follows regarding a case of much greater abbreviation :[872]

"I may be permitted to call it great boldness to point out the letter *x* in the forms *maxtlatl* and *maxtli* as the last trace of the verb *xeloa*. As it is found there in close connection, both with the following consonant and the preceding syllable, it would at first sight seem that it should be regarded as a middle letter of a word. That an etymologist should venture such an unheard of conjecture as that above made, has only become possible through the unlimited power of induction, proceeding cautiously step by step. In these two examples, which I have treated with etymological accuracy, I have taken a glance into the dark history of word destruction (or abbreviation) into which the tribes throughout the whole of North America have plunged in lawless licentiousness; the Aztec

idiom to a less degree than others, but still more than has been believed. Only one example of a simple kind need be cited: *Niltze*, which Molina gives as an exclamation, 'ho! halloa!' is an abbreviation of *nopiltzine*, my son (from *pilli* = son, *no* = my, *tzin*, the reverential form—applied here rather as an endearment—and *e*, the sign of the vocative)."

In one case the syllables *mexi* (used with the same meaning as in *Mexico*) are abbreviated so that the *xi* appears as *x*, *s*, or *z*. This is in the word usually written *mexcalli*, but also appearing as *mexical*, *mescal*, *mezcal*, *mezcale*, *mescali*, *mescale*, and *mizcal*,[904] the name of the maguey-plant (i. e., the *metl*, *pita*, agave, American aloe, or century-plant—for these different terms are all applied to the same plant,[1508] or to mere varieties of what is essentially the same plant), or of a plant of similar growth, and a name which is also applied to a spirituous liquor distilled from its juice. Sahagun also defines the words as "the cooked leaves of the aloe."

It may be stated, by the way, that the concluding syllable of this word is evidently a form of *qualli*, good,[908] which is perhaps a participle of *qua*, to eat, meaning that which one can eat.[873] Hence the word *mexical*, *mezcal*, or *mexcalli*, would mean the good or edible century-plant, or that part of the century-plant which can be eaten or drunk when suitably prepared for the purpose. This is surely a more appropriate etymology than that suggested by Buschmann, who thinks it to be from *metz-calli*, meaning the house or temple of the moon.[886]

Returning to the word "Mexico": In the Maya language of Yucatan we find the word *xihuitl* abbreviated to *xiu*.[901] In the Aztec language we find the name of the Mexican balsam-tree[1496] to be hoitzilo-xitl,[1497] and there is no other possible etymological explanation of the termination of this word than that it is a corruption of *xihuitl*. The form *xitl*, when followed by a word with which it was compounded, would be reduced to *xi*, as we have it in "Me-xi-co."

Fortunately, however, we are able to give a number of Mexican words which can not be explained in any other way than by considering the syllable *xi* as the representative of the word *xihuitl*. This word is almost the only one in the Mexican language which has two or more radically distinct meanings. It, however, means not only an herb or plant, but also has the

meanings[1928] "a year," "a comet," and "a turquoise." Now, we find, in Molina's Aztec Dictionary,[1926] the following words:

"*Ximmictia*, to choke or smother the plant of wheat, or anything similar.

"*Ximmatlaliztli*, a sapphire, a precious stone.

"*Xippachoa*, to cover anything with herbs, or to choke the plant of wheat, or anything similar."

In these words the doubled consonants indicate, merely, that the preceding vowel is short, and it is necessary to reject one of the two in order to arrive at the true etymology. The root *mic*, which occurs in the first word, conveys the idea of death, and is connected with *miqui*, to die;[868] *tia* is a verbal termination. *Mictia* means "to kill," and *xi-mictia*, if we are right as to the meaning of the first syllable, would mean "to kill a plant." This is practically the definition given by Molina. The third word is compounded from *xi* and the verb *pachoa*,[1917] meaning "to rule over, to govern, to set upon eggs like a hen." Here, again, the idea of overshadowing, or covering over, expressed by *pachoa*, when combined with the idea of plants or herbs expressed by *xi*, produces the definitions given in the dictionary.

In the second case, the syllable *xi* means a turquoise; *liztli* is a grammatical termination, and the *matla* of *xi-matla-liztli* is connected with the word *matla-lin*,[1908] meaning "an obscure green colour." The whole word, therefore, means a turquoise of an obscure green colour.

In these cases there seems no possibility of doubt as to the fact that *xi* is an abbreviation of *xihuitl*. Two other cases may be cited in which this word is abbreviated to *tz* and *z*, just as, in the different forms of *mexcalli*, it is reduced to *x*, *s*, or *z*. *Olli* is the Aztec name for India rubber,[1916] while *metzolli* means[1914] "the marrow or soft part of the maguey." Here *me* means the maguey, *olli* the soft elastic portion, and the *tz* can mean nothing else that *plant*. We also find *meztallotl*,[1913] "the white heart of the maguey before it throws out its shoot," and *metollotl*,[1912] "the marrow or soft part of the maguey." It is difficult to explain why the inserted *z* in the first word does not affect the meaning, on any other theory than that it means *plant*. Another case in which the termination *huitl* is dropped in a compound is seen in the word *quammaitl*,[871] "a branch of a tree," of which

the part *maitl* means a hand or arm—in this case, a branch—while the syllable *qua* can be nothing else than the abbreviated representative of the word *quahuitl*, a tree.

From these illustrations, drawn from the Mexican language, it appears to be established beyond any reasonable question that the term "Me-xi-co" (pronounced by the Aztecs *Mĕ-shi-co*) means "the Place of the Agave-plant," or "the Region of the Century-plant. That this is an appropriate designation, and one which would very naturally be given by any people coming into the country from beyond its borders, will be admitted by all who have visited it.

The plant is peculiar to the country; it grows throughout nearly all portions of the land; its peculiarities are such as to instantly attract attention; and, as will be explained in the following chapter, it may be claimed to be of greater value to the inhabitants than any and all other plants growing in the country.

There is, therefore, reason to believe that if Hwui Shăn visited the region which he claimed to have explored, he reached the country now known as Mexico, and then probably called by the same name; this appellation, as we have seen, being derived from that of the most useful and remarkable plant which is found there.

The connection between the term Mexico and the name of the god *Mexitli*, or *Huitzilopochtli*, may be explained by supposing him to have originally been a deification of the century-plant.

"They manufactured so many things from this plant called maguey,[324] and it is so very useful in that country, that the devil took occasion to induce them to believe that it was a god, and to worship and offer sacrifices to it." ("Spiegazione delle Tavole del codice Mexicano," in Kingsborough's "Mex. Antiq.," vol. v, pp. 179–180.)

His name of Huitzilopochtli—which has been supposed to be derived from *Huitzitzilin*, or, as Molina spells the word, *Vitzitzilin*,[1930] "the humming-bird," and the root *opoch*, found in the word *opochmaitl*,[612] "the left hand" (*maitl* meaning "hand"), and which he was said to have been given because he had a fringe of humming-birds' feathers adorning his left leg—seems rather to have been derived from *Huitzla*,[618] "a thorny place or a thorny plant," and the root *poch*, with the termination *tli*, as

found in *tel-pochtli*,[614] "a youth," and *ich-pochtli*,[605] "a maiden," and to have meant "the Ever-youthful One of the Thorny Plant."

The termination *pochtli* occurs in the name of the god *O-pochtli*, protector of fishermen [2239] (perhaps originally *A-pochtli*, "the Youthful One of the Water"), and it here evidently has nothing to do with the left hand. That the termination *pochtli* was not an essential part of Huitzilopochtli's name is shown by the fact that [744] the place in which his temple was situated was called *Huitzillan*, a compound formed from *Huitzil* with the place-termination *tlan*.

Bancroft states [321] that Huitzilopochtli was the son of the goddess of plants, and that his connection with the botanical kingdom is shown by the fact that he was specially worshiped at three ancient yearly feasts, which took place exactly at those periods of the year that are the most influential for the Mexican climate: the middle of May, the middle of August, and the end of December.

The theory, that he was originally a deification of the century-plant, is strengthened by the fact that he was considered as the god of vegetation, by whose power it was annually revivified.[1965] We also find the word *Vitzyecoltia* [1930] (which by many other authors would be spelled *Huitzyecoltia*, Molina always using *v* or *u* before a vowel to indicate the sound of the English *w*, which other writers indicate by the letters *hu*) defined as meaning "to celebrate the feast of the vine." The syllable *yec* is from the root of *yec-tli*, meaning "good." The last five letters form a verbal termination. The syllable *vitz* can mean nothing else than a thorn or thorny plant, and must have originally referred to the century-plant—which was the one from which the Mexicans obtained their "wine," which was the only intoxicating liquor with which they were acquainted; and the plant is therefore frequently referred to by early authors as the "vine" of the country. The Mexicans certainly had no feast dedicated to the grape-vine, as, although it occurs in the country (as will be shown in Chapter XXII), it is seldom referred to, and they never made wine from grapes.[12]

Since writing the above, I have found the following statement in Sahagun: [2197] "New wine made from the maguey is called *uitz-tli*." This seems to remove all possibility of doubt of the

connection of the verbal root variously spelled *uitz*, *vitz*, and *huitz*, with the century-plant.

The name *Camaxtle*,[1855] or *Camaxtli*,[2175] under which this god was worshiped by the Tlascaltecs, seems to have been formed from the prefix *ca* (meaning unknown) and a variant of the name *Mexitli*. This people also knew him by the name of *Mixcouatl*,[1374] in which another variation of the same word may be seen.

While it is true that the word "Mexico" means "the Place of the Century-plant," it could also be used with the meaning of "the Place of *Mexi-tli*"; *Mexi-tli* being (as above explained) nothing but a name for the personified or deified century-plant. Now, in the center of the city of Tenochtitlan, there was a large square containing the temple in which the god Huitzilopochtli, or Mexitli, was worshiped. This square and its temple would be called "Mexico," meaning (in this connection) "the Place of the God Mexitli," and this fact explains how it was that the name was thought to apply, *first*, to a *ward* of the city, and, *later*, to the *whole* city; why it was that many of the Spaniards supposed it to be applicable to a limited area only, instead of to the whole country, and why they failed to learn its original signification.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE FU-SANG TREE AND THE RED PEARS.

Connection between the name of the country and that of the "tree"—Application to smaller plants of the Chinese character translated "tree"—Application of the term "tree" to the century-plant—Description of the metl, maguey, agave, aloe, or century-plant—The leaves of the fu-sang—Disagreement of different texts—The t'ung tree—Evidence of corruption in the text—Conjecture as to original reading—Similarity of the young sprouts to those of the bamboo—Their edibility—Thread and cloth from the fiber of the plant—The finer fabric made from it—Variation in the texts—Manufacture of paper—The red pear—The prickly-pear—Resemblance of the century-plant to the cacti—Preserves made from the prickly-pears—Confusion in the Mexican language between milk and the sap of the century-plant—The Chinese "lo," or koumiss—The liquor made from the sap of the century-plant—Its resemblance to koumiss—Indians never use milk—Confusion in other Indian languages between sap and milk—Meaning of the name fu-sang—Variations in the characters with which it is written—The spontaneous reproduction of the century-plant—The decomposition of the character "sang"—The tree of the large wine-jar—The tree having a great cloud of blossoms—Blooming but once in a thousand years—The Chinese name of the prickly-pear—Eitel's definition of the term "fu-sang"—Professor Gray's statement.

Having thus settled, as far as it is now possible to do so, the character of the nation which Hwui Shăn would have found in the region indicated by him, if he actually took the journey which he claimed that he had made, and having attempted to determine the name of the country, and its meaning, let us now continue the examination of his story.

II.—That region has many fu-sang trees, and it is from these trees that the country derives its name of Fu-sang. The leaves resemble ——? and the first sprouts are like those of the bamboo. The people of the country eat them and the (or a) fruit, which is like a pear (in form), but of a reddish colour. They spin thread from their

BARK, FROM WHICH THEY MAKE CLOTH OF WHICH THEY MAKE CLOTHING; THEY ALSO MANUFACTURE A FINER FABRIC FROM IT. . . . THEY MAKE PAPER FROM THE BARK OF THE FU-SANG. . . . THEY HAVE THE RED PEARS KEPT UNSPOILED THROUGHOUT THE YEAR.

One of the first points to attract the attention is, that there is a connection between the name of the country and that of a species of "tree" which grows there. It has already been shown that there is a similar connection between the name "Mexico" and the agave, or century-plant. It might be claimed, however, that this is not a "tree."

In reply to this objection, it may be said that it is probable that the century-plant would be included by the Chinese under the general term MUH, 木, which is here translated "tree," this character being used by the Chinese not only as the radical of trees, but also of shrubs.[2491] Fig. 10 contains illustrations of two

FIG. 10.—Two plants classified in the 'RH-YA, under the heading MUH, or "trees."

plants which in the 'RH-YA (a book written by one of the most celebrated scholars of the Han dynasty, between B. C. 202 and A. D. 25) are included under this general heading of MUH, or "trees." It is evident that, if these insignificant plants can properly be included in that term, the century-plant—the flowering-stalks of which sometimes tower to a height of forty[2373] or fifty[2372] feet, throwing out branches on every side,[2373] and being

sufficiently solid to be used as beams,[2370] of which houses are built in many places;[2220] these stalks being said to make "very good rafters," and being also used as fuel,[11]—can hardly be excluded, either on the ground of size or of lack of woody consistency.

As a matter of fact, the term "tree" was usually applied to the century-plant by the early writers. Acosta, for instance, says:[11] "The *maguey* is the *tree* of marvels, to which the Indians are accustomed to ascribe miracles, inasmuch as it gives them water, wine, oil, vinegar, honey, syrup, thread, and a thousand other things. It is a *tree* which the Indians of New Spain esteem very highly. . . . The wood of this *tree* is hollow and soft, and is used for preserving a fire, for it burns slowly like a match-lock, and keeps the fire for a long time, and I have seen the Indians use it for this purpose."

So, too, Gage says:[1379] "About Mexico, more than in any other part, groweth that excellent *tree* called *metl*"; and,[1377] "There are also mantles made of the leaves of a *tree* called *metl*." Bartram also speaks of "a forest" of agaves, and explains:[550] "I term it a forest, because their scapes, or flower-stems, arose erect near thirty feet high."

It is therefore manifest that Hwui Shăn is not alone in his application of the term "tree" to the century-plant.

Before examining his description of the plant, or tree, from which the country took its name, it will be best to note what is said by other writers regarding the plant which, if Mexico is identified with Fu-sang, must have been the "fu-sang tree" of Hwui Shăn.

Prescott says:[2066] "The miracle of nature was the *maguey*, whose clustering pyramid of flowers, towering above their dark coronals of leaves, were seen sprinkled over many a broad acre of the table-land. Its bruised leaves afforded a paste from which paper was manufactured; its juice was fermented into an intoxicating beverage, *pulque*, of which the natives to this day are excessively fond; its leaves further supplied an impenetrable thatch for the more humble dwellings; thread, of which coarse stuffs were made, and strong cords, were drawn from its tough and twisted fibers; pins and needles were made of the thorns at the extremity of its leaves; and the root, when properly cooked, was converted into a palatable and nutritious food. The *agave*, in short, was meat, drink, clothing, and writing-materials, for the

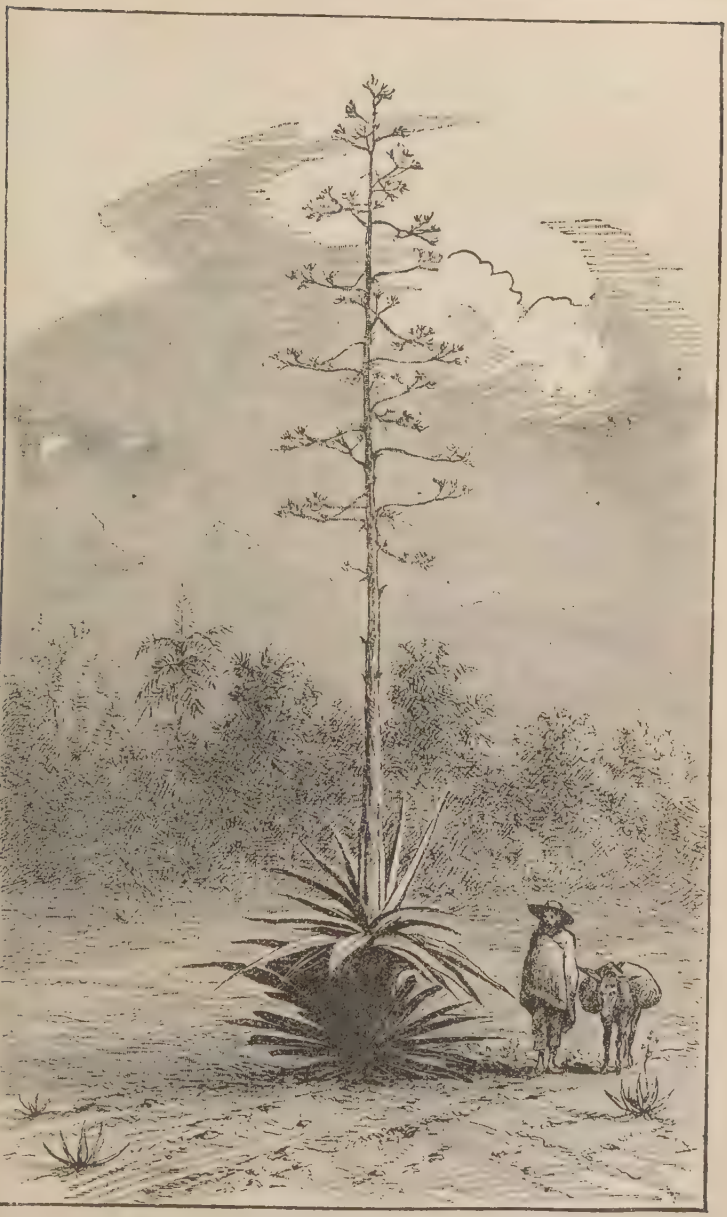

FIG. 11.—A century-plant in blossom.

Aztec! Surely, never did nature inclose in so compact a form so many of the elements of human comfort and civilization!"

Clavigero, in his "History of Mexico," has epitomized the uses of the various kinds of agaves of that country in the following language:[2370]

"Some species furnish protecting inclosures, and afford impassable hedges to other objects of cultivation. From the juice of others are extracted honey, sugar, vinegar, *pulque*, and ardent spirits. From the trunk and the thickest part of the leaves, roasted in the earth, an agreeable food is obtained. The flowering-stalks serve as beams, and the leaves as roofs for houses. The thorns answer for lancets, awls, needles, arrowheads, and other cutting and penetrating instruments. But the fibrous substance of the leaves is the most important gift of the agaves of Mexico. According to the species, the fiber varies in quality from the coarsest hemp to the finest flax, and may be employed as a superior substitute for both. From it the ancient Mexicans fabricated their thread and cordage; mats and bagging; shoes and clothing; webs equivalent to cambric and canvas; the hammocks in which they were born, and in which they reposed and died, and the paper on which they painted their histories, and with which they adored and adorned their gods. The value of these agaves is enhanced by their indifference to soil, climate, and season; by the simplicity of their cultivation, and by the ease with which their products are extracted and prepared. It is not, therefore, surprising that the ancient Mexicans used some part or preparation of these plants in their civil, military, and religious ceremonies, and at marriages and deaths; nor that they perpetuated an allusion to their properties in the name of their capital."[1078]

Fig. 11 is a cut of a century-plant, adapted by the engraver from a photograph, by Mr. Taber of San Francisco, of a plant now (December, 1884) in blossom in that city. The representation of the flowering-stalk is much better than that of the leaves about its base.

It is unfortunate that the various Chinese authorities differ so radically as to what it was that the leaves of the fu-sang tree resembled, that it seems impossible to determine, with any certainty, the real statement of Hwui Shăn on the subject.

In Ma Twan-lin's account, it is said that they resemble those

of the T'UNG tree. This is said by Klaproth to be the Bignonia tomentosa, by Neumann to be the Dryandra cordifolia, by Julien to be the Paullownia imperialis, and by Leland to be the Dryanda cordata, or Eleococca verrucosa.

Fig. 12, copied from the 'RH-YA, shows, on the left, the YUNG-T'UNG, or "Beautiful T'UNG" tree; now called the WU-

FIG. 12.—The t'ung tree and the wild mulberry.

T'UNG; and this in Williams's Dictionary (p. 1060) is said to be the Eleococca verrucosa. In the same engraving is given a picture of the wild mulberry, or mountain mulberry, the leaves of which will be seen to closely resemble those of the YUNG-T'UNG.

Leland states, however,[1713] that in the "Year Books of the Liang Dynasty," the character is not written 桐, T'UNG, the *t'ung* tree, but 銅, T'UNG, *copper*. According to this older authority, therefore, the leaves of the fu-sang tree resembled copper. The old Chinese geography, called the Shan Hai King, adds to the confusion by saying that the leaves are like mustard, or sinapis. The two characters given above have the same "phonetic," or "primitive" (the part at the right), and differ only in the "radical" (the part at the left), which, in the first is "tree," and, in the second, is "metal." The characters are so much alike that the indications are strong that the first was substituted for the second by some copyist or commentator, who reasoned as fol-

lows: "The appellation 'fu-sang' means 'the useful mulberry.' The tree was therefore some species of mulberry. The Registers of the Liang Dynasty say that its leaves resemble copper. This is evidently a mistake; there is no plant having leaves resembling copper; the character, however, very much resembles that used for the T'UNG tree, and the leaves of this tree are very similar to those of the mulberry. It is therefore probable that some copyist, transcribing the old records, written before printing was invented, mistook a carelessly written character, T'UNG, 桐, meaning 'the T'UNG tree,' for the character T'UNG, 銅, 'copper.' I will correct his error, and restore the reading as it must originally have stood." So, like many of our Shakespearean commentators, he probably substituted his own conjecture for the original text, merely because he was unable to understand the latter; and thereby made it almost impossible for those coming after him to detect the real meaning of the author.

If I may be permitted to submit a surmise, which is confessedly a mere conjecture, of which the most that can be said is that it is *possibly* true; I would suggest that the old reading "copper" is probably an error, but that the mistake is not in the *radical*, but in the *phonetic*. There is in the Chinese language a character, 鉤, KEU,[2538] which closely resembles the one used for "copper," 銅. This character KEU is defined as meaning "a hook, a barb, a claw, a fluke; a sickle, a bill-hook; a crooked sword; to hook, to make crooked or hooked." It is evident that the general idea is that of being crooked, sharp, and barbed; and the character was probably originally composed of the radical "metal" with a picture of a fish-hook and its bait. This character is used in the compound KEU-YAO,[2577] "the barbed-exotic," which is applied to a species of thistle found in Kiang-su. No character in the Chinese language would better describe the curved and prickly leaves of the century-plant, "armed with teeth like a shark,"[1282] than this term KEU, "a hook, a barb, a crooked sword." Now, if Hwui Shăn said that the leaves of the fu-sang resembled 鉤, it is not beyond the limits of reasonable possibility that this may have been so illegibly written as to have been mistaken for 銅, or that some copyist may have carelessly made this change while transcribing. Then the course of reasoning above suggested would very naturally have led to the substitution of the character 桐, and the accounts would have exhibited the confu-

sion and contradiction that we now find. It is not contended that these changes are proved, or anything more than merely possible. It is claimed, however, that unless some such changes took place, the variations in the texts can not be explained ; and that it is now impracticable to decide with certainty as to the character originally used. The fact that the leaves of the century-plant do not at all resemble those of the T'UNG tree is therefore no proof that the fu-sang tree was not the century-plant

In Hwui Shăn's next statement we find a detail regarding which there is no dispute, which makes it absolutely impossible that the original description of the plant can have represented that its leaves resembled those of the T'UNG tree. This is the fact that "the first sprouts are like those of the bamboo." Now, the bamboo is an endogenous plant, and the first sprouts of nearly all endogens have a similar general character, but differ widely from those of the exogens. No mulberry, no T'UNG tree (if this is correctly identified by any of the authors above named), ever exhibited a "first sprout" which even the most careless observer could consider as at all resembling that of the bamboo, while this comparison might be made with justice as to the sprout of almost any endogenous plant.

Fig. 13, a copy of another illustration of the 'RH-YA, gives a picture of these bamboo-sprouts. It is not difficult to find specimens of the century-plant in almost any of our cities, and young sprouts may frequently be found pushing up around them. If the reader will take the trouble to examine some of these, he will see that the illustration of bamboo-sprouts will answer nearly as well for those of the century-plant. The resemblance is very close and very striking.

FIG. 13.—Bamboo-sprouts.

Hwui Shăn would hardly have been likely to mention these shoots, however, if it were not a fact that their great number about the elder plants is such as to attract attention. M. Jourdanet,

in his notes upon Sahagun, says that,[2221] at an advanced period of the plant's development, eight or ten shoots grow up about it; while Bartlett[549] and Squier[2372] agree in the statement that "an infinity of shoots" springs from the decaying roots of the old plants, and that no known plant multiplies with greater facility.

Our Asiatic traveler noticed a second point of resemblance to bamboo-shoots, however, and that lay in the fact that they were edible. Professor Williams states that[2490] the tender shoots of the bamboo are cultivated for food, and are, when four or five inches high, boiled, pickled, and comfited. Crawfurd says that[1136] the young shoots of the bamboo are, with the natives of the Indian Islands, a frequent, favourite, and agreeable esculent vegetable, and may be either boiled, or used with vinegar as a pickle.

The "Chinese Repository" gives the following account:[988] "The young and tender shoots of the bamboo are used as a vegetable for the table in different ways; if cut as soon as they appear above the ground, they are almost as tender and delicate as asparagus. They are white and palatable, and when in this state are used as pickles, as greens, as a sweetmeat, and as a medicine. The fondness for these young shoots is so general that they are made articles of commerce, and are sent to the capital and all parts of the empire. They are cured by exposing them, when fresh, to steam, and afterward drying them. They often form a part in the feasts of the rich, and constitute an important article of diet for the priests. These young shoots are artificially cultivated during the most part of the year. All classes use the pickle, as a relish, with rice and other vegetable dishes."

The statement of Clavigero,[2370] that, from the trunk of the century-plant and the thickest part of the leaves, roasted in the earth, an agreeable food is obtained, has already been quoted. Bancroft mentions the maguey-plant, *Agave Mexicana*, among the articles on which the natives of New Mexico rely for food,[115] and also names "roasted portions of the maguey stalks and leaves"[203] among the articles of food used by the natives of Mexico. General Crook, in his report to the Government of his expedition against the Mescalero Apaches (who take even their name from the "mescal," before referred to—a species of agave), states as one of the reasons which make it almost impossible to capture them, that[1149] "the agave grows luxuriantly in the mount-

ains, and upon this plant alone the Indians can live." M. Godron says that [1413] they not only eat the tender roots of the plant, but also the central shoot, keeping its soft and fleshy consistence.

It is reasonable to believe that the young and tender shoots would be included among the parts of a "soft and fleshy consistence," and so would be eaten with the rest. Other authors do not mention them particularly, as they would form only a small portion of the food derived from the plants, but Hwui Shăn would be led to refer specially to them, because of their resemblance to the edible shoots of the bamboo.

The Chinese text says that the people of the country spun thread from the bark of the fu-sang tree, from which they made cloth, of which they made clothing, and that they also manufactured a finer fabric from it.

In the case of most exogenous fiber-producing plants, it is from one of the layers of bark that the fiber is derived, and those who are accustomed to seeing flax, hemp, or the paper-mulberry, naturally learn to associate fiber with the "bark," and to speak of it as derived therefrom, even in the case of endogenous plants, which have no true bark, and in which the fiber is scattered through the stems and leaves. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, for instance, makes the statements that [657] the Cakchiquels made garments from the *bark* of trees, and of magueys, and that [659] *nequen* is a species of coarse hemp which the Mexicans draw from the *bark* of the aloe, or maguey.

Dr. Brinton, also, after mentioning that three Central American codices, described by him, were all [841] written on paper manufactured from the leaves of the maguey-plant, refers to the statements of old writers, who said that the books of the Mexicans were made of the *bark* of trees.

In Ma Twan-lin's text, the clause which I have translated, "They also manufacture a finer fabric from it" (the thread), reads, "They make KIN, 錦, from it" (the thread). The term KIN is defined as meaning "embroidered stuff, or embroidered and ornamented stuff in general." [1713] Professor Williams (p. 399 of his dictionary) defines it as a kind of thin brocade, and in the article, copied in Chapter XIV of this work, says that the word is applied to embroidery and parti-coloured textures. It is not so much the damask-like figure that is the essential point, but among the Chinese the *kin* always has a variety of colours.

Mr. Leland says, however,[1713] that the "Year Books of the Liang Dynasty" have, instead of KIN, the character MIEN (evidently 綿), which signifies fine silk. This "Register of the Liang Dynasty" is the original authority on the subject, and, in case of a variation in the texts, its reading is entitled to at least as much attention as that of Ma Twan-lin.

Hepburn defines the character MIEN, "cotton, floss silk,"[1492] and says that the "Tree-MIEN," 木綿, is a kind of cloth, made of the bark of the mulberry, worn in ancient times.[1493] Professor Williams defines the word, "soft, cottony, like fine floss or raw silk, drawn out, prolonged, extended, as a thread or fiber."

It is therefore probable that in the time of Hwui Shăn the term was applied to some species of soft textile fabric, made from the fiber of the paper-mulberry, of a finer quality than the usual coarse material manufactured from it, and if the word was so used in his days, he would naturally apply it to a similar material made from the agave fiber.

As to the manufactures of the Mexicans, McCulloh says:[1846] "From the maguey they made two kinds of cloth, one of which was like hempen cloth, *and a finer kind which resembled linen.*"

Clavigero states that[1082] "from the leaves of the *pati*,* and of the *quetzalichtli* (species of maguey), they drew a fine thread, with which they made cloth as good as that made of linen, and from the leaves of other species of maguey they derived a coarser thread similar to hemp." This account is repeated by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg.[719]

Sahagun, also, when speaking of the merchant who deals in mantles made from the fiber of the maguey, says:[2208] "Some of those which he sells are of light tissue, similar to those which are used for head-dresses, such as the finely woven mantles of the single thread of the *nequen*, and those which are made from the twisted threads of this plant. He also sells others of coarse texture, very closely woven, and still others coarse and thick, made either from the *pita*, or from the thread of the maguey."

The Chinese account says that paper, also, is made from the bark of the fu-sang; and the following quotations regarding the paper manufactured from the fiber of the agave, maguey, or century-plant will be of interest in this connection.

Bancroft says:[232] "Paper, in Aztec *amatl*, used chiefly as a

* Perhaps a typographical error. The *pita* is probably meant.—E. P. V.

material on which to paint the hieroglyphic records, was made for the most part of maguey fiber, although the other fibers used in the manufacture of cloth were occasionally mixed with those of this plant. The material must have been pressed together when wet, and the product was generally very thick, more like a soft pasteboard than our paper. The surface was smooth, and well adapted to the painting which it was to bear. Certain gums are said to have been used for the more perfect cohesion of the fiber, and the amatl was made in long, narrow sheets suitable for rolling or folding."

The Cavalier Boturini,* a collector of Mexican relics, informs us[2153] (yet from sources which he has omitted to quote): "Indian paper was made from the leaves of the maguey, which, in the language of the natives, was called *metl*, and in Spanish *pita*. The leaves were soaked, putrefied, and the fibers washed, smoothed, and extended for the manufacture of thin as well as thick paper."[216]

Squier makes the following statement:[2372] "The fiber of the *maguey* is coarser than that of the *Agave Sisilana*, but it is, nevertheless, of great utility, and is extensively used. The ancient Mexicans painted their hieroglyphical records and ritual calendars on paper made from the leaves of this plant, macerated in water, and the fibers deposited in layers, like those of the Egyptian cyperus (papyrus), and the mulberry of the South Sea Islands; and in modern times the fibers are used for a corresponding purpose. Indeed, the paper made from the *maguey* is so much esteemed for its toughness and durability, over that made in the United States and Europe, that, in 1830, a law was enacted by the Mexican Congress requiring that no other kind of paper should be used in recording the laws, or in the execution of legal documents."

He adds[2373] that Mr. Brantz Mayer, in his work, "Mexico as It Was and as It Is," p. 313, observes: "The best coarse wrapping or envelope paper I have ever seen is made in Mexico, from the leaves of the *Agave Americana*. It has almost the toughness and tenacity of iron."

Hwui Shăn's account says that the people of the country ate a fruit which was like a pear in appearance, but which was red. The

*Cavaliere Lorenzo Boturini Benaducci, "Idea de Una Nueva Historia General y Catalogo del Museo Historico," Madrid, 1746, p. 95.

character SHIH used to designate the fruit, indicates that it did not have a nut or kernel,[2563] as, if it had, the term KWO [2544] would probably have been used instead. The connection is such that it is naturally inferred that the fruit referred to was that of the fu-sang. This seems the most probable meaning of the text; and yet I hardly think it entirely certain that the meaning may not have been that the people ate *a* fruit—instead of *the* fruit (of the fu-sang). The fruit referred to can be nothing else than the well-known prickly-pear, otherwise called the *noctli*,[1500] *nopalli*,[1501] *nopal*,[2589] *nochtli*,[1500] *tuna*,[2215] or Indian fig.[2590] The resemblance of its shape to that of a pear is such that it derives its best-known name from this fact, and, while there are species of many different colours,[1386] the common wild variety is red. It is the fruit of a species of cactus. The agave, or century-plant, belongs to a different botanical family, and yet it so closely resembles the cacti, in many of their most striking peculiarities, that travelers frequently fall into the error of classing it with them. Lieutenant Herndon, for instance, says that the "maguey is a species of cactus."[1533] An editorial article in the New York "Herald," of February 17, 1883, says that "the present customs duty on hennequin, or Sisal hemp—which is the product of a kind of cactus—is six dollars a ton"; the fact being that the so-called Sisal hemp is derived from a species of agave very closely related to the century-plant. So, also, an article in the Chicago "Tribune," of May 11, 1884, mentions "that species of cactus called the maguey." Both the agaves and the cacti are distinguished from other plants by their thick, fleshy, stemless leaves, which, in both cases, are usually armed with strong spines or thorns. They grow in arid [2372] and barren [2373] lands, in which scarcely any other plant—except varieties of artemisia, or sage-brush—can live; and it is not strange that they should be considered by the unscientific observer as different species of one general family. It is possible that Hwui Shăn used the term fu-sang as a generic name, under which he intended to include all varieties of the cactus, and that he classed the agaves with them. Mexico is the home of both plants, and they form the characteristic vegetation of a large portion of that country. They are indigenous nowhere else except in the neighbouring regions, and it is in Mexico that they present more varieties and larger species than in any other part of the globe.[586]

The prickly-pear abounds in nearly all portions of Mexico, and it is a fruit that is much esteemed, and which enters largely into the food of the inhabitants. Gage says of it that it is [1386] "absolutely one of the best fruits" in the country. Emory speaks of its "truly delicious" taste. Diaz states that the army of Cortez [1204] lived for a time upon it; and Prescott says that the provisions with which his camp was supplied from the friendly towns in the neighbourhood consisted of fish and the fruits of the country, [2081] "particularly a sort of fig borne by the *tuna* (*Cactus opuntia*)."

The last statement of the Chinese text regarding these "red pears" is, that they are kept unspoiled throughout the year. In the relation of the voyage to Cibola, undertaken in 1540, contained in vol. ix, of the first series of the "Voyages," etc., published by M. Ternaux-Compans, it is stated that the people of the country [2437] "make many preserves from *tunas*, the juice of which is so sweet that it preserves them perfectly without adding any syrup." The statement is also made in another place that, "in a province called Nacapan, many *tunas*, or Indian figs, are found, of which the people make preserves." [2431]

The Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, in his notes, which are given in the twelfth chapter of this work, calls attention to the fact that the Encyclopædia, *Ku-kin-tu-shu-tai-ching*, gives the passage of the Chinese text last above referred to, "They have the pears *of the fu-sang tree*," etc., instead of the reading given by Ma Twan-lin. This seems to indicate that there was a doubt in the minds of various Chinese authors and compilers as to whether the "red pears" were or were not the fruit of the fu-sang tree.

Before leaving the account of the fu-sang, there is another statement of the Chinese text, which, in my opinion, should be connected with the details regarding this plant, and that is:

III.—From milk they make koumiss.

As this phrase follows a reference to the deer of the country, it has usually been translated, "from the milk *of the hinds* they make butter, cheese, creamy dishes, or cream"; for all these articles are named by different authors as indicated by the Chinese character lo, which in the translation given above is rendered "koumiss." The words, "of the hinds," italicized above, are not found in the Chinese text, and are supplied only from the inferences of the translators.

According to the "Chinese Repository," [987] the products of the dairy, as milk, butter, and cheese, are hardly known among the Chinese. Milk is usually cooked by boiling; it is also employed in making cakes, pastry, etc. Butter and cheese are not used by them, nor do they understand the process of making the latter. Professor Williams refers to the same fact in the following words: [2501] "The Chinese use very little from the dairy, as milk, butter, or cheese; the very small number of cattle raised in the country, and the consequent dearness of these articles, may have caused them to fall into disuse, for they are all common among the Manchus and Mongols. A Chinese table seems ill-furnished to a foreigner when he sees neither bread, butter, nor milk upon it, and, if he expresses his disrelish of the oily dishes or alliaceous stews before him, the Chinese thinks that he gives a sufficient reply to the disparagement of his taste, when he answers, 'You eat cheese, and sometimes when it can almost walk.'"

In many other parts of Asia, as, for instance, in Sumatra, the natives use no milk or butter.[1822]

Koumiss, or some similar preparation, was made by the Chinese, however,[1008] as far back as in the days of the Han dynasty (B. C. 202 to A. D. 25), and the following account of it is given [1009] in the "Chinese Repository":

"The Chinese describe a preparation, made from the milk of various domestic animals, that resembles the koumiss, found among the Tartars. It is called *lo*, and is made in the following manner: Put a quart of milk into a boiler, and simmer it for some time, when another quart is to be added, and the whole boiled until many bubbles arise to the surface, all the while stirring it about with the ladle; now pour it into a vessel, and wait till it is cold, when the pellicle that forms upon the surface is to be taken off to form the *soo* (a kind of oil that is simmered from such pellicles). Now add a little old *lo*, and cover it up for a while with paper, until it is completely made."

This is evidently the LO mentioned in our text, and it was, therefore, neither butter, cheese, cream, nor any similar article of food.

Attention has been called to the fact that a "wine," much resembling koumiss, was made by the Mexicans from the sap of the agave, and it has been claimed that if Hwui Shăn was at-

tempting to describe the agave, or century-plant, in the tree which he calls fu-sang, he would have referred to this liquor that was made from it. Bancroft [204] says that one of the most popular Nahua beverages was that since known as pulque. This liquor, called by the natives *octli*—pulque, or pulcre, being a South American aboriginal term applied to it in some unaccountable way by the Spaniards—was the fermented juice of the maguey. One plant is said to yield about one hundred pounds in a month. A cavity is cut at the base of the larger leaves, and allowed to fill with juice, which is removed to a vessel of earthenware or of skin, where it ferments rapidly and is ready for use.

In another place [122] he states that their principal and national drink is pulque, made from the *Agave Americana*, and is thus prepared: When the plant is about to bloom, the heart, or stalk, is cut out, leaving a hole in the center, which is covered with the outer leaves. Every twenty-four hours, or, in the hotter climates, twice a day, the cavity fills with the sap from the plant, which is taken out and fermented by the addition of some already-fermented pulque, and the process is continued until the plant ceases to yield a further supply. The liquor obtained is at first of a thick white colour, and is at all times very intoxicating.

Brasseur de Bourbourg also states that the colour of pulque is whitish, like that of whey,[714] and it is, therefore, evident that, in its colour and general appearance, as well as in its fermentation and its intoxicating quality, it closely resembles the koumiss, or "lo," and no better term than this could be found for it in Chinese.

That koumiss, or some other intoxicating liquor, was used in Fu-sang, is indicated by that clause of the account in which it is stated that the people of the country feasted and *drank** at the great assemblies which they held to pass judgment upon criminals of a high rank.

The question instantly arises, however, "If this was the article to which Hwui Shăn referred, why did he say that it was made from milk?" The answer to this query is, that the Mexicans applied the term *milk* to the sap of the century-plant, or rather designated both articles by a common term, which was originally the name of the sap.

Milk, in the Mexican or Aztec language, is called "memeyal-

* See character No. 182, in chapter xvi, p. 276.

lotl." [1906] The last part, "yallotl," is elsewhere spelled "yollotl," [616] or "yullotli," [1903] and means the heart, the life, or, in case of a plant, the sap, the juice. The syllable "me" is, as is the case in the word Mexico, from *metl*, a century-plant, or agave; and the reduplicated form, *meme*, indicates the plural.[1403] The whole word therefore means "century-plants' sap."

Powers states that it [2061] is a singular fact that the Indians generally have no word for "milk." They never see it, for they never extract it from any animal, because that would seem to them a kind of sacrilege or robbery of the young. Hence, an Indian frequently sees this article for the first time among civilized people, and adopts the Spanish word for it.

The confusion existing in the Aztec language between the name for milk (i. e., the natural food of young children) and the sap of the century-plant is shown by the following quotation from Bancroft: [302]

"The children were given to Xolotl to bring up, and he fed them on the juice of the maguey: literally, in the earliest copy of the myth that I have seen, *the milk of the thistle*, 'la leche de cardo,' which term has been repeated blindly, and apparently without any idea of its meaning, by the various writers that have followed. The old authorities, however, and especially Mendieta, from whom the legend is taken, were in the habit of calling the maguey a thistle;* and, indeed, the tremendous prickles of the Mexican plant may lay good claim to the '*Nemo me impune lacessit*' of the Scottish emblem."

Thomas, also, speaking of "pellets of *milk*," which were burnt before a certain idol in Yucatan, says: [2446] "By the term 'milk,' as here used, is meant the milky juice of some plant."

The same confusion between sap and milk exists in other American languages; as, for instance, in the Chippeway (or Ojibbeway), in which milk is called [1761] "the sap of the breast," [1762] and wine is called [998] "grape-milk."

The Chinese also occasionally use the word milk in a figurative sense, as in the compounds "milk-gold," [2555] for liquid gold used in painting; "bamboo-milk," for tabasheer; and "milky

* "Maguey is the thistle from which they extract honey," Mendieta, "Hist. Eccles.," p. 110. "*Metl* is a tree or thistle which, in the language of the islands, is called *maguey*," Motolinia, "Hist. de los Ind.," in Icazbalceta, "Col. de Doc.," tome i, p. 243.

perfume," for olibanum or incense: but they probably do not use it any more freely in this figurative sense than it is so employed in English.

The foregoing explanations appear to remove all material difficulties in Hwui Shán's account, as far as it is quoted in this chapter, and the statements which are copied from other authors prove that if he had gone to Mexico he would there have found a country deriving its name from a remarkable plant, whose first shoots were like those of the bamboo, and which were edible; that thread, clothing, and two varieties of cloth were prepared from its fiber, and that paper was also made from it; and, finally, that a species of red pear was found in the land, which it was the custom to preserve in such a manner that it served as an article of food throughout the year. There is no other country in the world as to which all of these statements are true, and there therefore seems no escape from the conviction that Hwui Shán either visited Mexico himself, or else derived his information from some one who had been in that country.

This chapter will be concluded with an account of the characters used by the Chinese in writing descriptions of Fu-sang, or of the fu-sang tree, and with a reference to Chinese traditions regarding the existence of a "tree" having the most striking peculiarities of the century-plant; traditions which may be founded upon the verbal statements of Hwui Shán, which would naturally be fuller and more complete than those embodied in the official record.

The name FU-SANG is usually written in Chinese with the two characters 扶桑, of which the first means "to assist, to support, to defend"; and the second indicates the mulberry. It is probable that the characters are used only as phonetics, but there is a possibility that their signification was borne in mind and that the name was intended to mean "the useful mulberry," or "the defensive mulberry"; the term "mulberry" being applied to the plant on account of the similarity between the uses made of its fiber and those to which that of the paper-mulberry was applied. As to the appropriateness of the term "useful," as applied to the agave, there can be no question; and if the first character is considered to mean "defensive," or "defending," rather than "useful," this would also be appropriate, as it was, and still is, a custom in Mexico to use the agaves as a defensive

hedge ;[514] their strong and numerous spines rendering it impossible for animals, or men, to force their way through it.

In some cases the character 梫, which is also pronounced FU, is used instead of the first of the two given on the last page.[2527]

In one instance the character 蘇, SU, is used instead of 桑, SANG. This is in the phrase, 山 有 扶 蘇, SHAN YIU FU-SU, which Professor Williams translates, "the hills produce mulberries." The first two characters mean, "the hills produce" (or "the island produces"), and the term "mulberries" must therefore be his translation of the last two characters. He adds the statement that this ancient name FU-SU is probably the same as FU-SANG. The last character, SU, is composed of a "plant," and "to revive," and means, "to resuscitate, to revive as when wilted, or from apparent death, to breathe again, to rise from the dead." The compound FU-SU might therefore be translated, "the useful resurrection-plant," or "the useful plant that rises again when apparently dead."

This definition might well be applied to the century-plant, for it reproduces itself spontaneously.[2221] It perishes after efflorescence,[2372] but an infinity of shoots then spring from the decaying roots, and no plant multiplies with greater facility.[549]

The character 穌, SU, the phonetic of the word 蘇, SU, mentioned above, is, on account of its meaning, used for writing the last syllable of the name JESUS (JE-SU).[1043]

The character 桑, SANG, is sometimes decomposed into its two parts, and written 又又 木, JOH MUH, "the JOH tree," which Professor Williams describes[2534] as a "divine, self-existing tree, which grows in Fu-sang," and it can be nothing else than another term for the fu-sang tree.

We find in the Chinese dictionaries[2551] the character 榹, NIH (composed of a *tree* and a *large wine-jar*), which is described as "a fabulous tree, said to be a thousand feet high ; it flowers once in a millennium, and perfects its fruit in nine more." This character, and the description, seem to have grown from some exaggeration of the peculiarities of the agave, which is a tree, or plant which fills a large wine-jar with its sap ; which towers above all[533] surrounding plants, and which, although it does not require either a millennium to develop its blossoms (as the Chinese legend has it), or a century[2373] (as our own popular traditions have it—hence the common name of "century-plant"),

still does not blossom for quite a number of years—the exact time of flowering varying with localities and climate.[3373]

Hepburn [1491] gives a word or phrase, which in Japanese is pronounced *Udonge*, and in Chinese YIU-T'AN-HWA, the characters meaning, "a great cloud of blossoms," which he defines as the name of a fabulous flower, said to bloom but once in a thousand years. Here again a tradition seems to have been preserved of some description that Hwui Shăn gave of the century-plant, for its flowering-stalk rises to the height of forty feet or upward, and throws out branches on every side, like those of a candelabrum, so as to form a kind of pyramid, each branch supporting a cluster of flowers, greenish-red [2373] (in some species) or yellow [533] (in others). It is therefore evident that no plant better deserves the appellation of "a great cloud of blossoms."

The Chinese call the prickly-pear [1488] 仙人掌, SIEN-JĂN-CHANG, "the palm of the fairy people's hand." [2520] The first character, which is translated "fairy," is composed of a *man* and a *mountain*, or *island*, and hence may have originally meant the inhabitant of some mountain, island, or region beyond the sea. Many of the Chinese legends called fairy stories relate to such a region, and it is just possible that they knew that the prickly-pear was a native of such a trans-oceanic land.

In Eitel's Chinese Dictionary [1279] I very unexpectedly came upon the following definition: "槫, FU, in the phrase, 槫桑, FU-SANG: a divine tree found in the East (Japan); a tree (*Agave Chinensis*) found in Corea."

It is evident that the location of the FU-SANG tree in Japan, in the first part of the definition, is founded upon the opinion, enunciated by Klaproth, that the country of FU-SANG must have been situated in Japan. But how does Eitel come to describe the term as being applicable to a species of agave? The agaves are all natives of America, and it does not seem possible that, if they had ever been introduced into Corea, they could have survived for any length of time in so cold a country. Professor Gray informs me that botanists do not know of any plant or tree called the *Agave Chinensis*, or *Agave Sinensis*, and that he has every reason to believe that no species of agave exist in that country. Mr. Yu Kill Clum, a gentleman connected with the Corean embassy, who remained in this country after the other members had returned home, was shown a picture of the agave, when he

said that no such plant was to be found in Corea, and also took occasion to say that the statements of those who attempted to locate Fu-sang in Corea or Japan were false.

I am, therefore, uncertain as to the authority which Mr. Eitel had for saying that the term fu-sang was applied to a species of agave growing in Corea; but it is certainly strange that of all the plants in the world he should have named the one described by Hwui Shăn.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LANGUAGE OF FU-SANG.

Peculiarities of the Chinese language—Difficulty of indicating pronunciation of foreign words—Examples—Change in sound of Chinese characters—The pisang or banana tree—Names of countries terminated with KWOH—The character SANG—The character FU—The most distant countries at the four points of the compass distinguished by names beginning with FU—Mexican dialects—FU-SANG-KWOH and Me-shi-co—The title of the king—Montezuma's title—Title of the noblemen of the first rank—The Mexican Tecuhtli, or Teule—The Petty TUI-LU—The NAH-TO-SHA, or Tlatoque—The title lower than that of Tecuhtli—Its meaning—Transcription of foreign words by characters indicating both the meaning and the sound—TO-P'U-TA'oes, or tomatoes—The grape-vine—The tree of stone—A Mexican pun—Danger of being misled by accidental or fancied resemblance.

IN the preceding chapters the fu-sang tree has been identified with the agave, and the country of Fu-sang with Mexico, and the question will naturally arise, why the term "Fu-sang" should have been used as the transcription or translation of the word "Mexico."

Before attempting to answer this question, it will be necessary to examine some of the peculiarities of the Chinese language, and of the transliterations which it adopts for other foreign proper names.

On this point the testimony is unanimous, that [783] it is as impossible for the Chinese to render the correct pronunciation of words of other languages by their hieroglyphs as it is to indicate the exact pronunciation of Chinese characters by European spelling. One will find, in the different manuals for learning the Chinese language, the most detailed directions for pronouncing Chinese characters. In Romanizing Chinese sounds, not only all European letters and ciphers are laid under contribution, but, besides this, the letters are marked with strokes, crotchets, ac-

cents, etc. This is a vain trouble. No Chinese will understand the words pronounced by Europeans according to these rules.

According to Crawfurd,[1146] the articulation or pronunciation of the Chinese is so imperfect, and so utterly unlike that of all the rest of mankind, that it is only by mere accident that they ever pronounce a foreign word rightly. Professor Williams says, in reference to this subject:[2495] "If it is difficult for us to express their [the Chinese] sounds by Roman letters, it is still stranger for the Chinese to write English words. For instance, 'baptize,' in the Canton dialect, becomes *pa-pí-tai-sz'*; 'flannel' becomes *fat-lan-yin*; 'stairs' becomes *sz'-ta-sz*; 'impregnable' becomes *im-pi-luk-na-pu-li*, etc." So, also, in the transcription of Sanskrit words, "Aurva" becomes *Yu-liu*;[555] "Kakshîvat," *Kia-k'a*;[556] "Udaye," *Yau-to-i*;[557] and "Visvâmitra," *Pi-she-po*.[558]

Max Müller remarks that[1961] "the Chinese alphabet was never intended to represent the sound of words. With such a system of writing it was possible to represent Chinese, but impossible to convey either the sound or the meaning of any other language. Every Sanskrit word, as transcribed by the Chinese Buddhists, is a riddle which no ingenuity is able to solve. Who could have guessed that *Fo-to*, or, more frequently, *Fo*, was meant for 'Buddha'? *Ko-lo-keou-lo* for 'Râhula,' the son of Buddha? *Po-lo-naï* for 'Benares'? *Tcha-li* for 'Kshattriya'? *Siu-to-lo* for 'Sûdra'? *Fan*, or *Fan-lan-mo*, for 'Brahma'?"

As instances of the difficulty of identifying foreign words which the Chinese have attempted to reproduce in their characters, the following are given, as specimens of a much longer list which was prepared, but which it would be wearisome to insert at length:

Foreign Word.	Chinese Transcription.	Foreign Word.	Chinese Transcription.
Russia	Ngo-lo-sz.[2517]	France	Fah-lan-si.[2517]
Tagul	Tak-kat.[1146]	Macassar	Bang-ka-sat.[1146]
Caracorum	Ha-la-ho-lin, usually abbreviated to Ho-lin.[787]	Barkoul	Pa-le-kwan.[1018]
		Bokhara	P'u-hua.[713]
		Constantinople	Ki-sze-da-ni.[777]
Mussulman (written by Plano-carpin "Bessermin")		Kashgar	Ha-she-ko-urh.[1021]
		Azora	A-ko-lap.[1003]
		Casa	Kak-tsze.[1003]
Dentro	Pu-su-man.[755]	Çraddhavarma	Che-la-t'o-po-mō.[1622]
Siberia	Tan-too-loo.[1003]	Çrîdêva	Chi-li-ti-p'o.[1621]
	Sz-me-li.[2334]	Âtchârya	Ngo-tche-li-ye.[1624]

The last three words are from the Sanskrit, and some imperfections in the transliteration might be expected, from the fact that the Sanskrit books from which the names were taken were translated fourteen centuries ago, and that the powers of the Chinese characters used to represent the syllables of these words have changed in the mean time.[1272]

The other words in the table are, however, of comparatively recent adoption, and show how imperfectly, even when they are first chosen, the Chinese characters represent the sounds which they are intended to transcribe. When to this original imperfection is added that produced by the fact that, since the days of Hwui Shăn, the sounds attached to the characters have been in a state of slow but constant flux,[1269] it may be admitted that the present sounds, FU-SANG, of the characters 扶桑 may be very far from representing the pronunciation of the foreign word which they were so long ago chosen to express.

As a further illustration of the changes produced in the sound of the Chinese characters in the course of centuries, it may be noticed that Sanskrit syllables, pronounced in all of the following ways, i. e., ça, çê, ça, çi, cha, ça, djâ, djha, dha, dya, dhya, and tcha,[1618] were, some fourteen or fifteen centuries ago, transcribed by Chinese characters all of which are now pronounced CHE (the *ch* like the English *sh*).

The foregoing statements illustrate the extreme difficulty of attempting to decide with certainty as to the sounds which the characters now pronounced FU-SANG were originally intended to represent.

My own opinion is that, long before the Christian era, the Chinese had obtained some imperfect knowledge of the Philippine Islands, or some of the neighbouring islands, upon which the plantain, or banana (called in Malay [2459] the *pisang* [2127]), grew, and that there were then numerous popular stories and traditions regarding this "Land of the *Pisang*," and of the wonderful pisang-tree to be found upon it, far away to the east or southeast, and that the characters 扶桑, FU-SANG, the "useful mulberry," or 佛桑, FU-SANG, the "supernatural mulbery," or 搏桑, FU-SANG, the "distant mulberry-tree," were adopted as both describing the tree and transcribing its name. My reasons for this opinion will be given in a following chapter. For the present, I will merely say that if, when Hwui Shăn reached China, from a distant

eastern country, which derived its name from a wonderful plant or tree growing in it, the fact was that the Chinese already had a number of vague traditions regarding a land situated in the east and taking its name from a remarkable trée, they would be very likely to consider the two countries as identical; and if the characters which they had adopted for expressing the name of this land, already vaguely known, could, by any possibility, be considered as representing the sound of the name of the country mentioned by Hwui Shăn, the likelihood that they would consider the two regions as one and the same, and therefore use for the name of the newly discovered land the characters already applied to the other eastern country, would be much increased.

Absurd as it may appear at first sight, I think it very probable that the Chinese, having the characters FU-SANG, already well known as the name of an eastern country, took these characters, with the addition of 國, KWOH,[2326] meaning country, and used them to transcribe the name "Mexico" of the country that had been visited by Hwui Shăn.

It should first be mentioned that in Chinese the names of countries are usually followed by this word KWOH, or, as it is sometimes written, KWO, "kingdom."[2408] MÉI KWOH, 美國 (the Fertile or Beautiful Country), is used as the name of the United States of America,[2326] and is unquestionably an attempt to transliterate the word "America," the character KWOH representing the final syllable "ca" of America. As the Chinese have no characters which have the sound either of "a" or "ri," both these syllables have been omitted.

Great Britain[2335] is called 大英國, TA-YING-KWOH (the Great YING Land, or the Great Excellent Country). Here the 大, TA, "Great," is taken from the first word of the name Great Britain. YING-KWOH represents "England," the syllable YING being intended for the "Eng" of England, and the last syllable, "land," being *translated* by KWOH.

The character 國, KWOH, country, being so near, both in sound and meaning, to the terminal syllable "co" (meaning at, in, place, or region) of "Mexico," it is of all the characters in the Chinese language the one which would most likely be chosen to transcribe that syllable.

There is, therefore, no difficulty, so far as the final syllable is

concerned, in believing that FU-SANG-KWOH may have been used by the Chinese as the transcription of ME-XI-CO.

Now, as to the middle syllable: this, as we have already seen, was pronounced by the Mexicans "shi." Can the character 桑, now pronounced SANG, have ever been used to represent this sound? In some dialects of the Chinese, the character has probably been pronounced substantially as it now is, for two thousand years or more; but in other dialects the sound has, as probably, been quite different. This character is now usually pronounced sō by the Japanese; but Professor Williams (see Chapter XIV of this book) says that the Japanese pronunciation of FU-SANG-KWOH is FU-SHI-KOKU. Here the middle syllable is pronounced exactly as the Mexicans enunciated the corresponding syllable of the name of their country. His authority for this pronunciation is not stated, but there are other evidences that the character was sometimes given nearly this sound.

It may be noted that the use of a character having a terminal nasal is not always a proof that the transcribed syllable has such a nasal. M. Julien says[1619] that KIANG-LANG was written for the Sanskrit *kâla*, and T'OUNG-LOUNG-MO for the Sanskrit *drouma*. In this last word, the letters NG must be dropped, leaving T'OU-LOU-MO, which was as near as the Chinese seemed able to come to *drouma*. So, too, we find[2327] MAN-LAH-KIA written for Malacca, and MENG-KIA-SAH for Macassar.

It has already been stated* that, when referring to the fu-sang tree, the character 桑 is sometimes decomposed into its two parts and[2534] written 又 木, "the JOH tree." The first part is the "phonetic" of the character 桑, and is supposed to give to it its sound. It is seen, however, that, when written separately, the character is pronounced JOH (J given the French pronunciation, like ZH), and not SANG. Attention was also called, in the same connection, to the fact that a character pronounced SU is sometimes substituted for SANG.

The Sanskrit word *sramana*, applied to a Buddhist priest, is not only written in Chinese with characters pronounced SHA-MĂN, but also 桑門, SANG-MĂN,[2559] and 釋門, SHI-MĂN.[2169] Here the character 桑, SANG, is used as the equivalent of other characters pronounced SHA and SHI.

* See page 400.

In view of the illustrations already given of the imperfection with which Chinese characters frequently represent the sounds which they are intended to transcribe, is it beyond the bounds of possibility that the character usually pronounced SANG, but fluctuating in sound at different times or in different dialects toward SO, SU, SHI, SHA or ZHOH, may have been considered by the Chinese as a sufficiently good representative of the XI (or SHI) of Me-xi-co?

As to the first syllable, M. de Paravey claims that, as a country in the extreme north was known as FU-YU (扶餘),[2317] one in the extreme south as FU-NAN (扶南),[2319] and one in the extreme west as FU-LIN (佛林),[2320] the Chinese adopted this fourth FU, in FU-SANG, as being properly expressive of a country at the extreme east.

In the Chinese SAN-FUH-TSI,[2331] a term applied to a kingdom in the island of Sumatra, and which is probably intended to represent the same name for which we have adopted the word "Sumatra," the Chinese character FUH seems to be equivalent to our syllable "ma." M. Julien finds the character 扶, FU, written for the Sanskrit *bhû* in Subhûti, and for *bó* in Bôdhisattva.[1628] He also finds other characters, now pronounced FU, written for *pa* in Vâchpa,[1629] and for *vê* in Vêtâla,[1627] as well as for *pu* and *pû*.

It is therefore evident that, of the characters now pronounced FU-SANG-KWOH, the first may have been intended to represent any of the sounds FU, FÛ, PU, PÛ, BÔ, BHÛ, PA, or VÊ; the second to represent SANG, SŌ, SU, SHI, SHA, or ZHOH; and the third to represent KWOH, KWO, or CO.

Now, let it be borne in mind that there have undoubtedly been some changes in the sound of Mexican words during the last fourteen centuries; that different dialects varied in their pronunciation; and that one language is mentioned by Buschmann as closely connected with the Mexican, which substituted V for the Mexican M, and which would therefore pronounce "Me-shi-co" as "Ve-shi-co."

With this allowance, is it impossible that the characters now pronounced FU-SANG-KWOH, and which at one time, or in some particular dialect, may have been pronounced PA-SHA-CO or VE-SHI-CO, may have been taken as the representatives of the Aztec word "Me-shi-co," or of a possible variant "Ve-shi-co"?

All this is not given as absolutely *proving* that the term FU-

SANG-KWOH was used for "Mexico," but merely as indicating that the connection is not as distant as it appears at first sight, and that any argument drawn from the apparent dissimilarity of the words can have but little weight.

My own opinion is, as already stated, that when Hwui Shăn related his adventures to the Chinese, and told that this distant eastern land derived its name of "Me-shi-co" from a remarkable "tree" growing there, they immediately inferred that the country was the same of which they had before heard as FU-SANG-KWOH; believing that the possible sounds of these characters were near enough to those of the name of the country visited by him to make it probable (when other circumstances were taken into consideration) that the country was the same.

Having thus referred to the subject of language, let us now consider that portion of Hwui Shăn's story in which he gives a number of the words of the language used in the country which he visited.

IV.—THE TITLE OF THE KING OF THE COUNTRY IS "THE CHIEF OF THE MULTITUDES." THE NOBLEMEN OF THE FIRST RANK ARE CALLED "TUI-LU"; THOSE OF THE SECOND RANK, "PETTY TUI-LU"; AND THOSE OF THE THIRD RANK, "NAH TO-SHA."

The first clause is translated by others, "The king is called 'noble *Y-chi*,' '*Y-khi*,' '*Yit-khi*,' '*I-chi*,' '*I-ki*,' '*Y-ki*,' or '*Yueh-ki*'"; and if it were not for the translation by de Rosny of the Japanese form of the story, in which he says, "They give to their king the name of *Kiki-zin*, that is to say, '*the most honourable man*,'" I should have felt more hesitation about rendering the title as "Chief of the Multitudes." It appears to me that the two characters should have been reversed, so as to read, "K'I-YIH," instead of "YIH-K'I," if this were the meaning; but a number of educated Chinamen, whom I have consulted on the subject, all concur in the statements that the characters as they stand mean "the chief of the multitudes," and can have no other meaning, and that, while they are not quite sure whether the characters should be translated or transliterated, they are of the opinion that it was not the intention to use them merely as phonetics, and they therefore think that they should be translated as above. Moreover, the meanings of the characters, taken separately, are so exactly those of the words of which the title of the Mexican ruler was composed, that I can not doubt

that the characters were intended by Hwui Shăn as its translation. The first character, YIH, 乙, means, "one, bent, *the first*" (Williams's Dictionary, p. 1096), and the second, K'I, 祁, "full, abundant, very, large, numerous, multitudes, a crowd of people" (Williams's Dictionary, p. 345). Medhurst[1870] also gives the meaning "great." This character is composed of a *city*, or *region*, and *to worship*, and was probably first adopted as a representation of the assembly of the people, when they gathered, once a year, to witness the public worship of the Supreme God by the emperor. Hence its first meaning would be, "the people, the multitude," from which the meanings "numerous," "abundant," "full," "large," and "great" would subsequently be evolved. In Hwui Shăn's time the word may have been in the first stage, and have meant distinctively "the people."

The title of the Mexican emperor is seldom mentioned by historians, and is in fact so rarely referred to, that some authorities even state that the Mexican language has no word for emperor.[506] Nevertheless there are occasional references to Montezuma's title, which is given as "Chief of Men,"[507] "Tlaca-tecuhtli."[524] This title is composed of "tlaca-tl," a man, or, in the plural, men or people, and "tecuhtli," the title which will be next considered, and which is equivalent to "lord" or "chief." The compound therefore means "Lord of Men" or "Chief of the People."

Sebastian Ramerez de Fuenleal, Bishop of San Domingo, in a letter to the Spanish empress,[2138] dated Mexico, November 3, 1532, said: "Montezuma bore the title of *Tecatecle Tetuan Intlacatl*, and this is the title which they also give to your majesties; its meaning being 'Wise and Powerful Lord.'" The good bishop evidently knew but little of the Mexican language. The first word is a compound of "teca," meaning nation, tribe, or people,* and "tecle," which is one of the numerous variations[1878] of the title given in the last paragraph as "Tecuhtli," meaning lord[1193] or chief. No such word as *tetuan* is found in the Aztec dictionaries, but *teuan* is defined as "our," and this is probably the word meant. "Intlacatl" is a compound of "in," nearly equivalent to the English "the," and "tlacatl," "man or people." Here the meaning is substantially the same as that of the title given

* The names of most of the Mexican tribes end in "teca," or its abbreviation, "tec," as, for instance, the "Az-tecas" or Aztecs, the "Tol-tecas" or Toltecs.

in the last paragraph, "chief" and "people" being found in both, the whole meaning literally, "the Nation's Lord of our People."

Let us now examine the statement of Hwui Shăn, that the noblemen of the first rank are called Tui-lu, 對盧. The first character is not used in transcribing Sanskrit words, but it does not seem to have been subject to much, if any, fluctuation in sound. The second character is used to represent the Sanskrit syllables *lŏ, rŏ, ru, lu, rū* and *lri,*[1631] and when written with a small square (or "mouth") at the left—which does not affect its sound—for *lri, rŏ,*[1630] *ru,* and *rū.*[1632]

Was there any such title as this in existence among the Mexicans? Bancroft says:[166] "There were several military orders and titles, which were bestowed upon distinguished soldiers for services in the field or the council. There was one, the membership of which was confined to the nobility; this was the celebrated and knightly order of the Tecuhtli. To obtain this rank it was necessary to be of noble birth, to have given proof in several battles of the utmost courage, to have arrived at a certain age, and to have sufficient wealth to support the enormous expenses incurred by members of the order."

In another place[168] he states that the rank of Tecuhtli was the highest honour that a prince or soldier could acquire.

Molina[1919] and Biondelli[613] spell the word "Tecutli"—the first defining it "a cavalier or chief," and the second, "a warrior, a prince, a chief." Morgan gives the form "Teuchtli."[1940] Olmos,[1952] Buschmann,[890] and Clavigero[1072] use the form "Teuctli." Bancroft also uses it in the compound Mictlan-teuctli, Lord of Hades.[303] Olmos[1991] explains this change of spelling or pronunciation by saying that sometimes, when *u* follows after *c*, the *u* is made liquid, and, although it is not lost in the written word, it seems to be lost in the pronunciation, or at least is but slightly sounded, and the *c* remains in the pronunciation with the preceding vowel. As to the rank of these noblemen, Clavigero says that the Teuctli took precedency of all others in the senate as well in sitting as in voting;[1073] and Buschmann says[905] that Tecutli, or Teuctli, is the Mexican word for what we are accustomed to call a cazique, prince, chief, chieftain, a lord in general, or a high noble. In the name of *Ometochtli,* one of the numerous Nahua gods of wine,[204] the part "tochtli," which by itself means rabbit, is evidently a variant of this title.

The name of the general in command of the army first met by Cortez is given as Teutile,[2341] Teuhtlile,[453] or Teudile.[2119] Here again we have the same title, which, as in other cases, took the place of the name.[505] If proof is needed, it is found in the fact that the name of his companion or lieutenant is given as Pilpatoe,[2341] which is evidently a title also : from *Pilli*, noble,[317] and *Patio*, precious. In a letter written by Nicholas DeWitt, in 1554, "Pipiltic" is named as one of the titles given to noblemen.[2439] The form "Tecle" has already been mentioned, and this is stated to be an older form than the preceding.[528] Zurita gives the form "Teutley,"[504] and Arenas, Teuhtli.[55] Gallatin gives the name of the god, before referred to, as Home*teuli*,[1405] and de Zumarraga[2601] and the auditor Salmeron[2223] and his colleagues use the form "Teule." It will be seen that these various forms differ as much between themselves as Hwui Shăn's form Tui-lu differs from any of them ; and it seems beyond all reasonable doubt that he intended to transcribe the title given above.

In the notes of M. the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, reproduced in Chapter XII of the present work, he states that one of the Chinese texts gives this title as "Great Tui-lu" instead of merely "Tui-lu." The use of a word meaning "great" or "noble," in connection with a title expressing elevated rank, is common in all countries. As to its use in Mexico, Solis mentions that,[2354] when approaching Montezuma, his subjects entered into his presence barefooted, and made three reverences without raising their eyes from the earth—saying at the first, "lord !" at the second, "my lord !" and at the third, "*great* lord !"

The Chinese account continues that the noblemen of the second rank were called "Petty Tui-lu."

I have not found any case in which a word meaning "petty" is attached to the title Teuctli. I find in Molina, however,[1921] the forms *Tlatoca-tepito*, a petty ruler or king, and *Tlatoca-tontli*, a petty king or lord. In these compounds *Tlatoca* is the title next referred to, *tepito* means "little, small,"[1920] and *tontli* indicates diminution,[1984] littleness, depreciation, or humiliation.[1985] It is therefore evident that the Mexicans were accustomed to divide at least one of their ranks of nobility into two classes, the less powerful being indicated by attaching to the title a word meaning "little" or "petty."

Hwui Shăn says that the nobles of the third rank are called

NAH-TO-SHA. This is the Mexican title referred to in the last paragraph, which takes the forms Tlatocayo,[1922] Tlatoani,[906] or, in the plural, Tlatoque.[1923]

As to the use of NAH for the syllable "Tla": it should be remembered that the Chinese language has no word in which one consonant is followed by another without the interposition of a vowel, and it is therefore absolutely powerless to express such a sound as "Tla." *La* would seem the most likely form to use for it; but *l* and *n* are so regularly interchanged with each other, in the various Chinese dialects, that it is not strange that in this case, as in many others, *na* should be used for *la*. In Medhurst's Dictionary,[1873] a large number of words will be found written with an initial *l* and pronounced with *n*, or written with *n* and pronounced with *l*. In "Smith's Vocabulary of Proper Names" we are told, under the heading LUI,[2320] "For words commencing with this character, see NUI, the more correct word."

In transcribing Sanskrit words, characters pronounced NA, NIE, and NO are used to represent the Sanskrit syllable *da* (with the cerebral *d*) and also the syllable *da* (with the dental *d*).[1620]

Bancroft says, in relation to the title:[317] "The nobles of Mexico, and of the other Nahua nations, were divided into several classes, each having its own peculiar privileges and badges of rank. The distinctions that existed between the various grades and their titles are not, however, clearly defined. The title of Tlatoani was the highest and most respected; it signified an absolute and sovereign power, an hereditary and divine right to govern. The kings and the great feudatory lords, who were governors of provinces, and could prove their princely descent and the ancient independence of their families, belonged to this order."

Although Bancroft seems to be uncertain as to the exact nature of the distinction between various ranks, there is no question that this title, Tlatoani, Tlatoca, or Tlatocayo, was a lower title than that of Teuctli.

Buschmann says in regard to it:[906] "*Tlatoani* is the participle, present, active, of *itoa*, or *tlatoa*, to speak.* It expresses,

* *Tlatoa* is derived from *itoa*, "to speak," with the prefix *tla*, a species of pronoun, meaning "it" or "something." It therefore means, "to speak something of importance—something to which attention should be paid," i. e., "to command."

first, in reality, 'speaker'; second, however, and chiefly, 'great lord, nobleman, governor, prince, cazique.'"

The word is really equivalent to the English title "Commander." The fundamental radical of the word is the syllable *to* (from *itoa*, to speak), and this syllable is represented in Chinese by the character 咄, TO, also meaning to speak. There are a great number of other Chinese characters pronounced TO, but this particular one was chosen because of its coincidence in meaning as well as in sound with the syllable which it was to represent.

This is in accordance with the usual custom of the Chinese, who, in transcribing foreign words, often seek for meanings, allusions, fortuitous coincidences, and plays of words.[1344] Thus, for the word "opium," they use characters pronounced YA-PIEN [2406] (which is as near as they can come to the sound of the word), and meaning "black flakes." For the name of the Ganges (or Gunga) they use the characters HANG-HO,[2321] which, like the original word, mean "the ceaseless river." So they transcribe the word "Turk" [937] with the characters T'IU-KIUÉ, meaning "insolent dogs."

The last syllable of the words Tlatoca, Tlatocayo, or Tlatoque is represented by a character pronounced SHA, the sounds K and SH being in this case, as in many others, interchanged.

Another phrase is used by Hwui Shăn in which I think that I detect an attempt to transcribe a Mexican word. This is the statement that—

V.—They have TO-P'U-T'AO-es in THAT PLACE.

The characters TO-P'U-T'AO I think to be intended for the Mexican word [1924] which we have adopted as the name of the tomato.

The translators have had much difficulty with this phrase, rendering it: "They have the iris and peaches in abundance"; "There are also many vines"; "In addition there are many apples and reeds, mats being made from the last"; "There are many grapes"; and "Water-rushes and peaches are common."

The exact meaning of the characters, TO-P'U-T'AO is "numerous reed-peaches," or "many reeds and peaches."

A compound,[1471] pronounced P'U-T'AO, is used as the name of the grape-vine by the Chinese,[2570] but it is written with different

The suffix *ni*, or *cayo*, turns the verb into a noun, precisely as our suffix "er" turns "command" into "commander."

characters from those used in the text. Klaproth claims that the name was formerly written with the characters given in this place, but I have not been able to find any other authority for the statement. Beal seems to think that the P'U-T'AO may have been the sugar-cane.[567]

Reeds or rushes are found in great numbers along the water-courses of Mexico, and Tulan, the capital of the Toltecs, took its name from the "tules," or reeds, in its neighbourhood. This Aztec word has passed into the English language, and the reeds growing in the marshy lands of California are now universally called "tules." The Mexicans wove the mats of which their beds were made from these reeds, or tules.[722]

The term "reed-peach" would have been particularly applicable to the tomato, as the straggling vine upon which it grows is somewhat analogous to a reed, and different compounds of the word "peach," with a modifying adjective, are, in Chinese, used to designate various soft, round fruits that are destitute of a kernel or stone. Thus the "fairy peach" is a poetical name for a fig,[2572] the "divine peach" is a variety of orange, the "fragrant peach" is the lemon, and the "flossy blossoming peach" is the flower-bud of cotton.

Bancroft refers [292] to the use made of the tomato by the Mexicans, and, in fact, even at the present day there are few of the characteristic dishes of the country of which it does not form a part.

If the compound is decided to mean "grapes" or "grape-vines," it is equally true that they were found in the country. The fact that they were found in "Vinland," or New England, does not prove that they existed in Mexico, some four thousand miles distant. After finding, however, that grapes were indigenous [1606] to California,[2457] Texas,[1970] Arizona,[591] New Mexico,[2479 2480 2435] and Sonora,[534] and at Parras, in the state of Durango, Mexico,[548] I finally found several references to their existence throughout the land of Mexico, although it is evident that the fruit was not esteemed, and that little use was made of it.

Prescott refers incidentally to the grape-vines in Mexico.[2073] Acosta says: "In New Spain there are some vines which bear grapes, although no wine is made from them." [12] Diaz states that, [1199] "in the middle of August, in the year 1519, we left Sempoalla. We came the first day to Xalapa and then to Socochina, a well-

kept place of difficult accessibility, where there are a multitude of arbours of the grape-vines of this country." To this statement the translator adds the following note:

"The grape-vine was certainly brought from Europe to the West Indies, yet it can not be doubted that the Spaniards had before found it growing wild in America." Oviedo, whose work, so far as it relates to the historical portion of natural history, is of great value, says, explicitly: "These wild vines bear good, black grapes. I say good, for, considering that they are a wild growth, they well deserve that appellation. They are found throughout the whole West Indies, and I believe that all the vines now remaining there have descended from this wild stock."

Finally, Clavigero gives the following account regarding them: [1055]

"Grapes are not entirely lacking in this country. The places called Parras and Parral, in the diocese of New Biscay, were so named from the abundance of vines which were found there, of which many vineyards were made, which, to this day, yield good wine. In Mixteca there are two species of wild vine, native to that country: the one, in its shoots and in the figure of its leaves, resembles the common vine, and bears red grapes, which are large and covered by a hard skin, but which are of a sweet and agreeable taste, which would surely be improved by cultivation; the grapes of the other vine are hard, large, and of a sour flavour, but they make a very good preserve."

The Chinese account may possibly refer to grapes, but I can not help thinking that "tomatoes" is the true rendering.

In Chapter XV attention was called to the fact that the Chinese have a legend of a tree of stone, called "the agate gem," "the green-jade-stone tree," or "the coral tree." This may possibly be founded upon Hwui Shăn's account of the gems, which were most highly prized by the Mexicans, and which they called *Chalchiuitl*,[1899] or *Chalchihuitl*.[602] These were green or bluish-green stones, resembling amethysts,[544] emeralds,[2358] or turquoises,[585] and probably very similar to the green-jade stone so highly prized in China. These were considered as valuable by the Mexicans as diamonds are by us,[2388] and when Montezuma wished to send to the ruler of Spain the most royal present which it was possible for him to give, he sent his general to Cortez with four of these stones, which were handed over with great solemnity as jewels

of inestimable value,[2343] and with the statement that he could not consent to part with them except to give them to so powerful a monarch as the one to whom Cortez yielded obedience must be. Each stone was declared to be worth a load of gold [455] (i. e., the weight that a man could carry—some sixty pounds), or, according to some authorities, two loads.[1932] *Chalchihuitl* was one of the titles bestowed upon *Quetzalcoatl*, and it was the name given to Cortez,[733] by the Mexicans, who knew of no title that they could give him which would more fully express their sense of his superiority.

This word is evidently composed of *xalli* (pronounced *shalli*, and, after dropping the terminal *li*, scarcely distinguishable from *chal*), meaning sand or a sandy stone,[1927] and *xihuitl*, a turquoise; the compound meaning "the stone turquoise." It has already been explained, however, that *xihuitl* also means a plant. Hence Hwui Shăn may have supposed the meaning of the appellation to be "the stony plant," and the Chinese legends may have grown from the accounts, carried to China by Hwui Shăn, of the Mexican *Chalchihuitl*.

It should be said, in concluding this philological portion of the subject, that, if it stood by itself, but little confidence could be placed in it. So many instances have occurred in which careful students have been misled by accidental or fancied resemblances between words radically distinct, that great caution is necessary in pursuing the subject.

Nevertheless, when taken in connection with the other proofs, given and to be given, of the truth of Hwui Shăn's statements, these philological coincidences seem to add to their number.

If the Mexican language did not contain titles corresponding with the words found in the Chinese text, that circumstance would be a valid argument against the truth of the story. The words exist, however, and have been shown.

Let any who may think the resemblance accidental or fancied, or to be the result of mere ingenuity, attempt to discover another language in the world in the words of which, denoting degrees of rank, any such resemblance to the titles named by Hwui Shăn can be found.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE PECULIARITIES OF THE COUNTRY.

The construction of the dwellings—Adobe walls—The "Casas Grandes"—Houses of planks—Lack of armour—Absence of fortifications—Literary characters—The pomp which surrounded the Aztec monarch—Musical instruments—The evanescence of Montezuma's pomp—Rulers accompanied by musical instruments—Tangaxoan—The king of Guatemala—The king of Quiché—Homage to the Spaniards and to the Spanish priests—The long cattle-horns—The Chinese measure called a HUH—Animals of the New World erroneously designated by the names of those of the Old World—Bisons—Their range—An extinct species—Its gigantic horns—The horns of the Rocky Mountain sheep—Use of horns by the Indians—Herds of tame deer—The lack of iron—The use of copper—Gold and silver not valued—Their markets—Barter—Customs attending courtship—Sprinkling and sweeping the ground as an act of homage—The customs of the Apaches—The fastened horse—The Coco-Maricopas—Serenades—Huts built in front of those of the parents—The length of the "year"—The punishment of criminals of high rank—The sweat-house, or estufa—Indian councils—Severe punishment of men of distinction—Custom in Darien—Punishment witnessed by Cortez—Smothering in ashes.

THE next statement to be examined relates to the method of building their dwellings:

VI.—IN CONSTRUCTING their HOUSES they use PLANKS, such as are generally used when building adobe walls.

This passage has been variously translated: "The boards which are made from the fu-sang tree are employed in the construction of their houses," and "Their houses are made of planks," or "wooden planks" or "beams." It is to be noted that it does not say that the planks are made from the fu-sang tree, and also that the character used for the word "planks" is not the ordinary character 板, PAN, composed of "wood," or "a tree," and the phonetic PAN, but is 版, PAN, composed of this last-named phonetic and the radical meaning "a slice," "a piece." This character is not only used with the meaning "board" or

"plank," but is employed specifically as the name of the small boards or pieces of planks which are used when constructing adobe or mud walls; and it appears to have this meaning in our text. In China, according to Professor Williams, durable walls are made by pounding a compound of sifted gravel and lime, mixed with water, into a solid mass, between planks secured at the sides, and elevated as the wall rises.[2499] Medhurst says that the Chinese in Hok-kèèn generally build their walls of mud, which is pounded and beaten between two boards fastened together.

As to the dwellings of the Mexicans: we are told that they varied with climate and locality, and that in treeless parts they were constructed of adobe or sun-dried bricks and stones.[121] Zamacois says that[2588] the houses of the wealthier classes were of adobe, but were well whitened, and the habitations of the greater part of the people were of clay hardened in the sun, and of earth.[2588] The celebrated ruins in New Mexico, known as the "Casas Grandes," are of adobe, that is, the ordinary mud of the locality mixed with gravel.[395] It is specially stated, however, that, according to appearances, the walls of these buildings were built in boxes (moulds) of different sizes.[394] Bancroft adds that[396] the material, instead of being formed into small rectangular or brick-shaped blocks, as is customary in all Spanish-American countries to this day, seems in this aboriginal structure to have been moulded—perhaps by means of wooden boxes—and dried where it was to remain in the walls.

Bartlett states that,[545] of the "Casas Grandes," near the Gila River, the exterior walls, as well as the division walls of the interior, are laid with large square blocks of mud, prepared for the purpose by pressing the material into large boxes about two feet in height and four feet long. When the mud became sufficiently hardened, the case was moved along and again filled, and so on until the whole edifice was completed; and, referring afterward to the "Casas Grandes," in Chihuahua, Mexico, he says that[546] they are built with large blocks of mud, or what the Mexicans call *tapia*, about twenty-two inches in thickness and three feet or more in length. In fact, the length of these blocks seems to vary, and their precise dimensions can not be traced, which leads to the belief that some kind of a case or box was used, into which the mud was placed, and that, as it dried, these

cases were moved along. It is true they may have been first made in moulds or cases, and, after being dried, placed on the walls; but the irregularity and want of uniformity in the length of these layers indicate that they were made on the walls themselves.

If it be considered that Hwui Shăn intended to say that the houses were constructed of wooden planks, instead of by means of these movable boards, there is just a possibility (but it can not be called a probability) that such houses may at one time have been built. Ixtlilxochitl tells us, in his second "Relation," that at Tollantzinco "they [the Toltecs] constructed of planks a house large enough to accommodate the entire nation."[512]

Other writers have referred to the planks made by the natives of Oregon and Washington Territory,[1840] for the construction of their dwellings; but this region is too far removed from Mexico to make it probable that the two places would be referred to in the same account, as if they were only one country.

VII.—THEY HAVE NO CITADELS OR WALLED CITIES, . . . THEY HAVE NO MILITARY WEAPONS OR ARMOUR, AND THEY DO NOT WAGE WAR IN THAT KINGDOM.

This duplication of a statement which was made in regard to Great Han, indicates that the explorer was questioned by the representative of the Chinese government as to the military qualities of the nations which he had visited.

Dupaix says of the ruins of Central America: "The truth is that there can not be found in any quarter the least trace of an inclosure, of an adjoining defense of any kind, or even of exterior fortifications."[1235]

When Mexico was first visited by the Spaniards, the natives wore an armour of quilted cotton, very similar to the quilted dress worn by the Tartars for the same purpose. The resemblance is such that it seems not unreasonable to suppose that it may have been introduced by the party of Buddhist priests as a means of protecting their disciples from the arrows of their enemies.

While the Aztecs were a ferocious and warlike people, it is well known that their predecessors, the Toltecs, were milder and gentler, and were not addicted to war. Landa and Herrera report that the nations of Yucatan learned the art of war from the

Mexicans, having been an altogether peaceful people before the Nahua influence was brought to bear on them.[275]

It may be, however, that Hwui Shăn reported what he thought to be the change in the customs of the inhabitants of the land which he had visited, brought about through their conversion to the doctrines of Buddha by means of the preaching of the five Buddhist missionaries, rather than their character as it was during the days when they were "ignorant."

VIII.—THEY HAVE LITERARY CHARACTERS.

The picture-writing of the Mexicans is so well known as to require but few references. Bancroft states that it[467] reveals the phonetic element so developed as to endow the Mexicans with that high proof of culture, written records, applied not only to historic incidents and common facts, but to abstract subjects of philosophic, scientific, and poetic nature. He also says of the Palenque inscriptions that they have all the characteristics of a written language in a state of development analogous to the Chinese with its word-writing; and, like it, they appear to have been read in columns from top to bottom.[281]

Sahagun says that their holy chants were written in their books,[2196] and Dr. Brinton claims that no nation ever reduced pictography more to a system.[861] It was in constant use in the daily transactions of life. In these records we discern something higher than a mere symbolic notation. They contain the germ of a phonetic alphabet, and represent sounds of spoken language. The symbol is often not connected with the *idea*, but with the *word*.

M. Léon de Rosny goes still further in the following statement, but does not mention the grounds upon which his opinion is based: "I am much inclined to believe that writing, properly so called, was known to the Mexicans at one time, probably during the times when the Toltec empire flourished; but I also believe that this system of writing was absolutely distinct from that of the didactic paintings which were in vogue during the century of the last of the Montezumas."[2153]

IX.—THE KING OF THE COUNTRY, WHEN HE WALKS abroad, IS PRECEDED AND FOLLOWED WITH DRUMS AND HORNS.

It is well known that[158] the pomp and circumstance which surrounded the Aztec monarchs, and the magnificence of their every-day life, was most impressive.

Cortez exclaims :[1105] "So many and various were the ceremonies and customs observed by those in the service of Muteczuma, that more space than I can spare would be required for the details, as well as a clearer memory, for their recollection, than I possess, since no sultan or other infidel lord, of whom any knowledge now exists, ever had so much ceremonial in his court."

The kings did not often appear among their people, the rule being that they should not show themselves in public except in urgent cases (see "Duran," chap. xxvi, p. 214).[502] Whenever they did appear abroad, however, it was with a parade that corresponded with their other observances.[164] Prescott states that, when Montezuma went abroad, it was in state, on some public occasion, usually to the great temple, to take part in the religious services ; and, as he passed along, he exacted from his people the homage of an adulation worthy of an Oriental despot.[2076]

Bancroft says that the Mexicans had instruments of music, consisting of drums, horns, and large sea-shells ; [211] and in another place [183] mentions drums, flutes, trumpets, and sharp whistles as their musical instruments.

It should be remembered that the Spanish conquerors had but slight opportunity for beholding the pomp with which Montezuma had been surrounded in his daily life. His power and vainglory vanished before them like mist before the rising sun. They had but time to catch a glimpse of it, and it was gone forever. When he came forth to meet Cortez, it was under circumstances so new and strange, that it is not surprising that some of the ceremonies usually observed when he ventured abroad should have been dispensed with. His power had been openly defied. These mysterious beings of another race, clad in armour which could not be pierced by the weapons of the Mexicans, mounted upon strange animals of a strength, speed, and docility of which they had before had no conception, and who breathed forth thunder and lightning, with which it was in their power to slay all those in their sight at their pleasure ; these creatures, who in some respects resembled men, but who had many of the attributes of the gods, came fearlessly to his capital city, regardless of his command to the contrary. This was no time for music or for public rejoicing, and, therefore, Montezuma was borne along in silence.

That it was customary, however, for the rulers of Mexico to

be accompanied by the music of drums and trumpets, when they appeared in public, is shown by the following quotations: When the natives of the surrounding region came to assist Cortez rebuild the city of Mexico after its conquest, "each chief of a city or village arrived at the head of his men *accompanied by the sound of instruments.*" [748] Tangaxoan, king of Michoacan, set forth to visit Cortez, and pay him tribute, "preceded by the music of his palace, and accompanied by a brilliant court." [745] "The king of Guatemala came forth from his palace to meet the Spaniards, carried by his servitors upon a species of magnificent litter, and surrounded by a *cortége* of noblemen and of musicians." [926] When Tecum Uman, king of Quiché, left the capital, he was borne in his litter on the shoulders of the principal men of his kingdom, and preceded by the music of flutes, cornets, and drums.[658]

These signs of rejoicing, these acts of adulation, were almost immediately exhibited before the conquering Spaniards. At their entrance into the city of Tlascala, victorious shouts and acclamations resounded upon all sides, and still greater confusion was caused by the fact that they were mixed with the clamour of the people and the dissonant music of their flutes, kettle-drums, and trumpets.[2344] Their entry into Cholula was similar to that at Tlascala; the streets were filled with an immense concourse of people, through which they could only with difficulty force their way; tumultuous acclamations resounded upon all sides; women distributed bouquets of flowers, and scattered them before them. Caciques and priests did reverence to them, and smoked incense before them, and numbers of instruments were played which made more noise than music.[2346] So, too, at the entry into Gualipar, "kettle-drums, flutes, and shells were distributed in different bands, which alternated with and succeeded each other, making a noisy and agreeable welcome." [2359] Zamacois says that when Xicotencatl came to meet Cortez, "a numerous band of musicians, whose instruments consisted of drums, trumpets, and sea-shells, with which they produced a horrible noise, was seen in the first files of the troops." [2591] Cortez himself refers to the subject in the following words: "The next morning the people of Cholula came forth to receive me on the road, with many trumpets and kettle-drums." [1099]

Cortez was not the only one to whom this sign of homage and

welcome was rendered. When the Spaniards invaded Nicaragua, the natives, on several occasions, met the Spaniards in a procession of men and women, gayly decked in all their finery, marching to the sound of shell trumpets, and bearing in their hands presents for the invaders.[267] In the distant north, Alvarado, when he reached Cicuyé, was welcomed by the inhabitants, who went before him with great demonstrations of joy, accompanying him to the village to the sound of drums, and of flutes, similar to fifes, on which they often played.[2434]

This method of showing joy in the presence of one whom they wished to honour, was, in later days, used as a means of honouring the Spanish priests. Gage, in his account of his travels through the country, mentions this fact time and again. In his first journey, before he had fairly left the seaport of San Juan de Ulloa, he says :[1373] "Two miles before we came to the Town of Vera Cruz, there met us on Horse-back some twenty of the chief of the Town, presenting unto every one of us a nosegay of flowers ; who rid before us a bow shot, till we met with more company on foot, to wit, the Trumpeters and the Waits, who sounded pleasantly all the way before us. . . . When we took our leaves, the Waits and Trumpets sounded again before us." So, also, when he departed from the little town called St. Christopher, "Waits and Trumpets" sounded before him.[1361] On leaving Comitlan, when being ferried over the river upon which the town was situated, canoes went before his party with "the Quiristers of the church singing" before them, "and with others sounding their Waits and Trumpets."[1382] He finally mentions, as a general custom, that "to the Church there do belong, according as the Town is in bignesse, so many Singers, and Trumpeters, and Waits, over whom the Priest hath one Officer, who is called *Fiscal*." "They are to attend with their Waits, Trumpets, and Musick, upon any great man or Priest that cometh to their Town, and to make arches with boughs and flowers in the streets for their entertainment."[1384]

X.—THEY HAVE CATTLE-HORNS, OF WHICH THE LONG ONES ARE USED TO CONTAIN some of their POSSESSIONS, THE BEST OF THEM REACHING a capacity of TWICE TEN times as much as an ordinary HORN-FULL. . . . THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY RAISE DEER AS CATTLE ARE RAISED IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM (China).

The first sentence is rendered by different translators as follows:

"The cattle of the country bear a considerable weight upon their horns." "The cattle have long horns, upon which burdens are loaded, which weigh sometimes as much as twenty *ho* (of one hundred and twenty Chinese pounds)." "The oxen have such large horns that they contain as much as ten sheep-skins; the people use them to keep all kinds of goods." "They have cattle whose horns are very long, and who bear upon their horns a weight as great as twenty *ho* (the *ho* is a measure of ten bushels)." "Ox-horns are found in Fu-sang so large that their capacity is sometimes as great as two hundred bushels. They are used to contain all sorts of things." "There are oxen with long horns, so long that they will hold things; the biggest as much as five pecks."

It should be noted, however, that the statement refers to cattle-*horns*, and not to cattle. If the meaning were, they "have long-horned cattle," the text would read, "YIU CH'ANG KIOH NIU," the order of the words being the same that it is in English in the phrase included in quotation-marks. The order in the text is, however, YIU NIU KIOH; they "have cattle-horns." One cause of variation in the translations is found in the character 載, TSAI, which means both to contain and to bear; and another cause lies in the uncertainty as to the size of the measure called a HUH (or HO).

Professor Williams gives the following information regarding it:[2530] "斛, HUH (from a peck measure and a horn), to measure, a measure; the Chinese bushel holding ten pecks, or a picul, according to some, but the common table makes it to measure five pecks, or half a picul. At Shanghai the HUH for rice holds only 2·05 pints, and that for peas 1·86 pints; the Buddhists use it for a full picul of 133⅓ lbs., av., but the Hindu *drôna*, which the HUH represents, weighs only 7 lbs. 11 oz., av."

Bearing in mind the fact that the character is composed of a "horn" and a "measure," and that it is still used at Shanghai for an amount of rice or peas but little greater than the capacity of a large ox-horn, I can not help believing that it originally meant a "horn-full," and that it was with this meaning that Hwui Shăn used it.

It is a plausible remark[2408] of de Guignes (vol. ii, p. 173) that

"the habit we fall into of conceiving things according to the words which express them, often leads us into error when reading the relations of travelers. Such writers have seen objects altogether new, but they are compelled, when describing them, to employ equivalent terms in their own language in order to be understood; while these same terms tend to deceive the reader, who imagines that he sees such palaces, colonnades, peristyles, etc., under these designations, as he has been used to, when, in fact, they are quite another thing."

Now, although the names of many animals in the New World have been frequently borrowed from the Old, the species are different.[2c82] "When the Spaniards landed in America," says an eminent naturalist, "they did not find a single animal they were acquainted with; not one of the quadrupeds of Europe, Asia, or Africa." (Lawrence, "Lectures on Physiology, Zoölogy, and the Natural History of Man," London, 1819, p. 250.)

Hence we can not expect that the "cattle" or "cattle-horns," described by Hwui Shăn, would be exactly the same as those of Asia or Europe. It seems very doubtful whether our missionary meant to state that there were "cattle" in the country. It is not improbable that all that he meant was that he had seen horns of a very large size in the possession of the people, and he supposed them to be cattle-horns. There is nothing to indicate that he ever saw the animals from which they were taken.

If, however, he meant to refer to animals so similar to cattle as to be properly called by the same name, the buffaloes or bisons must have been the animals meant. The term "wild cattle"[30] was occasionally applied, by both the early French and the early English explorers, to the moose (*Alces malchis*) and the elk (*Cervus Canadensis*),[26] but it was almost invariably applied to the bison. And the fact, that the horns were called "cattle-horns," conclusively establishes the point that no animal of the deer species could have been referred to in this case.

Bœuf sauvage was the name given to the bison by Du Pratz,[26] though it was often also called *buffle*, *vache sauvage*, and sometimes *bison d'Amérique*, by the early French colonists, while the Canadian voyageurs are said to have termed it simply *le bœuf*. Kalm spoke of the American bisons as *wilde Ochsen und Kuehe*, while the early English explorers also often referred to this animal under the same English equivalent, and also used for it the

names *buffle* and *bœuf sauvage*. Charlevoix called the bison the *bœuf du Canada*, while Hennepin called it *taureau sauvage*.

The great kingdom [1287] of "Cibola" (a name meaning "buffalo"), although distant from the city of Mexico, must have been known to Montezuma, for we find the Spaniards struck with amazement at the sight of a singular animal in the zoölogical gardens of the Mexican monarch, such as they had never seen before. Nor, according to Venegas, was it known in Sonora, or along the river Gila. By Solis, this animal is thus described: [2351] "This greatest rarity—the Mexican bull—has a bunch on its back like a camel, its flanks thin, its tail large, and its neck covered with hair like a lion; it is cloven-footed, and its head is armed like that of a bull, which it resembles in fierceness, having no less strength and agility." Hernandes [1521] also describes the animal by the name of the "Mexican bull."

When Cabrillo explored the coast of California, he reported that the natives on the coast,[2470] and back in the interior also,[2473] had "many cows." The animals here mentioned, and which were understood by the Spaniards to be cows, were doubtless bisons, which formerly ranged to the eastern foot-hills of the Sierras, and accounts of which, if not the skins of the animals, must have reached the coast tribes. Although cows were introduced into the New World by Columbus, and were brought to Mexico as early as 1525, it was not until many years afterward, on the permanent settlement of the country by the Spaniards, that these domestic animals found their way to California.

Although the buffalo does not now range as far south as Mexico, there is proof that it was formerly to be found in the northern part of that country.

Respecting the extreme southwestern limit of the former range of the buffalo,[32] Keating, on the authority of Calhoun, wrote in 1823 as follows: "De Laet says, quoting from Herrera, that they grazed as far south as the banks of the Yaquimi (*Americæ Utriusque Descriptio*, Lugd. Batav. Anno 1633, lib. 6, cap. 6, p. 286). In the same chapter the author states that Martin Père had, in 1591, estimated the province of Cinaloa, in which this river runs, to be three hundred leagues from the city of Mexico. This river is supposed to be the same which, on Mr. Tanner's map of North America (Philadelphia, 1822), is named Hiaqui (the Rio Yaqui, doubtless, of modern maps), and which is situ-

ated between the 27th and 28th degrees of north latitude. Perhaps, however, it may be the Rio Gila, which empties itself in latitude 32°." (Quoted from "Long's Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter's River," vol. ii, p. 28.)

Dr. Berlandier,[33] who was for a long time a resident of the northeastern provinces of Mexico, and who at his death left in MS. a large work, now in the Smithsonian Institution, on the mammals of Mexico, speaks of the buffalo as formerly ranging far to the southward of the Rio Grande. I am unable to say, however, what are his authorities. In his chapter on this animal he thus refers to its former range in Mexico :

"In Mexico, when the Spaniards, always eager for wealth, pushed their explorations into the north and northwest, they did not loiter to discover the buffaloes. In 1602 the Franciscan monks, who discovered New Leon, found numerous herds of these quadrupeds in the neighbourhood of Monterey. They were also scattered throughout New Biscay (the states of Chihuahua and Durango), and they sometimes went still farther south. Although they formerly roamed as far south as the 25th degree, they now do not pass the 27th or 28th degree, at least in the inhabited and well-known portions of the country."

In the map attached to Mr. Allen's work on "The American Bisons, Living and Extinct," the former limit of the buffalo range is put down as including the Mexican states of Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, and Chihuahua.

The common bison has small horns, however, and the Asiatic explorer would not be likely to call them "long." Still, remains have been found of an extinct species of bison, which may have been living fourteen centuries ago, to the horns of which the term could be well applied.

The first remains of such an animal discovered in North America were found in the bed of a small creek, about a dozen miles north of Big-bone Lick, Kentucky.[21] This specimen Peale believed to indicate a species of the ox tribe of gigantic proportions, whose horns must have had a spread of nearly twelve feet —a conjecture that subsequent discoveries have proved well founded. In 1846 the greater portion of the skull of a large extinct bison was discovered on the Brazos River, near San Felipe, Texas. This specimen was of the same gigantic proportions as the one made known by Mr. Peale.[22]

Among the measurements given by Dr. Leidy of the first-named discovery are :[23] Circumference of the horn-core at its base, 20½ inches ; circumference of the horn-core, ten inches from its base, 17½ inches. This specimen is still in the museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences, of Philadelphia. Through the kindness of the curators of the museum, Mr. J. A. Allen was enabled recently to examine the specimen at his leisure. He found the circumference of the horn-core, fourteen inches from the base (the point at which it is broken off), to be 16 inches, or only four inches and a half less than at the base, and one and a half inches less than at ten inches from the base. Mr. Peale, in his description of the same specimen, nearly three fourths of a century ago, expressed his belief that the horn itself could not have been less then six feet in length.

The third specimen of cranial remains thus far known,[24] as unquestionably referable to the *Bison latifrons*, consists of two nearly perfect horn-cores, with small fragments of the frontal bones attached. These remains were exhumed about three years since, in Adams County, Ohio. They are nearly entire, lacking only a little of the apical portions, and give the following measurements : Total length, measured along the upper side, 32 inches ; total length, measured along the lower side, 34 inches ; circumference, at base, 20 inches ; circumference, ten inches from the base, 16 inches ; circumference, fourteen inches from the base, 14½ inches ; circumference, twenty-four inches from the base, 9½ inches. They thus about equal in size the specimens above described.

If this gigantic animal was living at the time of Hwui Shăn's visit, or if the horns were still occasionally found in the country some time after its extinction, they may well have attracted his attention.

In case the reference is to the buffalo, it may be that one clause of the account should be read, "The largest of them attain (the weight of) twenty HUH" ; and if the HUH be considered as indicating a weight of one hundred and thirty-three and a third pounds, this would be but a slight exaggeration of their size.

Audubon states the weight of old males to be nearly two thousand pounds, that of the full-grown fat females to be about twelve hundred pounds ;[25] and Brickell, in the "Natural History

of North Carolina," 1737, pp. 107–108, says : "These monsters (buffaloes)—as I have been informed—weigh from sixteen hundred to twenty-four hundred pounds weight." [81]

It seems more reasonable to believe, however, that Hwui Shăn referred to the enormous horns of the animal popularly known as the Rocky Mountain sheep, which he found in use by the Mexicans as receptacles for their property, and that, not having seen the animals from which they were taken, he fell into the error of considering them to be cattle-horns.

Coronado reported that, in or near Cibola, he found certain sheep as big as a horse, with very great horns.[2477] He adds, "I have seen their horns so big that it is a wonder to behold their greatness." The statements are also made, "These animals are very large. *They have long horns*," [2435] and "They say that every horn of theirs weigheth fifty pounds weight." [2478] The following is also given in the account of their journey : [2432] "After having marched three days in the desert, we found, upon the bank of a river which ran through a deep cañon, a large horn, which the general had seen, and which he had left there that the army might see it also. It was a fathom (*brasse*) and a half in length; the base was as large as a man's leg, and in its shape it resembled a goat's horn. It was a great curiosity."

As to the use of horns by the Indians to contain their property, etc., Purchas says [2111] that "Lopez de Gomara reporteth that, in Quivera, the Buffalo Hornes yeeld them Vessels." Gage also reports of the Mexicans (p. 145 of the German edition), "From horns they make drinking vessels and basins."

The peculiar custom of taming deer, and keeping herds of them, as cattle are kept in other countries, existed in Mexico.

Bancroft states that [201] the common people kept and bred *techichi* (a native animal resembling a dog), turkeys, quails, geese, ducks, and many other birds. The nobles also kept *deer*, hare, and rabbits. He adds that the [195] kings and nobles of the Chichimecas kept forests of deer and hare to supply the people with food, until, in Nopaltzin's reign, they were taught to plant by a descendant of the Toltecs (Torquemada, "Monarq. Ind.," tome i). Bandelier, also,[513] quoting from Torquemada, lib. i, chap. xlii, p. 67, says : "Neither did the Chichimecas pay any attention to it [agriculture or horticulture], for the reason that the Lords and Kings had parks ("bosques") of rabbits and deer, which sup-

plied them with meat." Clavigero states[1017] that in the estates of the nobility were bred fish, *deer*, rabbits, and many varieties of birds. Certain natives of Guatemala, in the provinces of Acalan, called Mazatecas, kept deer in so tame a state that they were easily killed by the least active soldiers.[806] Diaz says of them :[1296] "Another day we saw two great villages of the same tribe. They are called the Mazatecas, which means 'People or Land of Deer'; and the name is certainly appropriate, for our path brought us soon into a great treeless meadow, where we were fearfully burned by the sun, and the game grazed in such numbers, and were so fearless, that we soon killed more than twenty. In reply to the question how this happened, we learned that the people honoured these animals as holy, and neither killed nor frightened them."

A letter written by the Adelantado Soto, regarding the exploration of "Florida," says that the Indians asserted that,[2441] at a distance of five days' journey, fowls would be found in abundance, as well as *guanacos* shut up in parks, and tame deer which were kept in herds. This report was probably without foundation, however.

XI.—THE GROUND IS DESTITUTE OF IRON, BUT THEY HAVE COPPER ; GOLD AND SILVER ARE NOT VALUED ; IN THEIR MARKETS THERE ARE NO TAXES OR FIXED PRICES.

It is not certain that Neumann does not express the real meaning of the narrator in his rendering, "Gold and silver are not valued, and do not serve as the medium of exchange in their markets."

Nearly every writer on the history of the Aztecs mentions the fact that the use of iron, though its ores are abundant in the country, was unknown to the natives,[223] while copper could be obtained in abundance.[471] Gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead were the metals known to and used by the Nahuas. The latter, however, is merely mentioned, and nothing is known about where it was obtained or for what purposes it was employed ;[222] while tin also was but little used, and has never been found in any great quantities.

Sahagun makes the following statement : "There is gold in this country, which is found in mines. There are also silver, copper, and lead. They are procured in different places, in the ravines, or in the rivers. Before the Spaniards came to New

Spain, no one cared to search for either silver or lead. The natives sought only for gold in the rivers."[2218]

Prescott says that the Mexicans were as well acquainted with the mineral as with the vegetable treasures of their kingdom. Silver, lead, and tin they drew from the mines of Taxco; copper from the mountains of Zacatollan.[2067]

Copper-mines are mentioned[631] at Santa Rita del Cobre, in what is now New Mexico, not far from the Mexican boundary. The copper was formerly sent to the city of Mexico; but it is stated that "there is no longer a market in the city of Mexico, as other mines have been found much nearer." Copper was formerly exported in considerable quantities from Sonora, and silver and gold are among the exports from that state.[536]

As to their markets: we are informed that[1848] a very large square was set apart in all the principal cities of the kingdom for the exhibition and sale of the various articles of merchandise brought to market. Though these bazars were attended every day, yet every fifth day was considered the principal or proper market-day,[210] and, to suit the convenience of the various merchants that constantly visited these marts, the adjacent cities held their principal market on such days as would not interfere with those of their neighbours. The number of persons collected together at such times in the city of Mexico has been estimated by the Spanish conquerors at forty or fifty thousand.

They made their purchases and sales by barter, each giving that of which he had an excess for such goods as he might need.[2352] Still, regular purchase and sale were not uncommon, particularly in the business of retailing the various commodities to consumers. Although no regular coined money was used, yet several more or less convenient substitutes furnished a medium of circulation. Chief among these were nibs or grains of the cacao, of a species somewhat different from that employed in making the favourite drink, chocolate.[509]

XII.—When they marry, it is the custom for the future son-in-law to go and erect a house (or cabin) outside of the door of the dwelling of the young woman whom he desires to marry. Morning and evening he sprinkles and sweeps the ground for a year, and if the young woman is not pleased with him, she then sends him away; but if they are mutually pleased, then they complete the marriage.

The sprinkling and sweeping of the ground is evidently an act of homage, the dust being laid and the stones and other obstacles removed as a preparation of the road upon which the bride walks. When the prince Cacumatzin, lord of Tezcuco, and a nephew of Montezuma, came to visit Cortez, as soon as he alighted from the litter in which he was borne, some of his servants ran before him to sweep the ground upon which he was about to tread.[2347] This homage rendered to their chiefs was also, if we may believe Hwui Shăn, shown to the prospective bride; and this, together with the entire freedom of choice left to the young woman, shows a state of civilization and a regard for woman very different from anything existing in China or other Asiatic countries, either at the time or since. This custom does not appear to have existed among the Aztecs at the time of the Spanish conquest, it having been extirpated by causes to be hereafter considered; but, scattered among the neighbouring tribes, we find, even among those which are usually considered the most savage and degraded, certain usages of courtship which seem to have been founded upon the same motives and feelings, and to be the survivals of substantially the same custom, as that mentioned by Hwui Shăn.

Cremony states that[1143] the Apache girls are wholly free in their choice of husbands. Parents never attempt to impose suitors upon their acceptance, and the natural coquetry of the sought-for bride is allowed full scope until the suitor believes his "game made," when he proceeds to test his actual standing. In the night-time he stakes his horse in front of her roost, house, hovel, encampment, bivouac, or whatever a few slender branches with their cut ends in the ground and their tops bound together may be termed. The lover then retires, and awaits the issue. Should the girl favour the suitor, his horse is taken by her, fed, and secured in front of his lodge; but should she decline the proffered honour, she will pay no attention to the suffering steed. Four days comprise the term allowed her for an answer in the manner related. A ready acceptance is apt to be criticised with some severity, while a tardy one is regarded as the extreme of coquetry. Scarcely any one of them will lead the horse to water before the second day, as a hasty performance of that act would indicate an unusual desire to be married; nor will any suffer the fourth day to arrive without furnishing

the poor animal with its requisite food and drink, provided they intend to accept the suitor, for such a course would render them liable to the charge of extreme vanity.

As the horse has been introduced among the Apaches since the time of the Spanish conquest, and as it is not likely that the custom above referred to can have spontaneously originated since that time, we are forced to the inference that it must be a changed form of some custom which formerly existed among them, and this may have been substantially the practice mentioned by our Asiatic explorer. It is to be noticed, however, that the present custom of the Apaches, instead of showing a willingness upon the part of the young man to wait upon and care for his intended wife, requires service from her. Among the Coco-Maricopas, however, there is an evident desire to please the young woman. Among these Indians, when a man desires to marry,[543] and has made choice of a girl for his wife, he first endeavours to win over her parents by making them presents. The fair one's attention is sought by another process. To do this, he takes his flute, an instrument of cane with four holes, and, seating himself beneath a bush near her dwelling, keeps up a plaintive noise for hours together. This music is continued day after day ; and, if no notice is at length taken of him by the girl, he may "hang up his flute," as it is tantamount to a rejection. If the proposal is agreeable, the fair one makes it known to the suitor, when the conquest is considered complete.

It can hardly be disputed that there is a singular coincidence between this custom and that which is mentioned by Hwui Shăn.

In Yucatan it was the custom for newly married pairs to live, during the first few years after their marriage,[1691] in cabins built in front of the house of their father or father-in-law.

Although I can give no good reason for it, beyond a belief that a year is a greater length of time than such a courtship would be likely to have been continued, I can not refrain from expressing my opinion that Hwui Shăn meant to indicate some other length of time, by the word translated "year," than the period of twelve months, although this is certainly the only meaning that the character now has. The "week" of five days, referred to in the account of the "markets," would be a much more probable length of time for the young woman to put the patience of her suitor to the test.

XIII.—When a nobleman has committed a crime, the people of the country hold a great assemblage, and sit in judgment on the culprit, in an excavated tumulus. They feast and drink before him and bid him farewell when parting from him, as if taking leave of a dying man. Then they surround him with ashes there.

The character which I have translated "an excavated tumulus" has been rendered "a ditch," "an excavation," "a subterraneous place," and "a hollow or pit."

The usual character for a ditch, excavation, or hollow, is 坊, k'ang (composed of *earth* and the phonetic k'ang); but the one used in this case is 阬 (composed of a *mound* and the same phonetic), and means not only a ditch, excavation, or valley, but also a *tumulus*.[2537] Hence I have translated it as above stated. Of all the characters in the Chinese language, there is none which gives a better representation of the singular structure referred to in the following quotations:

"The sweat-house,[117] or, as the Spaniards call it, the *estufa*, assumes with the Pueblos the grandest proportions. Every village has from one to six of these singular structures. A large semi-subterranean room is at once bath-house, town-house, council-chamber, club-room, and church. It consists of a large excavation, the roof being about on a level with the ground, sometimes a little above it, and is supported by heavy timbers or pillars of masonry. Around the sides are benches, and, in the center of the floor, a square stone box for fire, wherein aromatic plants are kept constantly burning. Entrance is made by means of a ladder, through a hole in the top, placed directly over the fire-place, so that it also serves as a ventilator, and affords a free passage to the smoke. Usually they are circular in form, and of both large and small dimensions. They are placed either within the great building, or under ground in the court without. In some of the ruins they are found built in the center of what was once a pyramidal pile, and four stories in height. At Jemes the estufa is of one story, twenty-five feet wide by thirty feet high. The ruins of Chettro Kettle contain six estufas, each two or three stories in height. At Bonito are estufas one hundred and seventy-five feet in circumference, built in alternate layers of thick and thin stone slabs. In these subterranean temples the old men met in secret council, or assembled in worship of

their gods. Here are held dances and festivities, social intercourse, and mourning ceremonies."

"Each pueblo [397] contains an *estufa*, which is used both as a council-chamber and a place of worship, where they practice such of their heathen rites as still exist among them. It is built partly under ground, and is considered a consecrated and holy place. Here they hold all their deliberations upon public affairs, and transact the necessary business of the village." (Davis's "El Gringo," p. 142.)

"In the west end of the town (S. Domingo) is an *estuffa*, or public building, in which the people hold their religious and political meetings. The structure—which is built of adobes, is circular in plan, about nine feet in elevation, and thirty-five feet in diameter, and with no doors or windows laterally—has a small trap-door in the terrace or flat roof by which admission is gained." (Simpson's "Jour. Mil. Recon.," p. 62.)

Morgan mentions these estufas at Taos,[1948] Pintado,[1953] Peñasca Blanca,[1954] and other pueblos ;[1946] and they are also referred to by Bancroft,[398] Bell, [583] and Wheeler,[2481] and in fact by all who have written about the natives of New Mexico, Arizona, and Northern Mexico.

The "great assembly," or council, is distinctively American, and among nearly all the American tribes it was the custom to settle all important public matters at such meetings. Morgan says (referring particularly to the Iroquois, though the statement is equally true of most other American tribes) that it [1935] is a singular fact, resulting from the structure of Indian institutions, that nearly every transaction, whether social or political, originated or terminated in a council. This universal and favourite mode of doing business became interwoven with all the affairs of public and private life. Immediately on the commission of a murder [1938] the affair was taken up by the tribes to which the parties belonged. If the criminal belonged to one of the first four tribes, and the deceased to one of the second four, these tribes assembled in separate councils, to inquire into all the facts of the case. Had it chanced that both parties belonged to one of the four brother tribes, a council of this division alone would convene to attempt an adjustment among themselves. Bandelier says of these councils among the Mexicans, that [527] the council of the kin exercised power over life and death.

As to the punishment of nobles, the following quotation from Sahagun[2172] is pertinent: "Drunkenness was punished in two ways. If a great lord, or a man of distinction, was guilty of this crime, he was hung for its first commission, and his body was finally dragged along the public highway and thrown into a certain river. If the drunkard was of a lower class, he was sold into slavery for his first fault; but, if it occurred a second time, he was hung. In regard to this difference in the punishment, the king said that he who was the most elevated in rank merited the most rigorous treatment."[2171]

Solis also states that[2355] capital punishment was the penalty for any failure of integrity in the officers of the law. In Darien[124] a constable could not arrest or kill a noble; consequently, if one committed a crime punishable with death, the chief must kill him with his own hand, and notice was given to all the people by beating the large war-drum, so that they should assemble and witness the execution. The chief, then, in presence of the multitude, recited the offense, and the culprit acknowledged the justice of the sentence. This duty fulfilled, the chief struck the culprit two or three blows on the head with a *macana* until he fell, and, if he was not killed, any one of the spectators gave him the finishing-stroke.

Cortez gives the following account of the infliction of capital punishment by an assemblage of the people:[1098] "When one of the natives of Tlascala stole some gold of a Spaniard, . . . they placed him at the base of a structure resembling a theatre, which stands in the midst of the market-place, while the crier went to the top of the building and with a loud voice proclaimed his offense; whereupon the people beat him with sticks until he was dead"; and the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg says that,[660] if a chief of the Teo-Chichimecs was guilty of adultery, he was put to death by his vassals.

I am not aware that the custom of inflicting the death penalty by smothering the culprit in ashes ever existed elsewhere, yet this singular punishment survived in Mexico up to the time of the Spanish conquest. Bancroft states that[221] in Tezcuco criminals of a certain class were "bound to a stake, completely covered with ashes, and so left to die." Clavigero mentions that[1015] the laws published by the celebrated king *Nezahualcoyotl* provided that a man guilty of a certain heinous crime

should be "suffocated in a heap of ashes"; and Sahagun bears his testimony to the same practice in the following words:[2171] "A person guilty of a certain grave crime was (by the laws of *Nezahualcoyotl*, one of the worthiest kings of Mexico), after other punishment, finally abandoned to the boys of the village, who covered him with ashes, and with a pile of wood, to which they set fire. His accomplice was also buried under a pile of ashes, and there died of suffocation."

To my mind the singular facts mentioned in this paragraph; the custom of calling councils; the practice of holding them in an excavation or an excavated tumulus; the power of life and death lodged in such a council; the custom of meting out a heavier penalty to a criminal of the higher classes than was visited upon one of lower rank; and the remarkable method of inflicting capital punishment by suffocation in ashes—are sufficient to prove that Hwui Shăn actually visited America, if no further evidence were to be found in any of his other statements.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE NARRATOR OF THE STORY.

The condition of China at the time—The reign of a Buddhist emperor—The *bhikshus*, or mendicant priests—Their duties—Rules for their conduct—The name Hwui Shăn—Frequency with which the name Hwui occurs—Meaning of the characters—The nationality of Hwui Shăn—Cophène—Struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism—The route from India to China—The command that at least three should go together when traveling—Persecution in China in the year 458—The journey to America by water—Ease of the trip—Probability that Hwui Shăn was but slightly acquainted with the Chinese language—Yu Kie's criticism of Hwui Shăn's statements—Causes of errors—Use of the term "water-silver"—Accounts given by first explorers seldom free from error—Absurdities narrated by other Chinese travelers—Pliny—Herodotus—Marco Polo—Maundevile—Cæsar—The unicorn—Elks without joints in their legs—The Icelandic account of Vinland—Difficulties in the account—The Unipeds—The Zeno brothers—Ignorance of geography in the fifteenth century—Marvelous tales of early explorers—Allowances to be made—Hwui Shăn entitled to equal charity.

BEFORE entering upon an examination of other statements regarding the land of Fu-sang, it will be best to consider the circumstances under which the account was first given, and learn what we can of the original narrator. The Chinese text has the following upon the subject:

XIV.—IN THE FIRST YEAR of the reign of the TS'I dynasty, known by the designation YUNG-YUEN (or "Everlasting Foundation," i. e., in the year, 499 A. D.), a SHAMAN (or Buddhist priest), named HWUI SHĂN, CAME TO KING-CHEU FROM THAT COUNTRY, and TOLD the following STORY REGARDING the COUNTRY OF FU-SANG (or FU-SANG-KWOH). . . . IN THE SECOND YEAR of the reign of the SUNG dynasty, in the period called TA-MING (or "Great Brightness," i. e., in the year 458 A. D.), FIVE MEN, who were PI-K'IU (i. e., *bhikshus*, or mendicant Buddhist monks), who WERE FORMERLY from the COUNTRY OF KI-PIN (i. e., Cophène), WENT by a VOYAGE to THAT COUNTRY.

The Marquis d'Hervey has, in the notes contained in the thirteenth chapter of this work, given a full and vivid description of the unhappy condition in which Hwui Shăn found China, when he reached it from Fu-sang. He was obliged to remain in the country some two or three years, until, as the result of the civil war then raging, the old dynasty of the Ts'ı was overthrown, and the Liang dynasty was established in its place, its first emperor being known as Wu-ti. This monarch became so great a devotee of Buddhism[962] that he retired to a monastery, like Charles V, but, having been persuaded to resume his crown, he thenceforth employed his time in teaching the doctrines of this religion to his assembled courtiers.[2511]

Prior to his time, Buddhism had been discarded by the Chinese, but in his reign it again revived.[1033] Ma Twan-lin mentions a Hindoo who, about A. D. 502, translated into Chinese some Buddhist Shastras of the Great Development school.[1257] In 506 a Buddhist priest, named Sanga Pala, introduced into China the first alphabet for writing Sanskrit words,[2560] and the reign of this emperor was particularly distinguished by the arrival in China, from India, of Ta-mo (Bodhi-dharma), the twenty-eighth of the patriarchs of the Buddhist religion, and by the extraordinary prosperity of this faith under the imperial favour.[1256]

We are not informed as to the circumstances under which he became converted to Buddhism; but it seems not impossible that the story of Hwui Shăn's adventures in its behalf may have had a share in attracting his attention to the subject.

The Chinese term pi-k'iu is a transcription of the Sanskrit word *bhikshu*, "mendicant,"[1339] which was applied to those monks who professed to obtain their sustenance by alms,[1348] begging above to sustain their intellectual life, and below to support their visible body.

Those who have devoted themselves to this kind of life have to practice twelve kinds of observances, named t'eu-t'o, from a Sanskrit word which signifies to shake one's self, because these disturbances help to clean away the dust and the foulness of vice.[1338] The mendicant should shun all causes of disturbance; eschew vain ornaments; destroy in the heart the germs of cupidity; avoid pride; and, in purifying his life, search for supreme reason, rectitude, and truth. The twelve observances which are recommended to them with this view have reference to the four

actions or manners of being, named WEI-YI ("gravity," or "that which should be done gravely"), namely, to walk, to stand, to sit, and to lie down. The following is extracted from a book specially treating upon the twelve observances, and entitled SHI-EUL-T'EU-T'O KING:

1. The mendicant should dwell in a place which is A-LAN-JO (*âranyaka*), that is to say, a tranquil place, a place of repose. This is the means of avoiding disturbance of spirit, of escaping the dust of desire, of destroying forever all the causes of revolt, and of obtaining supreme reason, etc.

2. It is requisite that he always beg his subsistence (in Pali, *pindapâtika*), in order to extinguish cupidity. The mendicant should accept no man's invitation. He should beg the nourishment necessary for the support of his material body and the accomplishment of his moral duties. He ought to recognize no difference in the food obtained, whether it be good or bad; nor to feel resentment if it be refused him: but always to cultivate the equanimity of a perfect spirit.

3. In begging he should take his rank (in Pali, *vâthâpantari*) without being attracted by savoury meats; without disdain for any one, and without selection between rich and poor: with patience should he take his rank.

4. The mendicant who occupies himself with good works should thus reflect: "It is much to obtain one meal; it is too much to make an early repast (breakfast), and a second (after midday). If I do not retrench one of these, I shall lose the merit of half a day, and my spirit will not be entirely devoted to reason." He therefore avoids multiplicity of meals, and adopts the custom of making one (*eka pânika*).

5. The food which the mendicant obtains shall be divided into three portions: one portion shall be given to any person whom he shall see suffering from hunger; the second he shall convey to a desert and quiet spot, and there place it beneath a stone for the birds and the beasts. If the mendicant fall in with no person in want, he must not on that account himself eat all the food he has received, but two thirds only. By this means his body will be lighter and better disposed, his digestion quicker and less labourious. He can then without inconvenience apply himself to good works. When one eats with avidity, the bowels and the stomach enlarge, and the respiration is impeded; noth-

ing is more injurious to the progress of reason. This fifth observance is called, in Sanskrit, *khalupaswaddhaktinka.*

6. The juice of fruits, honey, and other things of the same kind ought never to be taken by the mendicant after midday. If he drink of these, his heart abandons itself to desire, and becomes disgusted with the practice of virtue.

7. The mendicant ought not to desire ornaments; let him seek no sumptuous dresses, but take the tattered raiments that others have rejected, wash and clean them, and make of them patched garments, only for protection from cold, and to cover his nakedness. New and handsome vestures give rise to the desire of rebirth; they disturb the reasoning, and they may, moreover, attract robbers.

8. *Traïchivarika,* or only three dresses. These words import that the mendicant should content himself with the KIA-SHA, of nine, of seven, or of five pieces. He has few desires, and is easily satisfied. He desires neither to have too much nor too little raiment. He equally eschews men dressed in white, who have numerous dresses, and those heretics who, from a spirit of mortification, go entirely naked, in defiance of all modesty; each extreme is contrary to reason. The three vestments hold the proper medium. Moreover, the word KIA-SHA signifies "of divers colours," because of the pieces which form the vestment of the first, second, and third order.

9. *Smâsânika,* or the dwelling amid tombs, obtains for the mendicant just ideas of the three things which form the prime gate of the law of Fo: *instability,* or the brief duration of bodies which, composed of five elements, return to their originals and are destroyed; *pain,* which oppresses the body from the moment of birth till that of death; and *vacuity,* since the body is borrowed, formed by the reunion of the four elements, and subject to destruction. This is, in fact, the observation made upon this subject by Sakya Muni himself, who opened by it the road to supreme wisdom. By dwelling among tombs, the mendicant beholds the exhibition of death and of funerals. The stench and the corruption, the impurities of every description, the funeral pyres, the birds of prey, awaken in him the thought of instability, and hasten his progress in goodness.

10. *Vrikshamulika,* or being seated under a tree. The mendicant, who hath not attained wisdom amid the tombs, should go

and meditate beneath a tree; there let him seek for wisdom, as did Buddha, who accomplished under a tree the principal events of his life; who was there born, who there completed the doctrine, there turned the wheel of the law, and finally there attained his *parinirvâna*. This is an effect of destiny. We learn besides that other Buddhas similarly placed themselves; and the *tree* is so connected with these supreme operations that the word *bohdi* equally means the *tree* and the *doctrine*.

11. To sit on the ground, *âbhyavakâshika*, is an additional advantage for the mendicant. Seated beneath a tree so as to be half covered by its shade, he enjoys the cool air. It is true he is exposed to rain and moisture, that the droppings of birds soil him, and that he is exposed to the bite of venomous beasts; but he also abandons himself to meditation; seated on the earth, his spirit is recreated; the moon, in shining on him, seems to illumine his spirit; and he thus gains the power of more easily entering the ecstatic state.

12. *Naishadhika*, to be seated, not recumbent. The sitting posture is that best becoming a mendicant; his digestion and his respiration are more easy, and he thus more readily attains wisdom. Vices invade those who abandon themselves to idleness, and surprise them at disadvantage. Walking and standing set the heart in motion, and the mind is at rest. The mendicant should take his rest seated and should not allow his loins to touch the ground.

It appears to me that the foregoing extract, from a work consecrated to the habits of Buddhist mendicants, will supply the reader with more correct ideas of the sect than the repetition of what travelers have said upon the subject. The observances inculcated in the eighth paragraph may be noted as directly opposed to the manners of the *digambaras*, or gymnosophists of India.[1838]

As to the name Hwui Shăn: it is to be observed that it is the practice of Chinese Buddhists, on entering a religious career, to lay aside their family name, and, in token of renewed life, adopt another of moral or religious signification;[1328] and no other surname seems to have been so commonly adopted in such cases as that of Hwui (or, as it is spelled by the French authorities who have discussed the subject, Hoei), meaning "intelligent, wise, mild."

In the account of the travels of the Buddhist monk Fa Hian, we find among the names of the priests who accompanied him, or whom he met, those of Hoei King, Hoei Ying, Hoei Wei,[1326] Hoei Kian,[1327] and Hoei Tha.[1332] We find the same surname also in the case of Hwui-sheng, a priest who, in the year 518, accompanied Sung-yün, who was sent to India for Buddhist books by the prince of the Wei country.[1257]

The name Shăn (or, as it is spelled by other authorities—and even by Professor Williams himself, elsewhere than in his dictionary—Shin) means "deep, profound, learned." The Chinese call the Pacific Ocean the "Shin" sea, i. e., the "Deep" sea.[2333] According to Hepburn,[1473] the Japanese use the character with the meaning "to grow old, to grow late"; and it therefore probably once had that signification in Chinese.

An interesting question now arises as to the nationality of Hwui Shăn. The text says that he was from "that country," meaning the country of Fu-sang, for the Chinese character 其, K'I, here translated "that," is equivalent in this connection to the Latin "ille."[2400]

From the nature of the substantive verb 有, YIU, which expresses his connection with Fu-sang, it may possibly be inferred, however, that he was not a *native* of the country, but merely a traveler who had visited it and returned from it.

Summers says of the Chinese substantive verbs that there are several[2402] which vary according to the nature of the case in which they are used and the connection of the subject with the predicate in a sentence. The logical copula "is" is expressed by the verb *shi*. It denotes either that the predicate is, or that it is generally supposed to be, an attribute of the subject by nature. . . . The verb *wei*, "to do, to exist, to become," is also used as a substantive verb, but only when the notion of becoming something by mere conventional arrangement is implied, not, as is the case with *shi*, when the relation between the subject and predicate is a natural consequence. In "fire is hot" use *shi*; in "the Yellow River is the boundary" use *wei*. Also, especially before designations in the predicate, "he is (*wei*) a slave." . . . When the substantive verb implies location, the verb *tsaí*, "to exist, or consist in," is used; and when the *possession* of some attribute, the verb *yiu*, "to have": e. g., in "he is here" use *tsaí*, in "this is polite" use

yiu. . . . The verb *yiu* means to have some quality as an acquired possession or as an accident, "to happen to be." He says, again,[2420] the substantive verbs are variously used, according to the logical relation of the subject and predicate in the sentence. Thus *shi*, "to be," means "is" where the simple copula alone is required, the predicate being *natural* to the subject. *Yiu*, "to have," means "is" when the notion of the property having been *acquired* is intended, as in "he is rich."

His explanation of the different shades of meaning inherent in these verbs, is repeated[2410] in several places.[2411]

According to these reiterated statements as to the power of the various substantive verbs, it would appear that Hwui Shăn's connection with the country of Fu-sang, which is expressed by the verb YIU, was an *acquired*, or *accidental* connection, and not one to which he was born. I must confess, however, that my confidence in this conclusion is somewhat shaken by the fact that this same verb YIU is used to indicate the connection of the five Buddhist priests with Cophène; and there can hardly be a doubt that in their case it is meant that they were natives of that land.

The different authorities do not agree as to the exact location of Cophène, although there is no doubt as to its having lain northerly from India. One of the notes to the Pilgrimage of Fa Hian says that[1333] Cophène is the country watered by the Cophes. Rennell supposed the affluent of the Indus, so named by the ancients, to be identical with the Cowmull; Saint Croix believes it rather to be the Merhamhir. The syllable "Cow" is probably a remnant of the ancient appellation. *Ki-pin*, which Chinese authors confound with Cashmere, and which de Guignes has taken for Samarcand, supposing the latter to be identical with Kaptchak, corresponds with the country of Ghizneh and Candahar. It is celebrated in Chinese geography, and appears to have been a flourishing seat of Buddhism.

A second note by another commentator says, however,[1334] that the Cophène of the ancients is not, as Rennell and the French editors suppose, the Gômal (not Cowmull), an inconsiderable mountain-stream, dry all the year except at the season of the periodical rains. The Cabul River is the only one that corresponds with the accounts given of the Cophène by the historians of Alexander, particularly Arrian, who describes it as falling into the Indus, in the country of Peukelaotis, and carrying along

with it the tributary waters of the Malantus, Suastus, and Garacus. ("Indica" iv, 11.) M. Pauthier says that the country of Cophène is Cabul,[2022] and that the Chinese have given it successively[2021] the names of *Kia-she-mi-lo* (Cashmere), *Ts'ao*, *Ko-shi-mie*, and *Sa-ma-eul-kan* (Samarcand). Edkins says in one place that it is the same as the modern Cabul,[1249] and in another that it is stated to be Candahar;[1253] and F. Porter Smith says that[2324] it is a part of Afghanistan, whose capital is said to be 12,200 *li* from the Chinese city of *Si-ngan-fu*, and that in some Chinese works *Ki-pin* is said to be Samarcand.

The priests of Cophène were noted for their zeal, and priests from that country were the most diligent of any in translating their scriptures in China.[564]

In the fifth century a struggle in India between Brahmanism and Buddhism ended in the overthrow of the latter in the land of its birth,[1364] and its devotees sought in distant lands a refuge from the intolerance of their persecutors. The extensive intercourse that then began to exist between China and India may be gathered from the fact[1254] that even Ceylon sent an embassy and a letter to the Chinese emperor Sung Wen-ti. The journey is one of almost incredible difficulty and peril; the route passing through deserts and across a number of the highest mountain ranges of the world, through passes far above the limits of perpetual snow and along frightful precipices. Notwithstanding these perils, however, and the fact that hostile and savage tribes infest many portions of the country through which the road passes, still, more or less communication has been kept up between the two countries since that time. The Arabic account of voyages made to China in the ninth century states that[2143] some of those who made the journey mentioned having seen in China a man, who bore a leathern packet of musk upon his back, who had come from Samarcand, having traveled the distance on foot.

The fact that there were five priests in the party which went to Fu-sang was in accordance with a rule of their religion which required that in going to a distance at least three should be in company,[1265] and it was, therefore, the common practice for Buddhist priests, in the performance of their pilgrimages from town to town, and from temple to temple, from India to China, and from China to India, to associate themselves in companies.[1329]

Although it may be a mere coincidence, it seems worthy of notice that, in the year 458, the year in which this party went to Fu-sang, a conspiracy was detected in China in which a chief party was a Buddhist priest. An edict issued on the occasion by the emperor says that among the priests, "Many are men who have fled from justice and taken the monastic vows for safety. They take advantage of their assumed character to contrive new modes of doing mischief. The fresh troubles thus constantly occurring excite the indignation of gods and men." "The constituted authorities," it is added, "must examine narrowly into the conduct of the monks. Those who are guilty must be put to death." [1955] It seems not unlikely that the examination then commenced amounted to a severe religious persecution, and this may have caused some party of priests from Cophène, who had already settled in China, or who, more probably, reached China from Cophène at this time, to travel on beyond this land of persecution, and so finally to reach America.

The Chinese character 游, YIU, translated "by a voyage," contains the radical "water," and therefore means properly "to travel by water—to float, swim, or drift," although it has come to have the secondary meaning of traveling, roving about. It seems most likely, however, that fourteen centuries ago it would have been used in its original meaning, and this character, together with the statement that Japan, the country of "Marked Bodies," and the Great Han Country were on the route to Fu-sang, indicates that the party went by boat, along the coast, by way of the Kurile and Aleutian Islands, and thence down the American coast.

The voyage in an open row-boat or canoe is not only practicable, but its difficulties and perils are hardly to be compared with those of the overland journey from India to China. The case of the trip from Asia, along the Kurile and Aleutian Islands, to Alaska, and the fact that the natives constantly pass back and forth between the two continents in the slightest of boats, scarcely ever being out of sight of land while making the trip, have been mentioned in the first chapter of this work. The remainder of the voyage, along the American coast, is even easier. The excursion from Oregon to Alaska can scarcely be termed an ocean trip. Out of a total distance of more than a thousand miles, there are hardly one hundred and twenty miles of open sea voyage.

The remainder of the journey, on account of the remarkable formation of the coast, is through a continuous archipelago, serving as a breastwork against the storms and billows, and affording quiet passageways through deep, narrow channels and reaches, skirted on either side with well-wooded banks, high, rocky shores, and towering islands.[2885]

The text does not say explicitly that Hwui Shăn was one of the five monks who made this voyage together, but this was most probably the case. If so, he must have been a young man when he started (and hence can have spent but little time, if any, in China), and quite an elderly man when he reached China, on his way back home, forty-one years later. When he gave his account to the representative of the Chinese emperor, he had probably been in China not more than some two or three years. It seems a reasonable supposition that, in this length of time, he could not have learned to speak and write Chinese perfectly, and hence his story was probably told, as best he could tell it; in disjointed and ungrammatical phrases; by the use of such Chinese written characters as he had become acquainted with; by signs and rude drawings, to eke out his meaning when he was ignorant of the proper word to use. Yu Kie, the officer who took down his story, probably held long colloquies with him; many questions may have been asked on one side and explanations attempted on the other, which were not fully understood. It is evident, from the story narrated by Yu Kie, and given in the thirteenth chapter of this work, that Hwui Shăn told him much which he either realized that he did not comprehend or else which he did not fully credit.

The story of the land of Fu-sang, as we have it in Ma Twan-lin's text, is therefore the result of Yu Kie's criticism of Hwui Shăn's statements. In many places it may contain the account of the latter just as he gave it, in imperfect Chinese, and by the use of characters which did not exactly express his real meaning, if construed strictly in accordance with the grammatical rules of the Chinese language. In other cases Yu Kie probably wrote down the substance of the understanding that he had reached on the particular point in question, after holding a long colloquy on the subject with Hwui Shăn. If this theory is true, Yu Kie arrived at quite a complete comprehension of Hwui Shăn's statements, and showed much discretion and

judgment in the digest of his story, which he entered in the country's annals; and yet there is just such an amount of confusion and disconnection in the account as would be the natural result of a conversation between two men of different nationalities, who were able to understand each other but imperfectly; while it is noticeable that the various points, as to which the story is not *strictly* true of America, are points in which the truth is, as it were, travestied.

The account was written down nearly a hundred years before printing was invented in China,[1637] and the liability of errors in copying manuscript is very great. The numerous variations in the several texts show that the original account has been more or less corrupted. When allowance is made for these corruptions and for misunderstandings of the text, it is not surprising that, as to some of the details, the glimpse which we get of the far off land of Fu-sang is such as would be obtained of a distant landscape through a window of old and imperfect glass—glass streaked and faulty when first placed in position, and now dimmed and cracked by unnumbered storms, and obscured by the dust of centuries. There is imperfection and distortion in the view, and yet it is evident that we are looking at a real landscape, the handiwork of nature, and not at a mere human invention.

To the causes above mentioned should be attributed the use of the term "water-silver" for ice; the connection of the accounts of the fu-sang tree and of the red pears, in such a way that the latter may be supposed to be the fruit of the former, and the statement that koumiss was made from "milk," without any explanation of the peculiar nature of the milk. Yu Kie seems to have understood that the milk was that of the does to which Hwui Shăn had referred in his statement that the people of Fu-sang raised deer as cattle were raised in China; and yet there seems to have been some attempt on the part of Hwui Shăn to set him right, for he reverts to the vegetation, and immediately makes a statement—otherwise disconnected—regarding the red pears.

There are other instances of misunderstandings; of statements which seem to be connected with others near which they stand, and which are untrue in that connection, and yet true if they are allowed to stand by themselves; but upon the whole Yu Kie showed such good judgment in what he accepted and rejected,

that the official account as given us by Ma Twan-lin is as good a description of a newly discovered land as any that we have; for it must be borne in mind that the tales which are told by first explorers are seldom free from mistakes, even though the discoverer of the formerly unknown region be a man of intelligence, who strives to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. Possibly some errors may have arisen from misunderstandings by Hwui Shăn himself. It is not to be expected that he alone among explorers would fail to narrate some tales on hearsay, to give in some cases his erroneous inferences instead of the facts upon which his inferences were founded, or to exaggerate or misunderstand some strange phenomenon that he had seen.

Fa Hian is not denounced as a "lying Buddhist priest" because modern travelers fail to find the "venomous dragons," mentioned by him, "which dart their poison if they happen to miss their prey."[1336] Other Chinese mediæval travelers refer to two-headed snakes,[786] describe the ostrich as feeding upon fire,[788] mention "dragon-horses with scales and horns,"[789] and eagles which lay eggs from which dogs are hatched out;[790] and yet there is no question that they actually visited the countries which they attempt to describe. Some of these travelers heard of the cotton-plant: this bears "wool," and hence may be considered as a vegetable-sheep.[1834] From this simple fact the following marvelous tale gradually grew in neighbouring lands, and was gravely narrated by the travelers: "The 'sheep planted on hillocks' are produced in the western countries. The people take the navel of a sheep, plant it in the ground and water it. When it hears thunder it grows, the navel retaining a connection with the ground."[791]

Is the whole story of the traveler who gives an account of this nature to be rejected because of his credulity? Not at all. The critic who will take the trouble to separate the true from the false, and to extract from the false the kernel of truth which lies concealed in it, will learn much which would never be otherwise discovered.

Pliny tells many a marvelous tale, and yet mixes many valuable facts with his accounts. Herodotus was for centuries denounced as the "father of liars" by critics who were too ignorant or too indolent to find the truth in his history. When he told of a land in which the air was filled with feathers,[1438] he

himself detected the fact that this was merely a figurative description of snow; but when he mentioned a land in which it was said that men were found who slept six months at a time,[1537] he could not credit the tale, although it is now evident that the Arctic region, with its long night of nearly six months' duration, was the land which was described. The value of his history is but little lessened by the tales which he repeats of monsters with dogs' heads,[1540] of winged serpents,[1538] and of ants larger than foxes.[1536]

It is well known that for a long period after the close of the thirteenth century, when an account of the travels of Marco Polo, of Venice, first made its appearance and was circulated, in manuscript, the information it gave of countries till that time unheard of, and of manners incompatible with every idea that had been entertained of the barbarians of Tartary, was treated with levity or ridicule by the generality of his countrymen, and read with suspicion by the best-instructed persons in every part of Europe;[1788] and yet the general truth of his account is now recognized by all scholars, notwithstanding his description of the *rukh*, or roc, of the Arabian Nights, a bird so large and strong as to seize an elephant with its talons and to lift it into the air;[1819] of oxen[1807] as large as elephants;[1795] of men with tails,[1811] and of dogs the size of asses.[1805]

Sir John Maundevile repeats Pliny's accounts of the land inhabited by people having but one foot,[1828] of the Cynoccephali,[1829] of the one-eyed people,[1830] of the Androgynes, and others, and also repeats other wild stories that he has heard, such as those regarding two-headed geese, and hens without feathers, but having wool, etc.; and yet Maundevile repeated his marvels in good faith, and added much to our knowledge of the condition of Asia during the middle centuries.

Cæsar's accounts of his military expeditions are not discredited because he indulges in a few wonderful tales, such as the following:

"There is an ox of the form of a deer, from the middle of the forehead of which, between the ears, there rises a single horn higher and straighter than the horns of any of the animals known to us, and, from its summit, palm-like branches are widely spread out. The appearance of the male and female is the same, and the form and size of their horns are similar."[918]

"There are also animals that are called '*alces*' (elks), of which the figure and the varied skins resemble those of the deer, but their size is somewhat greater; they shed their horns, and their legs are without joints or articulations. They do not lie down to rest, and, if they fall down, or are thrown down by any accident, they are not able to rise. The trees serve them for beds; they lean against them, and thus, slightly reclining, they take their rest. When the hunters discover from their tracks the places to which they are accustomed to resort, they either undermine all the trees at the roots, or they cut into them so far that the upper part has only the appearance of standing firmly, and, when the animals lean against them, according to their habit, the weakened trees are overthrown by their weight, and they fall to the ground together." [2131]

Any one who has seen deer, antelope, or elks, cantering along at a little distance, will easily discover the grain of fact upon which this ridiculous story is based. These animals leap so nimbly that the slight fraction of a second during which their legs are bent is too short to enable the eye to detect the motion, and the animals appear to be bounding along stiff-legged, as if they were thrown forward by springs. One seeing them leaping along in this style would imagine that "their legs are without joints or articulations." Cæsar evidently reached this conclusion; but then came the question, How, then, could they lie down to sleep, or rise again, being down, without levers to lift them up? Imagine imperial Cæsar asking this question of some grizzly, bare-limbed Gaul, and unsuspectingly writing down the outrageous reply of the fun-loving barbarian, who dared to gravely jest with the conqueror of the world!

The accounts of the discovery of "Vinland" by the Northmen or Icelanders, about the year 1000 A. D., are now generally believed, and, undoubtedly, with good reason; and yet there are many difficulties in the stories that have never been explained away. They speak of finding "wheat," [2132] but do not describe it as being remarkable in any way; [2133] and they make no mention of maize, unless it is considered as thus referred to. They say that no snow fell during the winter, [2134] and that cattle found their food throughout the winter in the open field, thus describing the winters as very different from those which now occur in this country. They describe Rhode Island or Massachusetts

as being inhabited, not by Indians,[2135] but by Esquimaux,[2131] and this at a time when the Esquimaux had not reached Greenland.[2105] Four names are given[2137] which seem never to have been identified with any American language. They state that the "Skrellings" had a sort of war-sling. They elevated on a pole a tremendously large ball, almost the size of a sheep's stomach, and of a bluish colour; this they swung from the pole upon land and over Karlsefne's people, and it descended with a fearful crash, striking terror into the Northmen as they fled along the river.[2138] Schoolcraft, to be sure, states that,[1110] many generations ago, the natives used to sew up a round bowlder in the skin of an animal, and hang it upon a pole which was borne by several warriors, and which, when brought down suddenly upon a group of men, produced consternation and death; but there is strong reason for believing that the Northmen's account was his only authority for the statement, as it is certain that nothing of the kind is mentioned by any other writer.

Finally, we come to the following description of a nation of one-legged men:[1111]

"It chanced one morning that Karlsefne and his people saw opposite, in an open place in the woods, a speck which glittered in their sight, and they called out toward it, and it was a Uniped (*Einfoetingr*, from *ein*, one, and *fótr*, foot), which thereupon hurried down to the bank of the river, where they lay. Thorvald Ericson stood at the helm, and the Uniped shot an arrow into his bowels. Thorvald drew out the arrow, and said: 'It has killed me! To a rich land we have come, but hardly shall we enjoy any benefit from it.' Thorvald soon after died of his wound. Upon this the Uniped ran away to the northward; Karlsefne and his people went after him, and saw him now and then, and, the last time they saw him, he ran out into a bay. Then they turned back, and a man sang these verses:

'The people chased
A Uniped
Down to the beach.
Behold he ran
Straight over the sea—
Hear thou, Thorfinn!'

They drew off to the northward, and saw the country of the Unipeds."

It is a curious fact that, in Charlevoix,[1114] we find an account of Unipeds. (See Shea's edition, vol. i, p. 124.) Nevertheless, their mention by the Northmen would seem to require some explanation. Whether this is forthcoming or not, the account contains so much that is true, and which could not, by any possibility, have been guessed by one who had not visited America, that the story must be the record of a visit to this continent.

Major says of the voyages of the Venetian brothers Nicolò and Antonio Zeno :[1778]

"It can scarcely be doubted that one of the leading causes of the . . . puzzle having remained unsolved till now has been the tendency to cope with outlying difficulties instead of first directing attention to the proof of the authenticity of the document. . . . Indeed, the authenticity of the document is so preponderating an element in the case, that, when once it is well established, the minor objections might be fairly left to shake themselves into their places as best they could."

This remark is equally true of the travels of the Northmen, and it may be justly claimed to apply with equal force to the journey of Hwui Shăn.

At the time that America was discovered by Columbus, Europe lay in a singular state of ignorance, even as to the countries that might have been reached by a land journey, or by an easy coasting voyage. Asia and Africa were almost as unknown regions as America. The edition of Zachariah Lily's "Orbis Breviarum," published in 1493, gives a fair idea of the little that was taught on the subject. No modern travelers were considered worthy of notice, and all the accounts were based upon the statements of the classical authors. Among the countries described are the lands of the Amazons, of the Androgynæ,[1751] of the Centaurs,[1752] of the Gorgons,[1753] and of the Satyrs,[1757] while Paradise [1755] and Inferno [1754] are not forgotten.

As to the early explorers and historians of America, Acosta,[2] Charlevoix,[942] Sharp,[486] Wafer,[2481] and others,[487] all insist that the peccary has its navel on its back. Herrera ("Hist. Gen.," dec. 2, lib. 10, chap. xxi) says that the humming-birds, when the rainy season is over and the dry weather sets in, fasten themselves to the trees by their beaks and soon die; but in the following year, when the new rains come, they come to life again.[2075]

Purchas mentions winged serpents [2109] and tribes of Indians

who lived to be more than three hundred years of age.[2108] Hernandez, in his exceedingly valuable description of the plants and animals of Mexico, gives plates of the flying dragon [1524] and of the two-headed serpent; [1523] and Pigafetta,[2033] Von Nord,[1212] Oviedo, Argensola, Hawkins, de Weert,[2004] and others, all united in the statement that Patagonia was inhabited by giants, and only differed as to whether their average height was eight or ten feet.

In all these cases allowances are charitably made for natural causes of error. Should less allowance be made in the case of Hwui Shăn, who not only had that liability to mistake which is common to all human beings, but who, in addition, laboured under the disadvantage of telling his story in a language with which he was but slightly acquainted, and of having the text of his narration more or less corrupted in its transmission to us? Should not allowance be also made for our own ignorance of the countries which he describes, and for the changes which must there, as elsewhere throughout the world, have taken place during the last fourteen centuries?

These questions are asked because it appears to have been taken for granted that if a single point could be found in his story which seemed to be untrue of America, then his whole account should be rejected. When the theory has been presented, however, that his journey was to some portion of Japan, then it has not been thought necessary to prove that his account was true of that country in more than one particular; and the one particular which has, as a rule, been insisted upon, is the extremely probable theory, that, when he said east, he meant south, and, when he said twenty thousand *li*, he meant two or three thousand.

Is this fair treatment of his story? Is it not to be expected that some difficulties will be found? If it is shown that so many of his statements are true, that it is inconceivable that they can be the result of anything else than an actual visit to the country, can we not afford to temporarily accept, as to a few doubtful points, explanations which, if they stood by themselves, might seem improbable; and wait for time and further investigation to bring about their complete elucidation?

CHAPTER XXV.

THE INTRODUCTION OF ASIATIC CIVILIZATION.

The former ignorance of the people—The introduction of Buddhism—The changes of a thousand years—The two places of confinement—Meaning of the character FAH—Two species of prisons—One for those sentenced to death—The other for minor criminals—The Mexican Hades—The future abode of the Aztec hero—The sojourn but temporary—The dark and dismal "Place of the Dead," in the north—Confinement here eternal—The slave children—Treatment of illegitimate children and of orphans—Age at which children were taken to the temple—Boys at seven years of age—Girls at eight—Chinese custom of calling children a year older than they would be considered by us—The punishment of the family of a criminal—Mourning customs—Fasts—Funerals—Images of the deceased—Reverence of these images and offerings to them—The custom in China—The absence of mourning-garments—The king not fully crowned until some time after his accession to the throne.

ONE of the assertions that is made indicates that the account that is given is, as to some of its details, rather a description of the customs existing as the result of the teachings of the Buddhist priests, some forty years after they first entered the country, than an attempt to picture the condition of the people at the time that the party discovered the land. This is the following statement:

XV.—FORMERLY THEY WERE IGNORANT (uncultured or uncivilized), and KNEW NOTHING OF BUDDHA'S RULES (or religion); . . . but the five mendicant priests who came to the country . . . MADE BUDDHA'S RULES AND HIS RELIGIOUS BOOKS AND IMAGES KNOWN AMONG THEM, TAUGHT THE COMMAND TO FORSAKE THE FAMILY (for the purpose of entering a monastery), AND FINALLY REFORMED THE RUDENESS OF THEIR MANNERS.

It is, therefore, to be presumed that the account of the country will be coloured with statements as to Asiatic customs, beliefs, and arts introduced by these missionaries, and existing at the time of Hwui Shăn's story, but which have since died out.

Sahagun, in his day, remarked with reason that, in spite of fifty years of continual preaching to the Mexicans, and in spite of the efforts of the numerous priests working for their conversion, and the Christian establishments raised upon the ruins of their temples, less than fifty years more would suffice to make them lose all remembrance of Christianity, if they were left to themselves.[767]

We may, therefore, expect that some of the effects of the teachings of the Buddhist missionaries would be found to be only temporary in their nature; and the real occasion for surprise is that, as will hereafter be shown, so much of the results of their efforts survived the storms of over a thousand years, rather than that some few of the customs and beliefs then founded should have perished.

XVI.—According to their RULES (of government or of religion) they HAVE A SOUTHERN AND A NORTHERN PLACE OF CONFINEMENT. AN OFFENDER WHO HAS TRANSGRESSED BUT SLIGHTLY ENTERS THE SOUTHERN PLACE OF CONFINEMENT, BUT IF HE HAS SINNED HEAVILY HE ENTERS THE NORTHERN PLACE OF CONFINEMENT. IF THERE IS PARDON FOR HIM, THEN HE IS SENT AWAY TO (or, possibly, from) THE SOUTHERN PLACE OF CONFINEMENT, BUT IF HE CAN NOT BE PARDONED, THEN HE IS SENT AWAY TO THE NORTHERN ONE. THOSE MEN AND WOMEN DWELLING IN THE NORTHERN PLACE OF CONFINEMENT, WHEN THEY MATE (or have mated), and BEAR (or have borne) CHILDREN, THE BOYS ARE MADE SLAVES AT THE AGE OF EIGHT YEARS, AND THE GIRLS AT THE AGE OF NINE YEARS. THE CRIMINAL (or the criminal's body) IS NOT ALLOWED TO GO OUT UP TO (or at) THE TIME OF HIS DEATH.

The character FAH, 法, which I have translated "rules," and as to which I am not certain whether the reference is to rules of government or to a religious belief, or to both, has heretofore been rendered "laws." This is the natural translation if the character meaning "country," which immediately precedes it, is construed in connection with it; for, while FAH, by itself, or in other connections, usually means "religious canons," the compound, "a country's FAH," usually means "a country's *laws*," rather than a country's *religion*. Still, it is not certain that the words, "in that country" (see characters Nos. 103 and 104, Chapter XVI), are not the concluding clause of the preceding paragraph, rather than the beginning of a new sentence.

This character FAH (often spelled FA) is used by the Buddhists as a technical term for the translation of the Sanskrit word "Dharma," signifying—1st, morality or virtue; 2d, the law or the moral code; and, 3d, the material effects or the phenomenal world.[853]

The "Three Precious Ones" are *Buddha*, the personal teacher; *Dharma*, the Law or body of doctrine; and *Sangha*, the Priesthood.[1274]

There are three treasures, i. e., Buddha, the *Law*, and the Church.[566] This word *Dharma* has various meanings, but is usually to be understood in the sense of "truth." It is not unfrequently translated "the law"; but this interpretation gives an idea contrary to the entire genius of Buddhism. The Dharma is therefore, emphatically, "the truth."[1439]

In the Pali canon there is a remarkable book called Dhamma-pada, which was evidently of great authority in the Buddhist church. The Chinese translation of this is called the FA-KHEU KING, the character FA being used as the translation of the Pali word *Dhamma* (the Sanskrit *Dharma*).[561]

Beal translates FA by the phrase "system of religion," in the sentence, "Venerable sir, what system of religion (FA) has engaged your mind during your contemplation to-night?"[565]

Edkins translates the phrase FA-SHEN "the embodiment of the (religious) law,"[1250] and C'HU-KIA FA (see characters Nos. 451 and 452, Chapter XVI), "the monastic principle."[1245] Other instances of the use of this character in a religious sense are in the compounds "Buddha's FAH," for the rites and ordinances of Buddhism;[1472] "to develop FAH," meaning to disseminate or propagate religious doctrine;[1474] "FAH conversation," for preaching a discourse on religious subjects;[1476] "FAH clothing," for a garment worn by Buddhist priests;[1477] "FAH assembly," for an assembly of Buddhist priests;[1478] and "FAH body," meaning shaven-headed, like a Buddhist priest.[1479]

This technical use of the character by the Buddhists seems to make it probable that Hwui Shăn, a Buddhist priest, would employ the word in this religious sense; particularly as he might have used some other character, if it had been his intention to speak of the laws of the government.

On investigating the history of the Aztec empire, however,

we find that the statement is substantially true, no matter whether FAH is understood to refer to law or to religion.

They had two species of prisons: one similar to ours, which was called *Teilpilojan*, for debtors who refused to pay their debts, and for those who had not merited the punishment of death; and the other, smaller, which was called *Quauh calli*, made like a cage, for the prisoners who were to be sacrificed, and for those who were guilty of capital crimes.[1076] The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg[710] and Mr. Bancroft[217] follow Clavigero in this statement.

There is no indication as to whether it was the custom to build the prison for those condemned to death in the northern part of the town, and the other place of confinement in the southern part, unless such an indication is given in the fact that, in the only case in which the location of this prison for condemned criminals is mentioned, the one for the city of Mexico is said to have been situated "over a mile northwest-by-north of the central plaza of Mexico." ("Hist. Verdad.," pp. 70–71.)[461]

If FAH is understood to refer to religious belief, however, then the "prisons," or "places of confinement," must be the supposed abodes of the spirits of the dead. The usual term for "Hades,"[1480] or the place in which the Buddhists suppose the spirits of the wicked to be punished, is TI-YUH, or "earth's prison."[1267] The Roman Catholics designate purgatory by the phrase LIEN YUH, "fire-separating prison."[2579] The characters TI-YUH, or "earth's prison," which are usually applied to "Hades," are sometimes also used[1044] to designate a jail.[963]

The future abode of the Mexicans had three divisions,[1064] to which the dead were admitted according to their rank in life and manner of death.[350] . . . The Aztec hero was borne in the arms of Teoyaomiqui herself, the consort of Huitzilopochtli, to the bright plains of the Sun-house, in the eastern part of the heavens, where shady groves, trees loaded with luscious fruit, and flowers steeped in honey, vied with the attractions of vast hunting-parks, to make his time pass happily. Here also awaited him the presents sent by affectionate friends below. Every morning, when the sun set out upon his journey, these bright, strong warriors seized their weapons and marched before him, shouting and fighting sham battles. This continued until they reached the zenith, where the sun was transferred to the charge of the

Celestial Women, after which the warriors dispersed to the chase or the shady grove.

The members of the new escort were women who had died in war or child-bed, and lived in the western part of the Sun-house. Dressed, like the warriors, in martial accoutrement, they conducted the sun to his home, some carrying the litter of quetzal feathers in which he reclined, while others went in front, shouting and fighting gayly. Arrived at the extreme west, they transferred the sun to the dead of Mictlan, and went in quest of their spindles, shuttles, baskets, and other implements necessary for weaving or household work. The only other persons who are mentioned as being admitted to the Sun-house, were merchants who died on their journey. After four years of this life, the souls of the warriors pass into birds of beautiful plumage, which live on the honey of flowers growing in the celestial gardens, or seek their sustenance on earth.

The second place of bliss was Tlalocan,* the abode of Tlaloc, a terrestrial paradise, the source of the rivers, and all the nourishment of the earth, where joy reigns and sorrow is unknown, where every imaginable product of the field and garden grows in profusion beneath a perpetual summer sky. . . . To this place went those who had been killed by lightning, the drowned, those suffering from itch, gout, tumors, dropsy, leprosy, and other incurable diseases. Children, also, at least those who were sacrificed to the Tlalocs, played about in its gardens, and once a year they descended among the living, in an invisible form, to join in their festivities. It is doubtful, however, whether this paradise was perpetual; for, according to some authors, the deceased stayed here but a short time, and then passed on to Mictlan; while the children, balked of their life by death or sacrifice, were allowed to essay it again.

The third destination of the dead, provided for those who died of ordinary diseases or old age, and, accordingly, for the great majority, was Mictlan, "the Place of the Dead," which is described as a vast pathless place, a land of darkness and desolation, where the dead, after their time of probation, are sunk in a sleep that knows no waking. In addressing the corpse, they spoke of this place of Mictlan as "a most obscure land, where

* Tlalocan is the name given by some old writers to the country between Chiapas and Oajaca.[701]

light cometh not, and whence none can ever return." . . . The indications are that Mictlan was situated in the antipodean regions, or rather in the center of the earth, to which the term "Dark and Pathless Region" also applies. This is the supposition of Clavigero,[1066] who bases it on the fact that *Tlalxicco*, the name of Mictlantecutli's temple, signifies "center or bowels of the earth." But Sahagun and others place it in the north, and support this assertion by showing that *Mictlampa* signifies "north." The fact that the people turned the face to the north when calling upon the dead, is strongly in favour of this theory.

McCulloh [1851] and others give a similar account of the religious belief of the Aztecs.

It is evident that these three abodes of the dead are reducible to only two, which are radically distinct from each other: a land of bliss, situated in the region in which the sun is placed—a country of "perpetual summer" (and, therefore, necessarily in the *south*), which could be left by the spirits of the dead after a time; and a dark and gloomy region, "a place of punishment," [353] from which there was no escape.

The Central Americans say that the future life is divided into good and bad. The first is for the good. They represent it as a life of delights, where they enjoy all the comforts of peace and of abundant supplies, all the pleasures of the body, eating and drinking, without pain or fatigue, under the perfumed shade of a delicious tree, where they repose, sheltered from all the sufferings of the world. The second, on the contrary, is represented as a place situated below the other, where they suffer all the torments of frost, of hunger, and of sorrow, without any species of consolation.[645]

That the "Hades" of the Mexicans was located in the north is proved by the following quotations:

"*Mictlan*, the Mexican Hades, a place of the dead, signifies, either primarily or by an acquired meaning, northward or toward the north." [336]

"*Mictlampa*—to Hades— to the north. *Mictlampa ehecatl*, the north wind." [874]

"*Mictlampa-ehecatl*, the north wind, is said to come from hell." [351]

"The second wind blows from the north, where the natives believe the infernal regions to be placed." [2201]

"The realm of Mictla, the Aztec god of death, lay where the shadows pointed."[805]

"It is believed that the dead go to the north. It is for this reason that, among their superstitious practices regarding the dead, after they have enveloped them in their wrappings, the bodies of the dead are seated with their faces toward *Mictlampa*, or the north."[2202]

"In cases of interment [of the Mexican kings], the deceased was deposited in the grave seated on a throne, in full array, *facing the north*, with his property and his victims around him."[260]

The assertion of Hwui Shăn as to the existence of two places of confinement, one in the north and the other in the south, is therefore fully confirmed.

There is a difficulty in explaining the statement as to the children that are made slaves, and in my opinion it may be found that its source lies in the character P'EI, 配, which I have translated "mate." The word means "to compare, to place together, to pair, to match,[1475] to couple with, to unite,"[1874] and hence frequently refers to marriage, although it is not the character which is generally used for this purpose. There are some traces, however, of an earlier and different meaning. Thus the Japanese use the character not only with the signification above stated, but also with the meaning "to exile, to transport a criminal," and, when it is followed by a character meaning "a place," the compound signifies "a place of banishment (for nobles)."[1475] Professor Williams also gives the phrase 配享千秋 as meaning, "let him enjoy perpetual felicity in Hades."[2454] Here the last three characters mean "to enjoy a thousand seasons," and the reference to Hades must therefore be expressed by the first character.

It therefore seems possible that the character may refer either to a temporary, illegal connection—in which case the children referred to are illegitimate children—or else to the banishment or sending away (to an earthly prison, or to Hades) of the parents; and in the latter case the children would be orphans. In this case it would appear that Hwui Shăn meant to refer to children born before the parents were banished or sent away.

It is a well-known fact that slavery existed among the Mexicans[180] as well as among the nations to the south.[125]

Although it is stated by some authorities that the children of slaves were invariably born free,[180] there is much dispute on the subject, and it is probable that this was a reform introduced by King Nezahualpilli, not long before the coming of the Spaniards.[426] The statement is repeatedly made [176] that parents could sell their children [427] as slaves,[179] and that this was often done, particularly in times of famine.[424]

But little is said as to the condition of either orphans or illegitimate children; it is stated, however, that the latter were not allowed to share in the property or the dignities of their father,[670] and that they were excluded from all public offices.[526] Brasseur de Bourbourg [667] and Bancroft [270] both state that victims for sacrifices were chosen from among the young boys, from six to twelve years of age, born among them, but of illegitimate birth. De Olmos defines the word *tlanamiqui*, "he who is born a slave or bastard," [1992] thus indicating that the two conditions were practically identical; and las Casas, speaking of the permission given to the Spaniards to demand a certain number of slaves from the Indian chiefs, says that the latter [925] seized the children of their households to furnish the number demanded, after having disposed of all the orphans, who were sacrificed first. De Landa also states that in Yucatan *the orphans who had been reduced to slavery* were induced to carry their complaint to the monks.[1692]

If, therefore, Hwui Shăn meant to refer either to illegitimate children, or to orphans who were left behind when their parents were banished to the place of confinement in the north (i. e., to the land of the dead), it seems quite possible that his statement, that they were made slaves, is true.

There is nothing to show the exact age when slave-children were compelled to commence active labour, but it may reasonably be supposed to have been at about the same age as that at which their more fortunate companions were first sent to school. Cortez states this age to have been "seven or eight years," [1103] which is the same as the custom in Japan [1372] and China. Brasseur de Bourbourg says: [668] "At the age of *seven* years the father brings his son to the priest, and shows him how to draw blood from various parts of his body," and [669] "the young girls are also brought to the temple at the age of *eight* years."

It will be observed that in this case the age of the girl is

one year greater than that of the boy, just as it is in Hwui Shăn's statement, but that the ages are seven and eight years instead of eight and nine. This difference is explained by the fact that Buddha allowed the age to be counted from the date of conception,[1194] instead of that of birth; and that in Japan, and (as I was informed by the late Professor Williams) in China also, all children born during the year, even as late as the last day of the twelfth month, are considered as being one year of age on the next New Year's day.[1681] Hence, children, whom the Spaniards would call seven and eight years old, would be described by the Chinese as eight and nine years of age, and the ages mentioned by Hwui Shăn are thus brought into exact accord with those named by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg.

XVII.—FOR A SINGLE CRIME (or a crime of the first magnitude), ONLY ONE PERSON (the culprit) WAS HIDDEN (or sent) AWAY. FOR TWO CRIMES (or a crime of the second magnitude), THE CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN WERE INCLUDED IN THE PUNISHMENT. FOR THREE CRIMES (or a crime of the third magnitude), SEVEN GENERATIONS WERE INCLUDED IN THE PUNISHMENT.

The "seven generations," to which reference is made, probably included the parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents, the criminal himself, with his wife, brothers and sisters, and his children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren.

This custom of punishing not only the criminal, but also his relatives, when a heinous crime has been committed, exists in Asia. Thus Hardy says that,[1460] if one man strikes another in the street, he is merely fined for the offense; but if he were to strike the king, his hands and feet, and then his head, would be cut off, and all his relatives, both on the side of his father and mother, to the seventh degree of relationship, would be destroyed.

As to the existence of this custom in Mexico, Clavigero says[1074] that the traitor to the king or to the state was torn in pieces, and his relatives, who knew of his treason and did not make it known in time, were deprived of liberty.

Ixtlilxochitl writes[219] that the children and relations of the traitor were enslaved till the fifth generation.

Bancroft[178] repeats these statements,[202] and the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg states that[644] the robbery of sacred things, profa-

nation of the temples, and insult to the ministers of religion or to the person of the monarch, were considered as high treason, and that the culprit was punished with death, his goods were confiscated to the public treasury, and his family declared infamous. In another place he mentions that [671] the property of every man condemned to death is confiscated to the public treasury, and that his wife and children are sold as slaves, without regard to the rank to which they may have belonged, while [673] all treason against the state or the sovereign, the discovery of the secrets of the government, or desertion to the enemy, brings the penalty of death down upon the culprit; his wife and children being sold, and his goods confiscated.

He adds that [672] the vassal who runs away from his master or his lord, if he is captured, is put to death, and his wife and children are reduced to slavery.

Fig. 14 is a fac-simile of an illustration of a Mexican manuscript, contained in the collection of Mendoza, preserved in the Bodleian Library of Oxford, and copied by Lord Kingsborough in the first volume of his "Antiquities of Mexico." The explanation is given in vol. vi [1646]—and in a French work entitled "Histoire du Mexique," published without name of author, date, or place—that the central figure represents a cacique who rebelled against Montezuma, and who, having been conquered, was strangled by two executioners. The figures at the right are those of his wife and son, and the "collars" upon their necks show that they have been reduced to slavery. In fact they indicate that their wearers were reduced to a particularly severe form of slavery, to which, as a rule, only the vilest were condemned.[283]

Fig. 14.—Punishment of a criminal, by the Aztecs.

XVIII.—For a father, mother, wife, or son they mourn for seven days, without eating. For a grandfather or grandmother they mourn for five days, without eating. For an elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother or father's younger brother, or for the corresponding female relatives, or for an elder sister or younger sister, three days, without eating. They set up an image of the spirit (of the deceased person), and reverence it, and offer libations to it morning and evening. In their mourning usages they do not wear mourning-garments or mourning-badges. A king who inherits the throne does not occupy himself with the affairs of the government for the first three years after his accession.

According to Brasseur de Bourbourg,[646] the Mayas had a horrible fear of death. When they had lost a relative, they wept for four days together, maintaining a sorrowful silence during the day-time, and spending the nights in dolorous wailings. During this time the wife of the deceased, if she was nursing a child, retained her milk, not permitting the child to suckle; the fifth day a priest came to say that the dead was with the gods, and that it was time to proceed with his funeral. De Landa adds that they observed abstinences and fasts for the deceased, especially in the case of a husband who mourned the loss of his wife.[1693]

For the death of a chief, or any of his family, the Pipiles lamented for four days, silently by day and with loud cries by night. At dawn, on the fifth day, the high-priest publicly forbade the people to make any further demonstration of sorrow, saying that the soul of the departed was now with the gods.[282] In Michoacan all remained seated, for five days, with bowed heads, without uttering a word, except the grandees, who went in turn by night to watch and mourn at the grave.[264] Upon the graves were placed flags, ornaments, and various offerings of food, during the four days of mourning. Visits of condolence, with attendant feasting, extended over a period of several days, however.[261] The dead had a difficult road to travel before reaching their future abode, which was on the fifth day after the burial.[255] On that day, before daybreak, a grand procession formed for the temple.[257]

If a Mexican merchant was killed by the enemy while he was

on a journey, his family made a mannikin of splinters of pine, such as were used for torches. These were fastened together and covered with cloth. When made, the puppet was clothed with the garments of the defunct, and then was carried to the temple. Here it was left for all of one day, during which his friends wept over it as if it were the real corpse of the deceased merchant. At midnight the mannikin was taken and burned in the court of Quauhxicalco and the ashes were interred as usual."[711]

Although cremation was frequently resorted to in later days, it seems to have been, at the time of the invasion by the Spaniards, a comparatively recent custom, and it is asserted that the Toltecs who remained in the country after the destruction of the empire adhered to interment, as did the early Chichimecs.[258]

According to Clavigero, when a king died they cut off some of his hair, which, with some that had been cut off in his infancy, they preserved in a little box, to perpetuate, as they stated, the memory of the deceased. Upon the box they placed the image of the deceased, made of wood, or else of stone.[1070]

Brasseur de Bourbourg says that,[709] as soon as a king died, a statue was always made in his image and placed upon the bed of state.[256] The chiefs of the senate, having the Cihuacohuatl at their head, first paid their homage to it. It was then stripped of its garments, and, after being washed from head to foot with blue water, was reclothed and crowned with a diadem ornamented with a heron's plume. The singers approached it in turn, having their faces tinted blue, and bearing flowers and perfumes in their hands, to chant the praises of the king. . . . Both the body and the statue were then transported to the temple of Huitzilopochtli.

Bancroft gives the following account of the obsequies of a king or chief:[259] "When the body had been thoroughly burned, the fire was quenched, the blood collected from the victims being used for this purpose, according to Duran, and the ashes, sprinkled with holy water, were placed with the charred bones, stones, and melted jewelry, in the urn or casket, which contained also the hair of the deceased. On the top of this was placed a statue of wood or stone, attired in the royal habiliments, and bearing the mask and insignia, and the casket was deposited, at the feet of the patron deity, in the chapel. On the return of the procession,

a grand banquet was given to the guests, ending as usual with a presentation of gifts. For four days the mourners paid constant visits to the shrine, to manifest their sorrow, and to present the offerings of food, clothes, or jewels."

In Yucatan, people of condition made wooden statues of their parents, of which the occiput was hollow; they burned a part of the body, and deposited the ashes in this receptacle, and closed the opening. They preserved these statues, with much veneration, among the idols, and kept both statues and idols in the oratorios of their houses, where they were looked upon with tenderness as well as reverence. On all feast-days and days of general rejoicing they made offerings of food to them.[1694]

It is manifest from these statements that the Mexicans and natives of Yucatan had a well-defined period of mourning, which was usually of five days' duration. The early chroniclers would hardly have paid attention to the deaths of the common people; and the customs of the indigenes were so soon swept out of existence, that periods of seven days' mourning for the nearer relatives, and three days for the more distant, may have existed unnoticed.

The practice of making an image of the dead, which is mentioned by Hwui Shăn, and the reverence bestowed upon it, recall a similar custom existing in China, which is probably to be found in other Asiatic countries also. From the quotations given above, it appears that this custom, with some modification and distortion, survived in America until the sixteenth century.

As no mention of the use of mourning-garments in Mexico is made by any of the historians, it is evident that the Aztecs did not wear them. In China the mourning-dress consists of coarse, unbleached linen robes and a white girdle.[994] This reference to the absence of mourning-garments is conclusive proof that Fu-sang can not have been any part of Japan; for, as will be hereafter shown, the Japanese used them from the earliest dates mentioned in their histories. Klaproth must have been acquainted with this fact, and it is, therefore, somewhat amusing to observe the discretion which he exhibited in omitting from his translation the clause which states that mourning-garments were not worn in Fu-sang.

The custom of prohibiting the king from actively engaging in government affairs, for some time after his accession to the

throne, was probably of Asiatic origin. At the time of the Spanish conquest, it was the rule in Mexico that,[425] before the coronation of a new monarch could be celebrated with fitting solemnity, and in a manner worthy of his predecessors, victims for sacrifice must be captured in large numbers ; it had become an established custom for each newly elected king to undertake, in person, a campaign with the sole object of procuring captives,[161] and it was always required that he should obtain some victory over his enemies, or reduce some neighbouring or rebellious province to subjection, before he could be crowned, or ascend the royal throne.[2356] Special mention is made of an expedition of this nature against the Chalcas, undertaken by Montezuma before his coronation.[423]

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE INTRODUCTION OF ASIATIC CIVILIZATION.—(*Concluded.*)

The colour of the king's garments—Colours in Asia—Green and blue confounded—The dyes used by the Mexicans—Changes of the king's garments—Dresses of different colours for different occasions—Various species of mantles worn—Changes because of superstitious ideas—Length of the "year"—Divisions of the day—The marriage ceremonies—Chinese customs—Mexican customs attributed to Quetzalcoatl—Mexican weddings—The horse-carts, cattle-carts, and deer-carts—Difficulties of this passage—Explanations suggested—The introduction of the horse into America—Extinct species of horses in America—Indian traditions—Name may have been applied to some other animal—Mirage—The Buddhist description of the "three carts" or "three vehicles."

HAVING thus examined the account of the king's coronation, we may now turn back to the description of his clothing.

XIX.—THE COLOUR OF THE KING'S GARMENTS IS CHANGED ACCORDING TO THE MUTATIONS OF THE YEARS. THE FIRST AND SECOND YEARS (of a ten-year cycle) THEY ARE BLUE (or green); THE THIRD AND FOURTH YEARS THEY ARE RED; THE FIFTH AND SIXTH YEARS, YELLOW; THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH YEARS, WHITE; AND THE NINTH AND TENTH YEARS, BLACK.

This connection between certain colours and the divisions of time exists among a great number of the nations of Asia, and the order of enumeration of the colours is, usually, exactly that above named, i. e., blue, red, yellow, white, and black.[934] Klaproth[1649] mentions the same symbolism of the years of a ten-year cycle, by the five colours above named, among the Mongols, that Hwui Shăn says was recognized by the dress of the king of Fu-sang. The ten years were by the Tartars designated respectively by the colours blue and bluish, red and reddish, yellow and yellowish, white and whitish, and black and blackish. Huc, also, repeats the statement that,[1576] among the Tartars and Thibetans, the signs of the denary cycle are expressed by the

names of the five elements repeated twice, or by the names of the five colours with their shades.

The Chinese emperor, acting as a high-priest,[977] when he worships heaven, wears robes of azure colour, in allusion to the sky. When he worships the earth, his robes are yellow, to represent the clay of this earthly clod. When the sun is the object, his dress is red ; and for the moon he wears a pale white.

Neither the Chinese nor the Mexicans discriminated between different colours to a refined extent, both failing to distinguish green from blue,[814] and the two colours are therefore, in both languages, designated by the same word.

Brinton says that in Central America[814] the names of the five main colours are constantly recurring as signs and metaphors. They are white, black, red, green, and yellow. The poverty of this list was eked out by certain terminations which modified the force of the root indicating that the colour was light or shaded toward white.

It is almost impossible to doubt that the coincidence of the connection of the divisions of time with five colours in a certain order, which existed both in Asia and Fu-sang, must have been the result of the introduction of the custom into Fu-sang from Asia—probably by the five Buddhist priests themselves.

In the preparation of dyes and paints by the Mexicans, mineral, animal, and vegetable colours were all employed, the latter extracted from woods, barks, leaves, flowers, and fruits. In the art of dyeing they probably excelled the Europeans, and many of their dyes have, since the conquest, been introduced throughout the world. Chief among these was the cochineal, *nochiztle*, an insect fed by the Nahuas on the leaves of the nopal, from which they obtained beautiful and permanent red and purple colours for their cotton fabrics. The flower of the *matlalxihuitl* supplied blue shades ; indigo was the sediment of water in which branches of the *xiuhquilipitzahuac* had been soaked ; seeds of the *achiotl* boiled in water yielded a red, the French *roucou ;* ocher, or *tecozahuitl*, furnished yellow, as did also the plant *xochipalli*, the latter being changed to orange by the use of nitre ; other shades were produced by the use of alum ; the stones *chimaltizatl* and *tizatlalu*, being calcined, produced something like Spanish white ; black was obtained from a stinking mineral, *tlaliac*, or from the soot of a pine, called *ocotl*.[233]

Sahagun[2205] gives a long description of the colours and dyes used by the Mexicans, and says that[2219] they include cochineal and several other red colours, yellow and a light golden colour, black, indigo and other blues and greens, violet, and fawn colour. Palacio tells us of priestly robes in Salvador of different colours, black, blue, green, red, and yellow.[273]

It is said that among the Mexicans the king changed his dress four times each day, and that a dress once worn could never be used again.[163] Concerning this custom, Peter Martyr, translated into the quaintest of English, writes : "Arising from his bed, he is cloathed after one manner, as he commeth forthe to bee seene, and returning backe into his chamber after he hath dined, he changeth his garments ; and when he commeth forthe againe to supper hee taketh another, and returning back againe the fourth, which he weareth vntill he goe to bed. But concerning his garments, which he changeth every day, many of them that returned have reported the same vnto me with their owne mouth ; but howsoeuer it be, all agree in the changing of garments, that being once taken into the wardrope, they are there piled vp on heaps, not likely to see the face of Muteczuma any more."

In fact, there appears to have been a different dress for every occasion.[208] We are told, for instance, that when going to the temple the king wore a white mantle, another when going to preside at the court of justice, and here he again changed his dress, according as the case before the court was a civil or criminal suit. Sahagun also states that the king, when offering incense to the god Huitzilopochtli, during the ceremony of anointment, was dressed in a tunic of dark-green cloth. The veil was also of green cloth, ornamented with skulls and bones, and, in addition to the articles described by other writers, this author mentions that they placed dark-green sandals upon his feet. ("Hist. Gen.," tome ii, p. 319.)[160]

Cortez says that Muteczuma was dressed every day in four different suits, entirely new, which he never wore a second time ;[1104] but Diaz makes the much more probable statement that[1201] a garment which the Mexican king had worn one day was not permitted to be brought to him again earlier than after four days.

Sahagun,[2204] in the eighth chapter of his eighth book, describes sixteen species of mantles used for clothing the kings. A first species, very rich, called *coaxayacayo tilmatli* (i. e., a

cloak with the figures of serpents), is of a reddish colour, covered with silver circles, bearing upon a red field a figure of a monster or a demon. The border is fringed and ornamented within with figures like the letters S S, contained in little squares alternated with others that are destitute of ornaments. On the ends this fringe has small massive balls not very near to one another. The kings wear these mantles, and give them to personages of eminence, and to men who have distinguished themselves in war, with permission to wear them. They also wear other mantles, called *teccizyo tilmatli* (i. e., a mantle with large shells), which are given this name because they are woven with designs representing sea-shells in red *tochomitl* upon a field representing the waves of the sea figured in light blue. This mantle is bordered by a first band, half light blue and half dark blue, and by a second band of white feathers, with a fringe of red *tochomitl*, not fringed out, but pierced with small holes.

They also wear another mantle, called *temalcacayo tilmatli tenixio* (i. e., a mantle having mill-stones and with a border of eyes). It is made of a cloth with a reddish-brown ground, in which there are woven designs representing a sort of mill-wheel, of which the circumference is black ; a circle, made of a larger white band, is inscribed ; in the center there is a small ring surrounded by another of a black colour. There are twelve of these figures grouped together, three and three, and forming a square. The border of this mantle is formed by a fringe in which eyes are represented upon a black ground. It is on this account that it is called *tenixio*.

They also wear another mantle, called *itzcoayo tilmatli* (i. e., a mantle with obsidian serpents). It has six saw-like figures placed, two upon each side and two in the middle, upon a reddish field. Between these groups there are figures like the letters S S alternating with others like O O. The remainder of the entire design consists of two bands upon a fawn-coloured field. A fringe extends all about the mantle, with a lace-work of feathers upon a black field.

They also wear a mantle, called *ome tetecomayo tilmatli* (i. e., a mantle having two vases), which is strewed with representations of very beautiful and very rich vases, with three feet, and ornamented with two wings like those of butterflies. The lower part is round, and red and black in colour. The wings are green,

with a yellow border and three small rings of the same colour in each. The neck of this vase has the form of the ornaments of the vestments of a marquis, surmounted by four small staves embroidered with blue and red feathers. The designs of the vases are represented upon a white field. This mantle has upon its border, in front, two red bands, which cross the white bands close together, two and two.

We will not describe the other mantles, as they are commonly worn by all the world. But it is important that we should call attention to the skill of the women whose trade it is to weave them. It is they who trace the designs, when manufacturing the cloth, and weave the coloured thread in place according to the design ; taking care to weave in the same fashion that they have designed, and changing the shade of the thread in conformity with the pattern which they follow.

They wear other mantles, called *papaloyo tilmatli tenixio* (i. e., mantles which have butterflies and borders furnished with eyes), which have a reddish ground, upon which butterflies are woven in white feathers, each bearing a human eye upon the middle of its body. These butterflies are placed in a row, reaching from one corner of the mantle to the other, the edge being terminated by a border bearing eyes woven upon a black ground, with a red fringe pierced with small holes.

They also wear another mantle, covered with flowers called *ecacozcatl*, grouped in threes, and separated by small bouquets of white feathers woven in the stuff. This mantle is ornamented all around by a fringe and feathers, with a border of eyes. It is called *xaualquauhyo tilmatli tenixio* (i. e., a mantle having an ornament of eagle feathers and a border garnished with eyes).

They wear other mantles, called *ocelotentlapalli yitic ica ocelotl* (i. e., having a tiger within, and a red-coloured border). A tiger's skin is figured in the center of these, and for a border they have a red band terminated exteriorly by a web of white feathers.

The said mantles are worn because of superstitious ideas. There is among them one called *ixneztlaciulolli* (i. e., that which is worked in a manner very apparent), and another called *ollin*, upon which the sun is figured in different colours and embroideries.

The sentence in italics, above, shows that the changes in the

dress of the monarchs were connected, in some way, with their religious belief, and it seems that the different mantles were used as symbols.

Prescott says that the dress of the courier denoted by its colour the nature of the tidings that he brought,[2064] thus indicating that his dress also was governed by a similar symbolism. Bancroft, quoting from Zuago,[262] mentions similar changes of garments, even in the case of the wrappings of a corpse. The statement is that the corpse was decorated with feathers of various colours, and seated in a chair to receive the expressions of sorrow and respect of friends, and their humble offerings of flowers, food, or dresses. After a couple of hours a second set of shrouders removed the garments, washed the body again, redressed it in red mantles, with feathers of the same colour, and left it to be viewed for an hour or more, according to the number of the visitors. A third time the body was washed by a fresh corps of attendants, and arrayed, this time, in black garments, with feathers of the same somber colour. These suits were either given to the temple or buried with the body.

In the case of the customs of courtship, the doubt was expressed as to whether Hwui Shăn may not have intended to indicate some other period of time than a year by the character 年. The very similar character 午 is used for noon,[1876] or the time from 11 A. M. to 1 P. M.,[2575] and, although there is no proof that the one first above given ever meant anything else than a year, I can not help thinking that Hwui Shăn may have used it to denote the fractional parts either of a day or of the Mexican week of five days.[241]

The Javanese, who, like the Mexicans, had a week of five days, consider the names of the days of their native week to have a mystical relation to colours, and to the divisions of the horizon. According to this whimsical interpretation, the first means white and the east; the second, red and the south; the third, yellow and the west; the fourth, black and the north; and the fifth, mixed colour and the focus or center.[1134]

The Mexicans had not only a week of five days, but also had an accurate system of dividing the day into fixed periods, corresponding somewhat to our hours.[234]

The day commenced with sunrising, and was divided into eight portions of time, a division recognized by the Hindus,

Romans, etc.[1850] The hours of the night were regulated by the stars,[2595] and the ministers of the temple, whose duty it was to watch them, sounded certain instruments like trumpets, by which the town was informed of the time.

Among both the Mayas and the Mexicans, the natural day is divided into four principal parts; the first commences at the rising of the sun, and closes at noon. Noon is called by names which, both in Maya and in Aztec, signify the center or middle of the day. *Oc na kin*, in Yucatan, and *Quaqui Tonatiuh*, in Mexico, designate the commencement of the night, and *Chumuc Akab* and *Yohual Nepantla* the hour of midnight. Each of these four parts is subdivided again into two other equal parts, which correspond to nine o'clock in the morning and three o'clock in the afternoon, nine o'clock at night and three o'clock in the morning. Gama remarks that, besides these subdivisions, the civil day is divided into sixteen parts, each having its own name; eight for the day and eight for the night. They commenced at the rising of the sun, as among most of the nations of Asia.[693]

Now, although it may be admitted that some of the customs existing in Mexico in the sixteenth century do not precisely correspond with the statements of Hwui Shăn, it seems to be conclusively proved that, in each case, the Spaniards found in Mexico something very much like the custom described by the Buddhist traveler; and I can not help thinking that the differences are no greater than would be naturally produced by the gradual changes which would inevitably occur during the period of more than a thousand years.

XX.—THE MARRIAGE CEREMONIES ARE, FOR THE MOST PART, LIKE THOSE OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM (i. e., China).

In China there are six ceremonies which constitute a regular marriage:[2502]

1. The father and elder brother of the young man send a go-between to the father and brother of the girl, to inquire her name and the moment of her birth, that the horoscope of the two may be examined, in order to ascertain whether the proposed alliance will be a happy one.

2. If so, the young man's friends send the *mei-jin* (go-between) back to make an offer of marriage.

3. If that be accepted, the second party is again requested to put their assent in writing.

4. Presents are then sent to the girl's parents, according to the means of the parties.

5. The go-between requests them to choose a lucky day for the wedding ; and,

6. The preliminaries are concluded by the bridegroom going, or sending a party of his friends, with music, to bring the bride to his own house.

The principal formalities of marriage are everywhere the same,[2503] but local customs are observed in some regions which are quite unknown, and appear very singular, elsewhere. In Fuhkien, when the lucky day for the wedding comes, the guests assemble in the bridegroom's house to celebrate it, where also sedans, a band of music, and porters are in readiness. The courier, who acts as guide to the chair-bearers, takes the lead of the procession, and, in order to prevent the onset of malicious demons lurking in the road, a baked hog or large piece of pork is carried in front, that it may safely pass while they are devouring the meat. Meanwhile the bride arrays herself in her best dress and richest jewels. Her girlish tresses have already been bound up, and her hair arranged by a matron, with all due formality ; an ornamental and complicated head-dress, made of rich materials, not unlike a helmet or corona, often forms part of her coiffure. Her person is nearly covered by a large mantle, over which is an enormous hat, like an umbrella, that descends to the shoulders and shades the whole figure. Thus attired, she takes her seat in the red gilt marriage sedan, called *hwa-kiau*, borne by four men, in which she is completely concealed. This is locked by her mother or some other relative, and the key given to one of the bridemen, who hands it to the bridegroom, or his representative, on reaching the house.

The procession is now rearranged, with the addition of as many red boxes to contain her wardrobe, kitchen-utensils, and the feast, as the means of the family, or the extent of her paraphernalia, require. As the procession approaches the bridegroom's house, the courier hastens forward to announce its coming ; whereupon the music at his door strikes up, and fire-crackers are let off until she enters the gate. As she approaches the door, the bridegroom conceals himself, and the go-between brings forward a young child to salute her, while she goes to seek the closeted bridegroom. He approaches her with becoming gravity,

and opens the sedan to hand out his bride, she still retaining the hat and mantle ; they approach the ancestral tablet, which they salute with three bows, and then seat themselves at a table upon which there are two cups of spirits. The go-between serves them, though the bride can only make the motions of drinking, as the large hat completely covers her face. They soon retire into a chamber, where the husband takes the hat and mantle from his wife, and sees her, perhaps, for the first time in his life.

The bridal procession is as showy and stylish as the means of the parties will allow,[2504] consisting of friends, a band of music, sedans, and boxes containing the marriage-feast and other things, all of them painted red, and their bearers wearing red jackets. The tablets of literary rank held by members of the family, wooden dragons' heads, titular lanterns, and other official insignia, are borne in the procession, which, with all these additions, sometimes stretches along for a quarter of a mile or more. In some cases, an old man elegantly dressed heads the procession, bearing a large umbrella to hold over the bride when she enters and leaves the sedan ; behind him come bearers with tablets and lanterns, one of which bears the inscription, "The phœnixes sing harmoniously." To these succeed the music and the honourary tablets, titular flags, state umbrella, etc., and two stout men as executioners, dressed in a fantastic manner, wearing long feathers in their caps, and lictors, chain-bearers, and other emblems of office. Parties of young lads, prettily dressed, and playing on drums, gongs, and flutes, or carrying lanterns and banners, occasionally form a pleasing variety in the train, which is continued by the trays and covered tables containing the bride's *trousseau*, and ended with the sedan containing herself.

The ceremonies attending her reception at her husband's house are not uniform. In some parts of the country she is lifted out of the sedan, over a pan of charcoal placed in the court, and carried into her chamber. After a brief interval she returns into the hall, bearing a tray of betel-nuts for the guests, and then worships a pair of geese, brought in the train with her husband—this bird being an emblem of conjugal affection. On returning to her chamber, the bridegroom follows her, and takes off the red veil, after which they pledge each other in wine, the cups being joined by a thread. While there, a matron who has borne several children to one husband comes in to pronounce a

blessing upon them, and make up the nuptial bed. The assembled guests then sit down to the feast, and ply the *sin lang*, "new man," or bridegroom, pretty well with liquor; the Chinese on such occasions do not, however, overpass the rules of sobriety. The *sin fu-jin*, "new lady," or bride, and her mother-in-law also attend to those of her own sex, who are present in other apartments; but among the poor a pleasanter sight is now and then seen in all the guests sitting at one table.

In the morning, the pair worship the ancestral tablets, and salute all the members of the family. The pledging of the bride and groom in a cup of wine, and their worship of the ancestral tablets, and in some cases a united prostration to his parents, may be considered as the important ceremonies of a wedding after the procession has reached the house. Marriage processions are heard at all hours, though twilights and evenings are considered the most propitious; the spring season, or the last month in the year, being regarded as the most felicitous nuptial periods. The Chinese do not marry another woman with these observances while the first one is living; but they may bring home concubines, with no other formality than a contract with her parents.

The foregoing account is from Professor Williams's work entitled "The Middle Kingdom." A very similar description of the marriage ceremonies of the country will also be found in the "Chinese Repository." [1032]

The ceremonies of marriage which were in use among the Aztecs were attributed to Quetzalcoatl, the mysterious stranger to whom most of their civilization and of their arts was also attributed.[823] (See Veytia, cap. xvii, in Lord Kingsborough's work.)

The laws of Mexico and those of Michoacan severely prohibit all marriages between relatives of the first degree, either by consanguinity or affinity, except between a brother-in-law and sister-in-law.[706] The father, having made choice of a wife for his son, first consults the priests, and, if the prognostics are unfavourable, he looks for another. Certain female go-betweens, named *cihuatlanque*, demand her of her parents, repeating their overtures two or three times, and offering presents, until the latter respond to their requests. On the day of the wedding, the father and mother of the betrothed give her a long discourse upon conjugal fidelity and obedience, and exhort her to honourable conduct. Finally

they conduct her in pomp to the house of her future husband. The latter comes forth to meet them with his relatives, preceded by four women bearing torches, and the two parties, when they meet, scatter perfume upon each other from their censers. The young man then takes his bride by the hand and leads her into his house, and they sit down together upon a mat placed in the middle of the room, having a lighted brazier before them; a priest ties one end of the gown of the bride to the extremity of the mantle of the bridegroom, this ceremony being the true essence of the matrimonial contract. After this they walk together around the hearth or brazier seven times and throw into it some grains of copal, and return to sit upon the mat, where they offer presents to each other. The banquet then takes place—the guests eating with the relatives, while the young couple remain upon their mat and wait upon each other.

McCulloh,[1849] Sahagun,[2198] and Bancroft[181] all give substantially the same account of the marriage ceremonies in Mexico, and it can not be denied that they present a great similarity to those of China, although they are mixed, as will hereafter be shown, with some of the customs of India.

XXI.—They have horse-carts, cattle-carts, and deer-carts.

This is the statement which has usually been relied upon to prove that Fu-sang could not have been located in America, and that it must have been situated in some part of Japan; and yet it is just as untrue of Japan as of America, for the Japanese have had no roads upon which carts of any nature could be used, and, until very lately,[1314] the only vehicle employed in traveling in Japan was the palanquin. In fact, there has never been a country in which horse-carts, cattle-carts, and deer-carts were all in common use at the same time. A nation possessing horses would not be likely to employ deer as draught animals; and the only countries in which deer (i. e., reindeer) are employed are countries in which horses and cattle could not well be used.

The statement in question might therefore be used in support of the hypothesis of the utter falsity of Hwui Shăn's story. So many of the details mentioned by him are shown to be true, however, that it is impossible to entertain this theory. The only alternative is, therefore, to believe that the statement does not correctly convey the idea which he meant to express.

A number of explanations may be given, no one of which is very satisfactory, and yet it is infinitely easier to accept some one of them, or to believe that an explanation of some kind will hereafter be found for the statement, than to think that Hwui Shán can have invented the account of his travels.

First.—The character CH'E, 車, translated "carts," may possibly have been used as a sign of the plural. One of its meanings is, "to be piled up, heaped up by laying one upon another, to increase in number by adding one to another," [1483] and it is used as the numeral for things placed one above another, as boxes, stairs of a tower, or folds of cloth.[1481] The character 重, differing from it by only the addition of two strokes, is employed as the classifier of "heavens." [1029] The character 束 (also very similar) means "a concourse, a sign of the plural of persons, an adjective of number, much, many, all ; [2525] but it should precede the noun. PÉI, 輩, or 輩, means "a class, a sort, things, kinds," [2553] and is a sign of the plural,[1875] or, as Summers expresses it, is one of the characters "used after nominal notions to express plurality." [2407] Still another similar character, 軍, KIŬN, means "numerous, many, a legion,[1872] an army, troops." [2461]

It is possible that the character may have originally been some one of those above named, and that the text may have been corrupted so as to read 車.

Second.—Some of the characters may have been used as phonetics, instead of with their usual meaning. Thus the phrase may have been meant for "they have MA-CH'E-NIU armies, or deer-armies"; in which case, if the third character is pronounced LIU (*l* and *n* being frequently interchanged by the Chinese), it might possibly be considered as an attempt to transcribe the Mexican word "mazatl," meaning deer.[1513]

Third.—It is well known that, at the time of the invasion by the Spaniards, the Mexicans had no horses, or other beasts of burden,[755] and that their only way of transporting property was by the use of porters.[229] In New Mexico,[1754] dogs were used to carry burdens.[1288] They were the only animals pressed into the service of the natives of North America, and they merely dragged along the tent-poles, with possibly a few articles laid upon them ; nothing of the nature of a vehicle having ever been known.[1859] The horse was introduced into America from Spain.[13] Nevertheless, there seems a bare possibility that this animal may

have existed in America fourteen hundred years ago. Professor Leidy says:[1975] "The horse did not exist in America at the time of its discovery by Europeans; but its remains, consisting chiefly of molar-teeth, have now been so frequently found in association with those of rodent animals, that it is generally admitted to have once been an aboriginal inhabitant. When I first saw examples of these remains, I was not disposed to view them as relics of an extinct species; for, although some presented characteristic differences from those of previously known species, others were indistinguishable from the corresponding parts of the domestic horse, and among them were intermediate varieties of form and size. The subsequent discovery of the remains of two species of the closely allied extinct genus *Hipparion*, in addition to the discovery of the remains of two extinct equine genera (*Anchitherium* and *Merychippus*) of an earlier geological period, leaves no room to doubt the former existence of the horse on the American Continent, contemporaneously with the mastodon and megalonyx; and man probably was his companion."

In another place Professor Leidy says that,[1709] though no indigenous species of horse appears to have existed on the American Continent during the period of man, a number of them inhabited the country just previously and contemporaneously with the great mastodon, the elephant, etc. The name of *Equus fraternus* has been proposed for a species, based on remains found in association with those of the mastodon, etc., although they are neither distinguishable in size nor details of form from corresponding parts in the domestic horse.

The proof will be presented in another chapter, that a species of elephant or mastodon probably existed in America up to quite a recent period, and the horse also may have lived during the same time, and have recently become extinct.

Professor Powers says that,[2060] many hundreds of years ago, according to the old Indians, there existed on earth a horse and a mare which were extremely small. The Indians called them by a name (*sá-to-wats*), which they at once applied to the first horses brought by the Spaniards. They perished long before white men ever saw California. It is possible that these liliputian ponies of the Indian fable were the extinct species of horse of which the remains have been discovered by Mr. Condon, in Oregon.

Mr. E. L. Berthoud, in an article entitled "The American Horse,"[598] contained in the "Kansas City Review," for November, 1881, mentions reasons for believing that horses were found in South America soon after the discovery of the country, and at a time and place when and where it is difficult to believe that they could have been the progeny of any horses that could have been introduced into the country from Europe.

Fourth.—It is possible that the name "horse" may have been applied by Hwui Shăn to some other indigenous animal; or that he may have seen a troop of far-off animals, and, because of the great distance, or because of a mirage, have mistaken them for horses. Marcy says that[1785] the very extraordinary refraction of the atmosphere upon the elevated American plateaus causes objects in the distance to be distorted into the most wild and fantastic forms, and often exaggerated to many times their true size. A raven, for instance, would present the appearance of a man walking erect, and an antelope often be mistaken for a horse or a buffalo. James states that[1612] nothing is more difficult than to estimate by the eye the distance of objects seen in these plains. A small animal, as a wolf or turkey, sometimes appears of the magnitude of a horse, on account of an erroneous impression of distance. Three elks, which were the first he had seen, crossed his path at some distance before him. The effect of the *mirage*, together with his indefinite idea of the distance, magnified these animals to a most prodigious size. For a moment he thought he saw the mastodon of America moving in those vast plains, which seem to have been created for his dwelling-place. An animal seen for the first time, or any object with which the eye is unacquainted, usually appears much enlarged, and inaccurate ideas are formed of the magnitude and distance of all the surrounding objects.

Some of the early explorers say that wild horses existed in Newfoundland prior to the year 1600,[30] while others mention goats and wild swine in Canada, and monkeys and apes in Virginia; all of these statements being evidently erroneous. Elks[28] are called cows or buffaloes,[29] and there is scarcely a conceivable case of misunderstanding or misnomer into which some of the first explorers did not fall.

Montezuma,[460] and the Mexicans generally,[454] called the horses of the Spaniards "gigantic deer." Some of the Indians with

whom Cortez left a wounded horse called it a "white tapir"; [1933] and Acosta,[3] Clavigero,[1057] and Charlevoix,[944 941] all compare the tapir to a horse, mule, or ass. Hwui Shăn may have confounded these animals, in the same way, and applied the term "horse" either to some species of deer or to the Central American tapir.

The horse commonly seen in China is a mere pony, not much larger than the Shetland pony; it is bony and strong, but kept with little care, and presents a worse appearance than it would if its hair were trimmed, its fetlocks shorn, and its tail untied.[2489] The antelopes, which are very common in Mexico [1514] and the western part of America,[2472] the females of which are devoid of horns,[1294] may have been compared to these small Chinese horses.

I have mentioned these possibilities, not that I think any of them probable, but merely because the truth *might* lie hidden in some one of them. There is another possible explanation, however, which I think more plausible, although it is not completely satisfactory.

Fifth.—The Chinese Buddhists use the term 三 車, "the three carts," "three carriages," or "three vehicles," for three modes of crossing *sansara* to *nirvana*, as if drawn by sheep, oxen, or deer, which shadow forth the three degrees of saintship; and this term is further used for three developments of Buddhist doctrine.[2523]

One of the notes to the Pilgrimage of Fa Hian says that [1331] the *less translation* and the *great translation* are expressions of such frequent recurrence in the narrative, that it is well to explain their import: *Ta ching*, in Chinese, means the great revolution; *Siao ching*, the little revolution. *Ching* signifies translation, passage from one place to another, revolution, circumference; and also the medium of transport, as a car or riding-horse. Its exact Sanskrit equivalent is *yâna*, and the significations of these two terms are identical. But each of these acquires, with reference to the doctrines of Buddhism, a characteristic and peculiar significance. They are mystical expressions, indicating that influence which the individual soul can and should exercise upon itself in order to effect its transference to a superior condition. As this action, or influence, and its results are of different kinds or degrees, so they are distinguished into two, three, or more *yânas* (in Chinese, *ching;* in Mongol, *kulgun*); and, according as his efforts are directed to the attainment of greater or less

perfection, the Sanga (Buddhist priest) belongs to the *less*, the *mean*, or the *great translation.*

The *vehiculum*, which is common to all the *translations*, is the contemplation of the four realities, namely : pain, reunion, death, and the doctrine, and that of the twelve concatenations. By this means man is transported beyond the boundary of the three worlds, and the circle of birth and death. Strictly speaking, there is but one translation, that of Buddha, the practice of which is enjoined upon all living beings, that they may escape from the troubled ocean of birth and death, and land on the *other shore*, namely, that of the absolute. Buddha would at once have spread abroad the knowledge of the Law, and taught mankind the *one translation ;* but he found it indispensable to adapt his instructions to the various faculties of those who receive them, and hence arose the different *yânas*, or means of transport. We may, in the first place, distinguish the translations of *disciples* or *auditors* and that of *distinct understandings.* To these must be added a third, that of the *Bodhi-sattwas*, who are beings far more nearly approaching to absolute perfection.

It is to the *Tri yâna* that the double metaphor is applied of the *three cars*, and the three animals swimming a river. The *car* is to be taken here as the emblem of that which advances by revolving, or that which serves as a vehicle ; and the idea is connected to that attached to *yâna*, and the means by which man may escape from the world and enter upon *nirvana.* To the first car is yoked a sheep, an animal which in flight never looks back to see whether it be followed by the rest of the flock ; and thus it represents the *Shrâwakas*, a class of men who seek to escape from the three worlds by the observation of the four realities, but who, occupied wholly with their own salvation, pay no regard to that of other men. The second car is drawn by *deer*, animals that can look back upon the herd which follows them ; this is typical of the *Pratyeka Buddhas*, who, by their knowledge of the twelve *Nidânas*, effect their own emancipation from the circle of the three worlds, and at the same time neglect not the salvation of other men. The third car is drawn by an *ox*, which typifies the *Bodhi-sattwas* of the doctrine of the three *Pitakas*, who practice the six means of salvation, and seek the emancipation of others without regard to themselves, as the ox endures with patience whatever burden is imposed upon him.

A complete exposition of all that is understood by the observance of these various classes would be nothing short of a treatise of Buddhism ; suffice it that these modes of *translation* are so many probationary steps, by which men are led to a higher or a lower grade in the psychological hierarchy extending from inferior beings to the absolute. Explained according to European notions, the *less translation* consists in morality and external religious observances ; the *mean*, in traditional or spontaneous psychological arrangements ; and the *great translation* is an abstruse, refined, and highly mystical theology.

It seems possible that Hwui Shăn may have meant to refer to the "three vehicles" as above defined ; and to say that these people who had been reformed, who had accepted Buddha's doctrines, and some of whom had undertaken to live in monasteries, had been taught the mysteries of these "three translations," "three carts," or "three vehicles."

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE COUNTRY OF WOMEN AND ITS INHABITANTS.

Stories of Amazons—Account of Ptolemy—That of Maundevile—Marco Polo—The Arabs—The Chinese—Similar stories in America—Explanations of these accounts—"Cihuatlan," the Place of Women—The account given by Cortez—Nuño de Guzman—The expedition to Cihuatlan—The monkeys of Southern Mexico—Their resemblance to human beings—Stories of pygmies—Classical tales—Pliny's account—That of Maundevile—The worship of Hanuman in India—Chinese stories—The Wrangling People—The Eloquent Nation—The Long-armed People—"Chu-ju," or the Land of Pygmies—Pygmies in America—Mexican monkeys—Their long locks, queues, or tails—Their migration—Their bickering or chattering—Their rutting-season—The period of gestation—The beginning of the year in China, Tartary, and Mexico—The absence of breasts—Nursing children over the shoulder—Young monkeys carried on their mothers' backs—Long hair at the back of the head—A different translation suggested—Age at which they can walk—That at which they become fully grown—Their timidity—Their devotion to their mates.

Having thus completed the examination of Hwui Shăn's account of Fu-sang, we will next consider his statements regarding a country situated some three hundred miles to the east. These have always been considered so wild and absurd that their supposed falsity has been used as a strong argument for casting discredit upon his whole story.

I.—Hwui Shăn says that the Country of Women is situated a thousand li east of Fu-sang.

It is strange that a story of a region inhabited exclusively by women, situated in some unknown or distant land, has existed in almost every country. The classical accounts of a land of Amazons were believed in up to the time of Columbus, and even later.

Amazonia, as described by Ptolemy in his fifth book, is a region of Scythia. The Amazons are female Scythians, who first dwelt in the country near the river Don. Thence they removed

to a place near the river Terma, and finally they conquered a great part of Asia by their arms.[1751]

Maundevile[1827] gives the following account of this mythical country:

"Besyde the Lond of Caldee is the Lond of Amazoyne. And in that Reme is alle Wōmen, and no man; noght, as sūme men seyn, that men mowe not lyve there, but for because that the Wōmen will not suffre no men amonges hem, to ben here Sovereynes. For sum tyme, ther was a Kyng in that Contrey; and men maryed, as in other Contreyes: and so befelle that the Kyng had Werre, with hem of Sithie; the whiche Kyng highte Colopeus, was slayne in Bataylle, and alle the gode Blood of his Reme. And whan the Queen and alle the othere noble Ladyes sawen, that thei weren alle Wydewes, and that alle the rialle Blood was lost, thei armed hem, and as Creatures out of Wytt, thei slowen alle the men of the Contrey, that weren laft. For thei woldē, that alle the Wōmen weren Wydewes, as the Queen and thei weren. And fro that tyme hiderwardes thei nevere wolden suffren man to dwelle amonges hem, lenger than 7 dayes and 7 nyghtes; ne that no Child that were Male, scholde duelle amonges hem, lenger than he were noryscht; and thanne sente to his Fader."

Marco Polo says that,[1818] distant from Kesmacoran about five hundred miles toward the south, in the ocean, there are two islands, within about thirty miles of each other, one of which is inhabited by men without the company of women, which is called the Island of Males, and the other by women without men, which is called the Island of Females.

The Arabs had a similar tradition regarding an "Island of Women."[1195]

The Chinese writings mention many countries of Amazons,[2329] one in particular being known as 女子國, Nü-tsz'-kwoh, and said to be situated to the north of Wu-hien.

In the fabulous account of the origin of Ceylon, detailed by Hiuen Ts'ang, it is stated that two vessels loaded with provisions and necessaries set sail from Southern India, one carrying young men and the other young women. The vessel on which the damsels embarked arrived at the western part of Persia, in a country inhabited by genii. Those who landed had children by their intercourse with the genii, and established the "Great Occidental Kingdom of Women."[1361]

De Paravey,[2013] after enumerating several countries of Amazons mentioned by Chinese writers, says :

"The Chinese books also place an ancient Country of Amazons near the Caspian Sea." "The Chinese texts name them *Niu-mou-yo*, and also, by abbreviation, *Niu-mou*, and in this name the character *mou* is written in three or four different manners ; and it was undoubtedly the same with the character *yo*, which originally accompanied it. If the name is written 女, *Niu*, 莫, *mou*, 乳, *yu*, it signifies 'Women *without Breasts*,' and exactly translates the name given them by the Greeks, *A-mazons* (from ἀ, *without*, and μαζὸς, *breast*)."

It is well known that in America the largest river of the world took its name from a similar story.[2119] In Charlevoix's "History of Paraguay" it is stated that, when Ribera was among a tribe of Indians named the Urtuezez, he examined separately many of the Indians of the neighbourhood concerning the country that lay beyond them, and they unanimously told him that, at ten days' march to the northwest, there were large towns inhabited by women, who were governed by a woman.[943]

Cronise, in his "Natural Wealth of California," makes mention of an ancient tradition to the effect that, when the Spaniards first arrived in California, they found a tribe, in what is now Mendocino County, in which the squaws were Amazons, and exercised a gynecocracy ; and Powers adds that he is inclined to think that the fable was not without some foundation.[2057] Hervas [1542] says that among the Chulotecas in Nicaragua the men "are subject to the women." Mention is also made[735] of a cape of Yucatan called the "Cape of the Women," and said to be so called because of the idols of women which were found in a temple there.

The opinion has frequently been expressed that these traditions regarding tribes of women may have originated from the contemptuous application of the term "women," by warlike tribes, to those in their neighbourhood whom they thought less valiant than themselves. The Mexicans applied this epithet to the Tlascalans,[2080] when they approached the capital with the Spaniards, and also designated the Tlatilulcas by the same term.[525]

A more likely explanation seems, however, to be found in the fact that when, as for instance among the Caribs,[2116] the men went on a military expedition, the women defended their homes against the attacks of enemies ; or else in the custom—which has

been made use of by some timid and peaceful tribes when they were threatened with attack by powerful enemies, or when they wished to propitiate strangers—of sending the women to meet them, while the men remained at home; this action being considered as a pledge of friendship and security.[1125]

Whatever the cause may have been, the fact remains that among the Mexicans there were traditions not only of white men, and men with beards, but also of a nation of Amazons.[1860]

In all the old maps of Mexico there will be found, upon the Pacific coast, the name "Cihuatlan," sometimes spelled with an initial S or with the *h* replaced by *g* or *q*. Scarcely any two of them agree as to its exact location, the old maps of the country being so incorrect that Clavigero says that he did not find a single one among them which was not full of errors, as well in respect to the latitude and longitude of the places as in regard to the division of the provinces, the course of the streams, and the direction of the coast.[1051]

In the "Munich Atlas," No. 6, supposed to have been drawn between 1532 and 1540, the name appears with the termination *co*, as Ciguatanco. De Laet gives the name as Cimatlan.[1690] George Horne gives it as Ciguatlan, and says that it is situated in Culvacan.[1561] In Clavigero's map, Cihuatlan appears upon the Pacific coast, in the province of Zacatollan, a little southeast of the city of that name.[1052] Ranking, who follows Clavigero, with the exception of rectifying the latitudes and longitudes, places this town or district in about 102° 30′ west longitude, and 18° 30′ north latitude, some distance northwest of Acapulco.[2141] Gage places Ciguatlan upon the Pacific coast, almost due west of the city of Mexico, and Siquatlan near Sacatula, a few miles back from the coast;[1387] while d'Avity gives two places named Ciguatlan, one near the extreme north and the other near the extreme south of Mexico.[76]

Buschmann says that [894] "Cihuatlan" (meaning "the Place or Land of Women") is the name from which the south wind takes its designation, and is applied to an old place upon the Pacific Ocean, somewhat southerly from Zacatollan, and to a place southerly from Tabasco, upon the eastern coast, apparently in the land of Guatemala. *Cihuatlampa* is defined as meaning "to the west," and the west wind is therefore called *Cihuatlampa ehecatl* (*ehecatl* meaning wind), and he says that the word in

question is derived from *Cihuatl*, "woman," combined with the place-particle *tlan*, and the post-position *pa*, "toward, against, near"; thus the compound means "toward the Woman's Land," or from there here, or it may also be defined as "toward Cihuatlan." [879] Sahagun says that *Cihuatlampa* means "near the women," and adds that the Indians supposed that the women who died in childbed went to that part of the heaven where the sun sets; hence the term was used figuratively to denote the west.

The commander-in-chief of the Mexican army, who was slain in the battle at Otumba in 1520, was named Cihuacatzin, meaning "the honoured chief of Cihuacan," or of "the Woman's Kingdom." [892]

Cortez, in one of his letters to the Spanish emperor, says: "Not only the province of Zacatula, but many others adjoining it, offered themselves as vassals of your imperial majesty, namely, Aliman, Colimonte, and *Ciguatan*. A captain, sent on an expedition to Zacatula and its neighbourhood, brought an account of the land of Ciguatan, in which there is affirmed to be an island inhabited by women without any men, although at certain times they are visited by men from the main-land: and if the women bear female children, they are protected; but if males, they are driven from their society. The island is ten days' journey from that province, and many have gone there and seen it. They also tell me it is very rich in pearls and gold; respecting which I shall labour to obtain the truth, and to give your majesty a full account of it." [1106]

Nuño de Guzman undertook an expedition in search of this land of Amazons, which, in some accounts, was stated to lie at a distance of only three days' journey from the city of Mexico.[2222]

In an interview with the chief Tangaxoan, he, "thinking to obtain information that would be useful to him in the expedition which he contemplated making to the north of Mexico, interrupted him to demand a description of the northern provinces. 'Who of you,' said he, 'has heard mention made of the celebrated cities of Teo-Culhuacan and Cihuatlan, where the women are sovereign to the exclusion of the men?' They answered that they had no knowledge of them. 'Ah well! I know where they are situated,' replied Guzman, 'and I am in hope of going there to conquer them, and one of you shall accompany me.'" [754]

After a month's stay at Chametla, the army proceeded north to

the Quezala province, and thence to Piastla, easily subduing the natives of the district. The women were becoming more beautiful as they continued their course, which seemed to indicate that they were approaching the object of their dreams; and indeed glowing reports of Cihuatlan, the "Place of Women," confirmed the marvelous tales which had reached the capital. . . . These Spaniards awoke to disappointment when they learned, at Cihuatlan, that the Indians had been telling stories to amuse them; that there was no Amazon island or other great wonder there awaiting them. Yet for a long time they continued to talk of these things, and in a measure to believe in them, though they knew them to be false.[473]

Bancroft, in his "History of the North Mexican States," says that Ciguatan, "Place of Women," was a province of eight pueblos, on a river of the same name, also called, in Spanish, Rio de las Mugeres, and apparently to be identified with the stream now known as Rio de San Lorenzo. The name Quilá, used in the narratives, is still applied to a town on that river. The rich and mysterious isles of the Amazons had been from the first one of the strongest incentives to northwestern exploration in the minds of both Cortez and Guzman. The cosmographer, by his vagaries, had furnished the romancer with sufficient foundation for the fable; the tales of natives from the first conquest of Michoacan had seemed to support it; and as Guzman proceeded northward, and drew nearer to Ciguatan, his hopes were greatly excited. Natives along the route were willing to gratify the Spanish desire for the marvelous, or perhaps the interpreter's zeal outran his linguistic skill. The women of Ciguatan were represented as living alone, except during four months of the year, when young men from the adjoining provinces were invited to till their fields by day, and rewarded with their caresses at night. Boy babies were killed or sent to their fathers; girls were allowed to grow up. These details, with some variations, are repeated by each writer as having been told before they arrived and as corroborated more or less completely by what they saw and heard at Ciguatan, where they found many women and few men. But, as several of them admit, it was soon discovered that the men had either fled to avoid the Spaniards, or to make preparations for an attack. The Amazon bubble had burst; but the soldiers were by no means inclined to forget the marvels on which their imagina-

tion had so long feasted: they continued to talk, long after they returned to Mexico, of the wonderful City of Women.

Lopez, "Rel.," p. 443, says only three males and one thousand women were found in one town. Armienta, "Apuntes para la Historia de Sinoloa," says: "These towns were found to be at this time inhabited by women alone, in conformity with a religious vow which obliged them to live separate from their husbands for a period of twenty Aztec years." He calls the Amazon towns Abuya and Binapa, at the base of the Tacuchamona range, on the other side of which was Quezala—confounded with the later and more northern Casalá. He also describes the reception at Navito by sixty thousand natives. This narration, written for a Sinoloa newspaper, seems to be mainly taken from Tello's work.

Oviedo, iii, 576–577, heard these tales from the soldiers in Mexico; but, meeting Guzman later in Spain, was told the truth. This author says the chief pueblo was a well-built town of six thousand houses. He also names Orocomay as another Amazon pueblo. Herrera, dec. iii, lib. viii, chap. iii, calls the town Zapuatan.[491]

Gomara suggests that all the stories of this wonderful land may have originated from the name "Place of Women."[492] Whatever the reason may have been for the existence of this name, the fact is beyond dispute that there was a region of Mexico so-called; and it is a proof of the lack of care, in former examinations of Hwui Shăn's story, that no one has ever called attention to this fact in connection with his account. As to the statement that the Country of Women lay to the east of Fu-sang, a glance at a map of Mexico will show that the Pacific coast of that country lies almost due east and west, and that a region farther down the coast than that in which a voyager from Asia would naturally land would lie easterly from it, as well as to the west or southwest of the city of Mexico.

II.—Its people's bodies are hairy, and they have long locks, the ends of which reach to the ground.

The whole account of these inhabitants of the "Country of Women" is so evidently a description of the monkeys of Southern Mexico, that it is surprising that it has never before been noticed.

Where monkeys are found, the idea seems often to have occurred to men to account for the resemblance of the monkey to

mankind by making of the first a fallen or changed form of the latter.[305] According to the Quiches, when man was, for the third time, created, the gods took counsel together. It was decided that a man should be made of wood and a woman of a kind of pith. They were made; but the result was in no wise satisfactory. They led a useless existence; they lived as the beasts live; they forgot the Heart of Heaven. Then was the Heart of Heaven wroth; and he sent ruin and destruction upon those ingrates. Thus were they all devoted to chastisement and destruction, save only a few who were preserved as memorials of the wooden men that had been; and these now exist in the woods as little apes.[301]

The stories of pygmies have probably all been founded upon the existence of quadrumana; and it is not wonderful that a traveler, passing through strange lands, and meeting many remarkable tribes, with peculiarities and customs formerly unknown, should, when he first sees monkeys or apes, suppose that they too are some strange wild tribe of human beings.

According to Latin authorities, the Pygmies are a small kind of people living in Arabia, as stated by Pomponius in his third book. As Pliny also writes, in his seventh book, the Pygmies inhabit the farthest mountains of India, a region always healthful and spring-like, opposite to the northern mountains, and they are greatly molested by the cranes. It is said that, in the spring-time, they, being armed with arrows, all descend together, in an army, to the sea, and live upon eggs and young birds; being in such flocks that they can not be resisted. Gelius testifies that their height does not exceed two feet and a quarter. Their females bear young when five years old, and they become aged at the age of eight years.[1756]

Maundevile states that in[1832] "the Lond of Pigmaus, the folk ben of litylle Stature, that ben but 3 Span long: and thei ben right faire and gentylle, after here quantytees bothe the Men and the Wommen. And thei maryen hem, whan thei ben half Yere of Age and geten Children. And thei lyven not but 6 Yeer or 7 at the moste. And he that lyvethe 8 Yeer, men holden him there righte passynge old."

It will be observed that these accounts of the pygmies agree in several respects with Hwui Shăn's statements as to the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the Country of Women.

Maundevile's account of an "Yle" in which "ben folk, that gon upon hire Hondes and hire Feet, as Bestes: and thei ben alle skynned and fedred, and thei wolde lepen als lightly in to Trees, and fro Tree to Tree, as it were Squyrelles or Apes," [1881] is evidently another variation of the descriptions of the quadrumana.

The notion of mountaineers with tails seems to have its origin in the name of *orang utan*, or "wild men," given to certain apes that particularly resemble the human species.[1812]

In India, the worship of Hanuman, a rational and very amusing ape of the Hindu mythology, who, with an army of his own species, assisted Rama in the conquest of Ceylon, has produced a feeling of veneration for the whole race of quadrumana, but particularly for those of the larger class, whose form approaches nearest to that of the human race. Here we have a variation of the customary confusion, however, as it has been conjectured, with much plausibility, that in this case the so-called monkeys of Rama's army were in fact the half-savage mountaineers of the country near Comorin.[1817]

Several cases of confusion between quadrumana and human beings occur in the Chinese books. Thus the "Wrangling or Remonstrating People" are described as a race of pygmies seven inches high.[2521] The people of "Lik-pit" are said to be about three inches high, having wings, and because of their skill in talking and joking they are called "the Eloquent Nation." [1865]

In both cases there is an evident reference to the almost ceaseless chattering of a troop of monkeys; while the statement that they have wings, is merely a figurative method of expressing the lightness and ease with which they vault from tree to tree, for, as Acosta says, [14] "they almost seem to fly like the birds."

The Chinese also mention a country of Long-armed People: [2556] again an evident allusion to some species of ape. One of the most unquestionable references to a country inhabited by apes is found in their account of the country of Chu-ju, the Land of Pygmies.[1553] A literal translation of Ma Twan-lin's account of this land is given below:

"In the Chu-ju (or Pygmy) country, the people are only four (Chinese) feet tall (or four feet eight inches of our standard). It is south of the Black-teeth and Naked-people's countries, which are four thousand *li* or more distant from Japan.

The ship should then go to the southwest for perhaps a year, some ten thousand *li*, when the Sea-people are reached. They have black bodies and white eyes, and are naked and ugly. Their flesh is delicious, and the travelers sometimes shoot and eat them."

The last sentence has usually been translated, "The travelers who are plump run the risk of being killed with their arrows, and then eaten." The Chinese text, however, clearly indicates that the banquet is not one at which the pygmies eat, but one at which they are eaten. As the travelers referred to were not cannibals, these pygmies can have been nothing else than apes.

In America, Hennepin reports that some of the Indians who visited him from the extreme west, who occupied four months in making the journey, said that beyond them there were pygmies, or small men.[1469] Juan Alvarez Maldonado, who made an expedition from Cuzco in the year 1561, reported that when he descended the eastern range of the Andes, he had scarcely cleared the rough and rocky ground of the slope when his party encountered two pygmies. They shot the female, and the male died of grief six days afterward.[1532]

It will be seen, from the references that have been given, that travelers in all parts of the world have frequently described monkeys as people, or as pygmies, and yet there are, undoubtedly, many who will be ready to denounce Hwui Shăn as "a lying Buddhist priest," because he falls into the same error, notwithstanding the fact that he gives an accurate description of the Mexican monkeys, and mentions many peculiarities which were never possessed by any race of human beings; and one which distinguishes them from all other monkeys of the world.

As to the monkeys of Mexico, the Encyclopædia Britannica says that,[1297] in America, north of Panama, the genera as yet known to be represented are *Chrysothrix*, *Nyctipithecus*, *Cebus*, *Ateles*, *Mycetes*, and *Hapale*, in Veragua; *Nyctipithecus*, *Cebus*, *Ateles*, and *Mycetes*, in Costa Rica and Nicaragua; *Ateles* and *Mycetes*, in Guatemala; and *Ateles*, in Southern Mexico. The statement is added that,[1298] in the New World, the highest northern latitude certainly known to be attained is 18° or 19° (*Ateles melanochir*), in Southern Mexico, but they possibly reach even latitude 23°.

Nott and Glidden,[1979] quoting from Richardson's "Report on

North American Zoölogy," contained in the publications of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, vol. v, 1837, p. 138, say that the monkeys which enter into the southern provinces of Mexico belong to the genera *Mycetes* and *Hapale*. They also mention Wagner's statement (found in the publications of the Bavaria Academy at Munich for 1846, p. 51), that apes are found in the southern provinces of Mexico.[1978] Of the two hundred and ten species of monkeys which were classified in 1882, twenty-six belonged to the genus *Hapale* and seven to the genus *Mycetes*.[1977]

The statement is made by Acosta that [14] all the mountains of the islands, of the main-land, and of the Andes, have an infinite number of *Micos*, or apes, which are of the race of monkeys, but different from the fact that they have a very long tail. Among them are some species which are three times or even four times as large as the common ones; some are entirely black, others chestnut coloured, others gray, and others spotted and mixed. Their agility, and their manner of doing things (*leur façon de faire*), are admirable; for they seem to have reason, and to discourse with each other as they travel through the trees.

Clavigero says that [1056] all the species of quadrumana found in that kingdom are known to the Mexicans by the general name of *Ozomatli*, and to the Spaniards by that of *Monos*. They are of different sizes and shapes, some small and singularly diverting, others of medium size, about as large as a badger, and others large, strong, ferocious, and bearded, which, by some, are called *Zambos*. These, when they stand erect, as they sometimes do, upon two feet, almost equal a man in stature.

Hernandez states that [1502] they are of various sizes and colours, some being found that are black, others whitish, and others brown; some being large, others remarkably small, and still others of medium size; others have canine heads, and nearly all are burdened by clasping their young.

It is wonderful how they bend and throw the branches of the trees, which they have climbed on account of the traveler; how they cross rivers by grasping each other with their tails, and swinging from the trees over the neighbouring rivers; and, above all, how well they, when wounded with an arrow or shot, bear the wound as well as men would do, and apply moss or the leaves of the trees to the wound, in order to check the flowing

blood, and so, if possible, to save their lives. They raise one little one, which they carry about with them, it clinging fast and they embracing it with wonderful devotion and love. They are found near the heights and chief peaks of the mountains.

If it be admitted that Hwui Shăn was speaking of monkeys, his statement, that they had hairy bodies, is evidently true, and the long "locks," the ends of which reached to the ground, are their tails.

The character translated "locks" closely resembles the one since adopted for the Chinese queue. The ancient Chinese wore their hair long, and bound upon the top of the head, somewhat after the style of the inhabitants of the Loo Choo Islands, and, taking pride in its glossy black, called themselves the "Black-haired Race."[2500] But in 1627, while the Manchus were in possession of only Liautung, they issued an order that all the Chinese under them should adopt their coiffure, on penalty of death, as a sign of allegiance.[1869] The fashion thus begun by compulsion is now followed from choice.

III.—At the second or third month, bickering, they enter the water (possibly "come down to the low lands or to the streams," or perhaps "enter upon a migration"—the character shui meaning not only "water," but also "a trip from one place to another"). They then become pregnant. They bear their young at the sixth or seventh month. (Probably of gestation, but possibly of the year.)

Four statements are made here, all of which are true of monkeys, and none of which can be considered as to the same extent characteristic of any tribe of human beings:

1. They migrate at a particular season of the year.

2. They "bicker" or "chatter" so much as to excite attention to the fact.

3. They have a well-defined rutting-season.

4. The period of gestation is much shorter than it is in the case of the human race.

Audebert says of the *Sai* or capuchin monkeys, that they go in great troops in the trees, and *it is particularly during the rainy season* that they are found thus collected together.[71]

The migrations of monkeys, and their habit of coming to the water, in great troops, in the spring, are mentioned in the accounts of the pygmies which have already been given.

The character 競, KING, translated "bickering," was originally formed of "words" above "a man," and this was repeated; thus picturing two men talking to each other, both at once. No more appropriate character could be used to indicate the chattering of monkeys.

It is strange that former translators should have imagined that the statement of the text was intended to convey the idea that their pregnancy was the result of bathing, rather than that these beings had a regular rutting-season, which occurred at the same season each year as that at which they came to the water. The period of gestation is sufficient to put it beyond the pale of possibility that Hwui Shăn can have been speaking of any race of human beings. In the case of the lower *Simiadæ*, however, gestation lasts about seven months, while in the *Hapilinæ* its duration is only three months.[1296]

It is difficult to decide as to the exact months of our year in which the second or third months referred to by Hwui Shăn would fall.

In China the year is lunar; but its commencement is regulated by the sun, and the new year begins on the first new moon after the sun enters Aquarius, which makes it come not before the 21st of January, nor after the 19th of February.[2506] The civil year in China ordinarily consists of no more than twelve lunations; but an intercalary month is introduced as often as may be necessary to bring the commencement of every year to the second new moon after the preceding winter solstice.[961]

The year seems to have commenced on the same day in Tartary, for Marsden states, in his notes upon the "Travels of Marco Polo," that[1802] in the "Epochæ Celebriores" of Ulugh Beig (the son of Shah Rokh), translated by the learned Greaves, we are informed that the solar year of the Kataians and Igurians commences on that day in which the sun attains the middle point of the constellation of Aquarius, and this we find from the Ephemeris fluctuates between the third and the fifth of February, according to our bissextile. With respect to their civil year, we have a satisfactory account in the "Voyage de la Chine," of P. Trigault, compiled from the writings of the eminent Matt. Ricci, who says, "At each new year, which commences with the new moon which precedes or closely follows the fifth of February, from which the Chinese date the commencement of spring, an

embassador is sent from each province to pay an official visit to the king" : by which we should understand the new moon that falls the nearest to (either before or after) the time of the sun's reaching the middle point of Aquarius ; and consequently the festival can not be assigned to any particular day of the European calendar.

It has been frequently attempted to fix accurately the time when the Mexican year commenced, according to our dates ;[143] but there is no agreement upon this point between the old historians, and although many elaborate calculations have been made, for the purpose of verifying the one or the other statement, the results seldom agree with one another.

Sahagun says that[1407] in some places they told him that it commenced on a certain day in January ; in others, on the first of February ; in others, in the beginning of March. Having assembled in the Tlaltelolco many old Indians, the most sagacious that could be found, and the ablest of the Spanish professors, they discussed the matter several days, and they all concluded by saying that the year commenced on the second day of February.

As the years were of 365 days, and thirteen days were added at the end of fifty-two years, the first day of the year must have varied through a cycle of thirteen days, and this will explain some of the discrepancies quoted below.

In a table, presented by Bancroft,[237] it is shown that Sahagun, Martin de Leon, and Veytia say the year began on February 2d ; Acosta, de Laet, Clavigero, Klemm, and Carbajal Espinoso say February 26th ; the Codex Vaticanus and Codex Telleriano Remensis say February 24th ; Motolinia and Duran say March 1st ; Gemelli Careri says April 10th ; Gama (who is followed by Humboldt and Gallatin) says January 9th ; Mueller says March 20th. In the fragment of the Tarasca calendar, preserved by Veytia, it is said that the year commenced on March 22d.[695]

There is a similar disagreement as to the name of the month which began the Mexican year. Sahagun, Torquemada, and Clavigero say that the first month was the one variously called Atlcahualco, Quahuitlehua, Cihuailhuitl, or Xilomanaliztli ;[327] Martin de Leon, Duran, Vetancurt, Klemm, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Carbajal Espinoso, and the Codex Vaticanus concur in this statement. Gomara, Gemelli Careri, de Laet, and Mueller give Tlacaxipehualiztli as the first month, with the synonym of

Cohuailhuitl; Veytia and Lorenzana give the first month as Atemoztli; and Leon y Gama (repeated by Humboldt and Gallatin) names Tititl or Itzcalli as the first month.[236] Other authors assign the first place respectively to those months which are either the last, the third, or the fourth month, according to Gama.[1401]

Whatever the month may have been, the calendar was substantially the same in Yucatan, Chiapas, Guatemala, Nicaragua, and Oaxaca as on the Aztec plateau, thus furnishing a convincing proof of the identity of their civilization;[692] with the exception of some variants of little importance, and some difference in the arrangement of the names, the days of the month are found to be everywhere the same, their meanings being probably identical in the greater number of the different languages.[694]

The weight of evidence preponderates so greatly that the first of the year occurred some time in the latter part of the month of February, that we can assume with a tolerable degree of certainty that the "second or third month," referred to by Hwui Shăn, corresponded nearly with our month of May.

IV.—THE FEMALE-PEOPLE ARE DESTITUTE OF BREASTS IN FRONT OF THE CHEST, but BEHIND, AT THE NAPE OF THE NECK (or back of the head), THEY HAVE HAIR-ROOTS (short hair, or a bunch of hair, or a hairy organ), AND IN THE MIDST OF THE WHITE HAIR IT IS PLEASING TO THE TASTE (or there is juice).

The explanation has been made that this statement probably arose from the fact that in some countries it has been the custom for mothers to nurse their children over their shoulders. Morgan mentions the existence of this practice in the valley of the Columbia, and among the Esquimaux, and the Village Indians of Colorado.[1957] Petitot says that the women of the Déné-dindjies carry their young children upon their back;[2028] and Powers refers to the custom as in existence among the California Indians.[2058]

The true explanation may possibly be found in the fact that it is the custom of monkeys to carry their young upon their back, and the latter hang on with teeth and nails, in order to retain their places as their mothers bound from tree to tree. Wafer says,[2468] "They skip from bough to bough, with the young ones hanging at the old ones' back." Herndon says that,[1534] among the monkeys of Brazil, the mother carries the young upon her back until it is able to go alone. Dobrizhoffer

states that,[1210] in the woods, when quite young, they are carried about on the backs of their mothers, round whose necks they put their arms, like infants, and in this manner are borne along the boughs of trees, wherever there is any chance of finding food; and Dampier confirms the statement as follows:[1177] "The female monkeys find it difficult to leap with their young after the males. They usually have two, of which they carry one under one of their arms, and the other, which is seated upon its mother's back, holds on with its two paws clasped about her neck in front."

It would not be surprising if a traveler, seeing the young so clinging to their mothers, should fancy that they were nursing.

Long hair at the nape of the neck, or back of the head, whitish at the roots, is a peculiarity of some varieties of the genus *Hapale*, found nowhere else in the world except in Mexico and south of that country.

The Encyclopædia Britannica says,[1295] "As to the head, long hair is found thereon in *Hapale œdipus*, and long hair is developed from the shoulders in *Hapale humeralifer*." Nott and Glidden give a picture of *Hapale œdipus*, showing it to be distinguished, from all the other species pictured, by long hair at the back of the head and neck.[1976] Audebert, in his description of this species, says that[72] the top of the head is ornamented with long, white hair, which forms a species of plume, which is all the more remarkable from the fact that the rest of the head is bare.

In the female quadrumane there is no protrusion of the breast as in the human being,[1320] or, in the words of Owen,[2008] "the integument covering the mammary gland is not protruded by its enlargement in the form of a hemispheroid 'breast'; it is covered with hair, like the rest of the body."

Since the foregoing was written, Mr. Saum Song Bo has suggested to me a translation of this clause of the Chinese text which, while it is not strictly in accordance with the classical signification of the characters, yet seems to me to convey the idea which Hwui Shăn intended to express.

In common, every-day use, the character 項, HIANG, is sometimes employed for 頂, TING, "the top or tip" of anything; this confusion being caused partly by the great similarity between the two characters, and partly by the fact that the signification of "top" is merely an extension of the original meaning of HIANG,

"the back or upper part of the head"; very many Chinese characters having, in the course of centuries, had their original power so enlarged. HIANG is therefore sometimes applied (colloquially) to the top of a mountain, or the tip of a finger.

Doolittle's "Vocabulary and Hand-Book of the Chinese Language" [1215] gives 乳 頭, as meaning "nipple."

The characters are so much alike that it is possible that 項, HIANG, has been substituted for 頂, TING, or 頭, T'EU, in the original text. I am strongly inclined to think that this change has been made, or that, if Hwui Shăn used the character HIANG, he employed it with the meaning "top" or "tip" (of the breast), i. e., the "nipple," and that what he intended to say was:

"The female-people are destitute of breasts in front of the chest, and back from the "tip" (i. e., the nipple) they have short hair (i. e., the whole chest or breast is, with the exception of the nipple, covered with hair), and the milk issues from the midst of this whitish hair."

This statement is strictly true, and the common or colloquial use of the word gives some ground for thinking this to have been Hwui Shăn's meaning; notwithstanding the fact that the classical dictionaries recognize only the fundamental signification of the character.

V.—THEY NURSE THEIR YOUNG FOR ONE HUNDRED DAYS, AND THEY CAN THEN WALK. WHEN THREE OR FOUR YEARS OLD, THEY BECOME FULLY GROWN. THIS IS TRUE! WHEN THEY SEE A HUMAN BEING, THEY ARE AFRAID AND FLEE TO ONE SIDE. THEY VENERATE (or are devoted to) THEIR HUSBANDS (or mates).

The statements regarding the age at which they are able to walk and become fully grown are, of course, untrue of any race of human beings; but they are in curious accordance with the classical tales of the pygmies.

The assertion, that they are afraid and flee to one side when they see a human being, states a characteristic peculiarity of the quadrumana, and well describes their timidity and agility. Professor Williams's translation, in which he substitutes "man" for "human being," seems inadmissible, as the Chinese word 人, JAN, signifies *homo*, not *vir*. There is no trace of sex in its meaning; it is applied as often to women as to men, and it is necessary to prefix NÂN, "male," or NŬ, "female," whenever it is wished to express the gender. His translation, "They are afraid of having

husbands," differs from that of all others who have transcribed the phrase; and there seems to be no reason for doubting that the true rendering is, "They venerate their husbands": the character 畏, WEI, expressing veneration, respect, awe, or devotion, rather than an abject fear.

It is well known that monkeys are very faithful and affectionate to their mates, and many affecting tales are told of the devotion shown by these animals toward their mates when the latter have been shot.[1218]

It is very singular that the assertion that these peculiar beings inhabited a land called the Country of Women should, for more than a century, have caused them to be considered Amazons, in spite of the fact that they were expressly stated to have "husbands," to whom they were faithful and devoted.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE COUNTRY OF WOMEN AND ITS INHABITANTS.—(*Concluded.*)

The habit of standing erect—The colour of the inhabitants—Albinos—*Aztlan*, "the White Land"—The mountain *Iztaccihuatl*, or "the White Woman"—The *Iztauhyatl*, or "salt-plant"—The salt of the Mexicans and Chinese—References of Sahagun to the *Iztauhyatl*—An erroneous identification—References to it by Hernandez—The salt-weed—The sage-brush—The characteristic vegetation of Mexico—Food of the monkeys—Cattle and game fattened upon the white sage—Its value in Asia—The Mexican rainy season—The preceding month of "hard times"—Difficulty of obtaining food at this season—Animals coming to lowlands in the spring to feed upon the early vegetation—A sweet variety of sage—The use of an herb to sweeten meat—Chinese description of monkeys—An Aztec pun—Shipwreck of a Chinese fishing-boat—Corean fishing-boats—Japanese vessels wrecked on the American coast—The land reached thought to be that mentioned by Hwui Shăn—The women of the country—The language that could not be understood—Heads like those of puppies—The Cynocephali—Their voices—Barking Indians—Their food—Their clothing—Their dwellings—The doorways.

THERE seems to be some difficulty in accurately translating the sentence next to be considered.

VI.—ITS PEOPLE'S MANNER OF APPEARANCE IS STRAIGHT ERECT (or is very correct), AND THEIR COLOUR IS (or their countenances are) A VERY PURE WHITE.

The two characters, translated "straight erect," are defined as meaning "upright, either physically or morally." The two rendered "manner of appearance," mean "air, manner, appearance," when considered separately, and "the aspect of one's manner, the appearance, air, demeanour," when taken together. The word for "colour" also means "countenance," or "beauty." D'Hervey translates this phrase: "The women of this kingdom have very regular features and very white faces," while Professor Williams gives the rendering: "The people are very sedate and formal; their colour is exceedingly clear and white."

My own opinion is that it was Hwui Shăn's intention to mention a fact, to which he would never have thought of referring if he had been speaking of real men, and that was the ability of these peculiar beings to stand erect. As to the colour (which may be no more than the colour of their faces), it is the general statement that, while many or most of the monkeys of Southern Mexico are dark in colour, some of them are white.[2462] Audebert says of the *Hapale œdipus*[72] that the breast, the abdomen, the arms, the fore part of the legs, and the four extremities are white; and of the capuchin monkey, that, while it has undoubtedly taken its name from the brown colour of most of this species, it varies as to colour,[71] there being some which are black and white, and others gray and yellowish. He mentions particularly a white-throated species, which differs from the capuchin monkey, properly so-called, by having a flesh-coloured face, and hair of a beautiful white colour over the cheeks, the fore-arms, and the breast.

Possibly Hwui Shăn confounded the stories of these peculiar inhabitants of Cihuatlan with the accounts of albinos which seem to have always existed in this part of the world. Wheeler,[2475] Bell,[582] Emory,[1285] and McCulloh,[1858] all speak particularly of the number of albinos to be found among the Zuñis; Wafer gives a long description of those found near the Isthmus of Panama,[2464] and Gabb[1390] mentions the general report in Costa Rica that some of the Guatusos are of light colour, and have brown hair, one woman being described as being "as white as an Englishwoman." Either the existence of these Albinos, or the fact that *Aztlan*, the name of the traditional home of the Nahuas, or Aztecs, means literally "the White Land,"[806] may have given rise to numerous tales of a tribe of white people to be found somewhere in America.

The belief that the inhabitants of Cihuatlan were white, and were women, may, however, have arisen from the circumstance that one of the highest mountains of Mexico bears the name of Iztaccihuatl, an Aztec term meaning "the White Woman," deriving this appellation from the fact that it mimics in its form a fantastic dame clothed in white drapery.[2596] The accompanying engraving (Fig. 15), copied from a photograph by Kilburn Brothers, of Littleton, N. H., contained in Mr. Becher's book entitled "A Trip to Mexico,"[571] will show why the mountain re-

ceived its name. As all the region about Pike's Peak was once known as "the Pike's Peak country," so the district in the neighbourhood of "the White Woman" may have been referred to

Fig. 15.—The mountain called Iztaccihuatl, or "the White Woman."

as "the White Woman's country," and a visitor landing upon the coast of Mexico, and making his way some little distance into the interior, may have had this mountain pointed out to him, rising far off in the southeast, and told, "There: there, in 'the White Woman's country,' these strange beings are to be found."

VII.—They eat the salt-plant. Its leaves resemble those of the plant called by the Chinese the sié-hao (a species of absinthe or wormwood), but its odour is more fragrant, and its taste is saltish.

Professor Williams translates the opening words of this sentence, "They eat pickled greens"; but in this he differs from all other translators, and can hardly be right. As the Chinese characters are generally used to express an idea in its broadest sense, the same word which is used for "salt" might also be employed for "saltish" and "salted," but, while the character occurring in this sentence might possibly be used with the meaning "salted" or "pickled," its more usual signification is "salt in taste, salty," [1490] "saltish, briny, of a saltish taste." [1871] The character ts'ao, 草 translated "plant," is the word from which the

English term "soy" has been derived, and is applied to all plants used for salad—as lettuce, cabbage, and spinach—and also to the leaves of turnips and radishes when used as greens.[984] Hence it will be seen that the characters translated "salt-plant" might also mean "salted plants" or "pickled greens"; but the connection is such that there seems no good reason to doubt that the correct rendering is that given at the head of this section.

When I first saw the phrase, "They eat the 'salt-plant,'" I turned to the Aztec dictionaries to see whether they gave any term equivalent to "salt-plant," and immediately found the word "IZTAUHYATL"[606] defined as "absinthe," "*axenxios, o asensios yerua*,"[1904] or "wormwood."[861] This word is evidently a compound of *iztatl*,[1905] "salt"[607] (the terminal *tl* being dropped in compounding, according to the usual rule), with a form of the verbal root *hueya*,[619] "to grow, to increase." The plant in question therefore corresponds, both in its name and in the botanical family of which it is a member, with the description of Hwui Shăn. It undoubtedly derived its name from its taste, which must more resemble that of the crude, bitter salt, containing magnesia, which is made in China by the evaporation of seawater,[2486] or the alkaline efflorescence used by the Indians of Mexico,[2593] than that of the refined article to which we are accustomed.

As to the plant in question, Sahagun states that, the evening before the feast of Uixtocihuatl* (the goddess of salt), the women, old and young, and the girls, devote themselves to dancing,[2180] moving in a ring, united by small cords, of which each holds an end, which are called *xochimecatl* (i. e., flowery ropes; from *xochitl*, flowers, and *mecatl*, a rope, cord, or garland), and which are wreathed with the flowers of the absinthe of the country, which is called *iztauhyatl*. The French translators of Sahagun's work add a note, stating that the plant is the *Artemisia laciniata*, and is called in Spanish *estafiate* (an evident corruption of the Aztec name). The botanical name was probably given on the authority of Colmeiro;[1089] but Professor Asa Gray informs me that it can not be correct, as the *Artemisia laciniata* is a native of Asia, and is not found in America.

Sahagun, in other places, refers to it as an odouriferous plant, resembling the absinthe of Spain,[2216] and also says that it "resem-

* This name should evidently be spelled *Iztacihuatl*, from *iztatl*, salt, and *cihuatl*, woman.—E. P. V.

bles the incense used in Spain."[1535] Bancroft describes it as "a sweet-smelling herb."[1536] Hernandez makes a number of references to it, but seems to treat it as a plant too common and too well known to be worthy of description. He says, for instance, that the *tzaguanguení* is an herb having long, large, and narrow leaves, divided into five parts, and resembling the *iztauhyatl*, or *Indicum absinthium*.[1537] The flowers of the *tlanoquilonipatli*, which are described as "yellowish and growing in a thin spike," are said to be not dissimilar to those of the absinthium.[1538] A decoction of *xoxocapatli* and *iztauhiatl* is said to be used as a remedy for pains in the joints.[1539] The *yztacchyatl*, or "bitter salt" (possibly a mere variant of the name *iztauhyatl*), is described[1540] as an herb similar in form and properties to absinthe, and is said to be, on that account, indiscriminately substituted for the latter in New Spain. Two species are known, the broad-leaved and the narrow-leaved. It grows in temperate and warm places, and its seeds, having probably been carried to Spain for sale, have been dispersed there. It is used to cure pains arising from cold, for colic, and for the bowels. *Quauh yetl* or *picietl* (two species of tobacco) is usually added, to strengthen the internal organs; it is beneficial to patients who are suffering from nausea, and to infants that throw up milk. Administered with *ecapatli*, or the *Laurus Indica*, it acts as a physic: the decoction is used to bathe the swelled legs of the infirm. Hernandez also describes a plant named the *iztauhyapatli*, and as "*patli*" means "remedy," the compound is equivalent to "the *Iztauhyatl* remedy," and the plant is therefore very probably the same that is elsewhere called the *yztauhyatl*, or *iztauhyatl*. This is described as follows: "The root is ovate and ferruginous; the willowy leaves are in fours, long, not serrated, and are ash-coloured on the under side; the length of the leaves is about six inches, and the breadth does not exceed half an inch."[1540]

I have not been able to learn the botanical name of the plant, or obtain any further information regarding it, but it must be common in Mexico. There is a town in that country, in Oaxaca, on the Rio Grande, called, after it, Istayata. Morgan[1955] and Bandelier[528] mention a plant named the "salt-weed" as growing in the adobe soil of Southern Colorado, Arizona, and New Mexico, which may or may not be the same plant.

The common sage-brush of the plains was called absinthe by

the Canadian voyageurs,[598] and Bell particularly mentions the fact that, in the uplands of the valley of the Colorado River, in Arizona, most of the plants, including especially the artemisias and other shrubby *compositæ*, are smeared with a resinous varnish, which gives out a pleasant, stimulating aroma, noticed by nearly all desert travelers.[592] In this respect, at least, the artemisias described by him therefore corresponded with the "salt-plant" mentioned by Hwui Shăn. Professor Baird informs me that, while the sage-brush of the West is principally the *Artemisia tridentata* of Nuttall, the term is also applied to two or three other species which resemble it, mainly *Artemisia arcana*, *A. arbuscula*, and *A. trifida*. Appletons' Cyclopædia [41] says that the common sage-brush of the American plains is *Artemisia Ludoviciana*. Hayden's "Preliminary Report of the United States Geological Survey of Wyoming" [1466] mentions the *A. tridentata*,[1467] *Canadensis*, *trifida*, *cana*, *Ludoviciana*, *Richardsoniana*, *frigida*,[2054] *scopulonem*, *borealis*, and *filifolia*,[2019] as different varieties of artemisia found in that Territory. Whatever the species or variety may be, there can be no doubt that the *iztauhyatl*, or "salt-plant," of Mexico, is some variety of artemisia, not widely different from the sage-brush of the Northern plains. Those who have traveled in Mexico, Arizona, and New Mexico will, I think, admit that the characteristic vegetation of the country, and in fact nearly all of the vegetation that can be seen in many districts, consists of varieties of the agave, or century-plant, of species of cactii (of which the prickly-pear is an exceedingly common and representative form) and of the sage-brush. With the exception of the last, this vegetation is not only characteristic of the region in question, but it is indigenous nowhere else. If it be thought that the story of Hwui Shăn is a fable, it is certainly remarkable that he gives a description of just these three plants and of no others. In Mexico and its neighbourhood, plants answering his descriptions are to be found, and they can not be found elsewhere in the world.

But is this "salt-plant" ever eaten by the monkeys of Mexico? On this point I can not obtain any very positive information, although those whom I have consulted, who are acquainted with the habits of these animals, do not think it likely that they feed upon it. Dr. Oswald informs me that, although their natural food consists of fruits and nuts, the monkeys of Gibraltar

will sometimes eat the sprouts of currant-bushes. It may not be out of place to call attention to the fact that, however distasteful wormwood or sage may be to us as a food, numerous animals feed upon these plants with avidity. Many of the cattle of the far West, as well as the game of the same region, feed and fatten upon little else than the "white sage." James mentions the fact that several species of artemisia are eaten by the bisons, and that his horses were sometimes "reduced to the necessity" of feeding upon them;[1613] and Bell says that a species of wild sage, which grows in many places in Mexico, gives the beef a peculiar and delicious flavour.[589] Pallas mentions that the[2009] white absinthium (*Artemisia alba*) and the camphor-plant (*Camphorosma monspeliaca*) are found in all the deserts of Asia, covering extensive regions with their creeping roots and their shoots, which make a species of turf, like fine moss. In winter they form the principal food of the numerous herds of the Kalmucks and the Kirguis, as they preserve their natural state under the snow, which is but scanty in this country, the little that falls melting almost immediately. The herds therefore have but little difficulty in finding these plants. They eat them but little during the summer, as they have a great number of others upon which they rely. The Kirguis call these two plants *jouschanu*, and take great care to establish their winter habitations in places in which they grow. This small species of absinthium is remarkable for its flower, which, in its odour, taste, and figure, resembles the "worm-seed." If this latter were not mixed with small stems, it might be mistaken for this plant.

In Mexico the rainy season begins as a rule in the first half of May,[321] or in some districts not until the beginning of June,[877] and lasts until October[632] or November.[2367] No drop of rain falls in December and January, and but little in February or April.[878] In the month of May the whole country seems parched and dry.[2052] Not a leaf, not a bud; the branches and boughs are naked, and covered with a thick coating of gray dust; nothing to intercept the sight in the thicket but the bare trunks and branches, with the withes entwining them. Early in June come the first refreshing showers. As if a magic wand had been waved over the land, the view changes—life springs everywhere. In the short space of a few days, the forests have re-

sumed their holiday attire; buds appear and the leaves shoot; the flowers bloom, sending forth their fragrance, that, wafted by the breeze, perfumes the air far and near; the birds sing their best songs of joy; the insects chirp their shrillest notes; butterflies of gorgeous colours flutter in clouds in every direction, in search of the nectar contained in the cups of the newly opened blossoms, and dispute it with the brilliant humming-birds. All creation rejoices, because a few tears of mother Nature have brought joy and happiness to all living beings, from the smallest blade of grass to the majestic palm, from the creeping worm to man.

Of the months occurring at the dry season of the year, Atlcahualco bears a name meaning "the buying or scarcity of water," [327] Atemoztli means "the drying up of the waters," [242] the following month, Tititl, was called the month of "hard times," [191] and Itzcalli* means "revivification," or "the sprouting of the grass." [240]

From the name "Tititl," the month of "hard times," it appears that the Aztecs found it difficult to obtain food during the dry season, when the old crop was nearly exhausted, and the new one had not commenced to grow. If they found this a season of "hard times," the quadrumana can hardly have fared better. Living upon fruits and nuts, when they could be obtained, they must have found some substitute during the season when these were not to be had. Sahagun says of the raccoon that, "during the winter, when neither fruits nor maize can be found, it eats rats and reptiles." [2213] To what did the quadrumana resort? Audebert, quoting from Buffon, says that the capuchin monkeys are very fond of cockchafers and snails.[71] Wafer claims that he saw monkeys breaking oyster-shells on the sea-shore, and eating the oysters.[2465] It is therefore evident that they are not wholly confined to fruits, nuts, and roots.

Why did the peculiar inhabitants of the Country of Women come to the water at the second or third month, or just about the beginning of the rainy season? In the United States, the antelopes of the Rocky Mountain region, which spend the winter in the mountains, come down to the plains in great numbers in spring to eat the tender vegetation, which first starts in the low-

* Molina defines *Izcalia* "to open, to expand, to come to one's self, to resuscitate, to revive."

lands near the streams. May not a similar cause lead the quadrumana of Mexico to the lowlands near the water at the beginning of the rainy season? If so, they could not find either fruits or nuts, but would be compelled to live upon the young and tender sprouts of some one or more species of plants. It would seem as if, at this season of the year, no other plant would be more likely to furnish them with edible sprouts than some species of sage-brush, the *iztauhyatl*, or "salt-plant." This is of course a mere presumption. It is not proved that the monkeys eat the plant in question, but it certainly does not seem impossible that they may, and, for myself, as Hwui Shăn tells so much that is proved to be true, I do not think it unsafe to rely upon his statement in this case.

It is possible, however, that there is a reversion, at this point in his account, from the monkeys of Cihuatlan to the people of that region, and that he means to say that the latter eat the salt-plant. Dupaix mentions that, in the neighbourhood of Tequilla, he found a species of sage growing vigorously in the shape of a branching bush, its taste being so agreeable that it is there called "the sweet herb."[1222] Possibly this may be the plant to which reference is made, or the practice mentioned by Gage may be referred to.[1383]

"These also will now and then get a wild Deer, shooting it with their bows and arrows. And when they have killed it, they let it lie in the Wood, in some hole or bottom, covered with leaves, for the space of about a week, untill it stink and begin to be full of wormes; then they bring it home, cut it out into joints, and parboil it with a herbe which groweth there, somewhat like unto our Tanzy, which they say sweeteneth it again, and maketh the flesh eat tender, and as white as a piece of Turkey."

Although it seems impossible, with our present information, to decide whether the *iztauhyatl* is eaten either by men or monkeys, the fact remains that there is in the region indicated by Hwui Shăn a plant which answers to his description, inasmuch as it is called "the salt-plant," and, being a species of absinthe, must resemble the Chinese plants of the same genus; its taste is saltish, and its odour fragrant, just as stated by our Buddhist traveler.

Identifying the "people" of the "Country of Women" as monkeys, it seems strange that mention is not made of their size, and of the fact that they live in the trees.

It has occurred to me as possible that Yu Kie may have failed to understand Hwui Shăn on these points, or may have doubted his report, and so suppressed what he said regarding them. One of the most common names given by the Chinese to a mythical land of Amazons is 女子國, WOMAN-CHILD-LAND. This is usually translated the "Land of Women and Children"; but the Chinese frequently [2397] suffix 子, CHILD, as a diminutive; [2394] and the compound 女子, WOMAN-CHILD, is used for "girl." [1487] The name of the Amazonian country may, therefore, have meant originally the "Land of *Little* Women," rather than "the Land of Women and Children"; and the traditions among the Chinese, that the inhabitants of Fu-sang have the power of flying in the air, may have arisen from stories of the gambols among the trees of the inhabitants of the "Woman's Land."

We should hardly expect complete accuracy in the reports extant in a land like China, in which the most scientific account that they have of a species of monkey living in their own country is that "its nose is turned upward, and the tail is very long and forked at the end, and whenever it rains the animal thrusts the forks into its nose. It goes in herds, and lives in friendship; when one dies, the rest accompany it to burial." [2487]

In closing the examination of this account of the Country of Women, it may be well to endeavour to discover the origin of the term. Several explanations have already been suggested; but none of them seem satisfactory. It is my opinion that the traditions regarding the land of Amazons arose from the name, as an attempt to explain it, rather than that the name arose from the existence of any region inhabited exclusively by women. It seems to me to be possible that, when the inhabitants of the northern part of Mexico heard vague reports of the remarkable beings found in the southern part of that country, they, not having formerly heard the word *oçumatli*, [1915 610] or *oçomatli* [612] (for the Mexicans always confounded the vowels *o* and *u*, some pronouncing their words with one vowel and some with the other, [1990]), which was the term applied to monkeys, mistook it for the very similar word *çouatl*, [1902] *çohuatl*, [604] *ciuatl*, [1901] or *cihuatl*, [603] meaning a woman; and hence supposed the term *Oçomatlan*, meaning "the Region of Monkeys," to be the compound *Çohuatlan*, or *Cihuatlan*, signifying "the Region or Country of Women." After this mistake had once been made in the name, traditions of a land in-

habited exclusively by women would, almost inevitably, spring up.

Our examination of the official record of Hwui Shăn's statements has been completed, and, with the exception of the short account next given, there seems to be no reason to believe that the lands described by him were ever visited by any of the Chinese. Ma Twan-lin seems to have thought, however, that some Chinese sailors, who were shipwrecked on a distant seacoast, and who succeeded in making their way back to China, were thrown upon the shores of the same Country of Women that was described by our Buddhist explorer, and he therefore joins their story to the account of that land given by Hwui Shăn.

VIII.—In the reign of the LIANG dynasty, under the emperor WU-TI, in the SIXTH YEAR of the period designated by the name TIEN-KIEN, or "Celestial Protection" (i. e., in 507 A. D.), SOME MEN OF TSIN-NGAN, WHO WERE CROSSING THE SEA, WERE DRIVEN BY THE WIND TO A CERTAIN ISLAND (or to the same island or seacoast). THEY WENT ASHORE AND FOUND THE INHABITANTS' DWELLINGS.

Professor Williams says "a man," instead of "some men," and, as the Chinese language does not, as a rule, distinguish between the singular and the plural, it can not be determined, otherwise than by inference, which was meant in this case. It seems more probable, however, that a large boat, such as would carry a number of men, would live through a storm which would drive it across the Pacific, than that a small boat with only a single man should pass through such a tempest. A number of men would also be more likely to frighten the natives away from their homes, and thus protect themselves against attack by the inhabitants, than would a solitary sailor. Oppert says of the Corean fishing-boats [1998] that they resemble the Japanese more than the Chinese, but that they are of rude construction. Each of these boats usually carries a crew of some thirty to forty men, but some have a crew of more than sixty.

It seems not unlikely that the vessel which was wrecked upon the distant land, that is mentioned by Ma Twan-lin, may have been a fishing-boat of the kind above referred to. It has already been stated that Japanese junks are frequently wrecked upon the coast of America; but, so far as I know, no other case is mentioned in which the survivors of the shipwreck succeeded in making

their way back home again. It is noticeable that the case mentioned occurred only about half a dozen years after Hwui Shăn's story was told in China; and it seems not impossible that these men may have heard the story of his travels, and of the route by which he reached China, and so may have made their way home up the coast of America to Alaska, and thence across to Asia, and down the coast of that continent *via* the route pointed out by our Buddhist priest.

I have ventured to suggest that the characters 一 島, YIH TAO, which have formerly been translated "an island," "a certain island," or "an unknown island," may possibly mean "the same seacoast." The first character, although meaning literally "one," is sometimes used for "the same," and as it is not customary to use the character merely as the indefinite article, and as it seems evident that Ma Twan-lin thought this land to be the same as that described by Hwui Shăn (for otherwise he would not have included the two accounts in the same section), it seems probable that he intended to use it here in its secondary meaning. The second character is a picture of a bird and a mountain, and hence means "a hill on which birds can alight in crossing seas," and thus might be applied to a seacoast reached after crossing a vast expanse of water, without much regard to the size of the land.

IX.—THE WOMEN RESEMBLED THOSE OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM (China), BUT THE WORDS OF THEIR LANGUAGE COULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD. THE MALES HAD HUMAN BODIES, BUT PUPPIES' HEADS, AND THEIR VOICES RESEMBLED THOSE OF DOGS BARKING (or HOWLING).

The shipwreck seems to have occurred at a point where there existed the custom, formerly referred to, of leaving the women to entertain the strangers, while the men ran away; and the Chinese seem to have seen only these women, and to have supposed the apes in the woods to be the males.

Many writers have spoken of the great resemblance of many of the tribes of the western coast of America to the Chinese, and Mr. Leland discusses the subject at length.

It is noticeable that nowhere else in the accounts is it mentioned that the language of the people could not be understood, and this statement seems applicable rather to the chattering of monkeys, than to any human language, of which strangers would soon be able to understand a few words.

Although some tribes of savages have been referred to as having dogs' heads,[1813] the description seems rather to be that of the Mexican monkeys, some of which, according to Clavigero, "from having the head of a dog, appertain to the class of the Cynocephali."[1056] It is probable that the comparison of their voices to those of dogs refers rather to howling than barking; but as the bark of the Chinese dogs is a short, thick snap, very unlike the deep, sonorous baying of our mastiffs,[2488] it is possible that barking may be meant.

Attention should be called, in this connection, to the singular fact that this same comparison has been made regarding the conversation of a tribe living near the northern boundary of Mexico. Captain Emory says of one of his interviews with the Indians: "The chief person talked all the time in a tongue resembling more the bark of a mastiff than the words of a human being. They were supposed by some to be the Cayotes (i. e., Wolves), a branch of the Apaches; but Londean thought they belonged to the tribe of Tremblers, who acquired their name from their emotions at meeting the whites;[1283] while Captain A. R. Johnston says of the Apaches, 'They bayed at us like their kindred wolves.'"[1615]

X.—Among their food was "siao-teu" (little beans). Their clothing resembled linen (or perhaps cotton) cloth. Beating down the earth, they made adobe walls of a round shape, the doors of which resembled burrows.

It seems not impossible that the characters siao-teu, meaning "little beans," may have been used as an attempt both to transcribe and translate the Aztec word *cintli*,[1900] or *centli*,[1898] meaning "ears of maize, cured and dried." Teu is the Chinese term for pulse of any kind,[984] and, as has been explained by M. the Marquis d'Hervey, might include grains of maize. It is a fact, however, that the Aztecs raised beans,[121] which formed one of their principal articles of diet,[2598] while it was a matter of tradition that the Olmecs raised both maize and beans, before the time of the Toltecs (Veytia, "Hist. Ant. Mej." tome i, p. 154).[194] The cloth made by the Aztecs from the fiber of the agave has already been described, but they also made cotton cloth.[687] The manner of beating down the earth, to make the adobe walls of their dwellings, seems to be the same as that mentioned by Hwui Shăn. Powers, in describing the houses of the aboriginal Californians,

says that [2062] the round, dome-shaped, earth-covered lodge is considered the characteristic one of California; and probably two thirds of its immense aboriginal population lived in dwellings of this description. The doorway is sometimes directly on top, sometimes on the ground at one side.[1950] Wheeler states that [2469] the houses of the Southern Californians were probably of a simple construction, though varying somewhat in different localities. Usually they are described as conical in shape, and built over a hole dug to the depth of a few feet. Around this hole, poles were set, forming the frame, which was covered with rushes and earth. The door was sometimes on a level with the ground, while in other houses it was placed near the top, when it also served for an exit to the smoke.

By the term "door," as used above, it is evident that "doorway" is meant, for they had no doors to their houses, although among some of the American tribes a curtain was hung before the entrance to prevent any inquisitive examination.[1845]

A doorway, which might be well compared to a "burrow," is that used by the Esquimaux, as well as by the Mandans and some other tribes; the entrance to their dwellings consisting of a passageway some five feet wide, ten or twelve feet long, and about six feet high, constructed with split timbers, roofed with poles, and covered with earth.[1951]

CHAPTER XXIX.

YU KIE'S STATEMENTS REGARDING FU-SANG.

The envoy from the kingdom of Fu-sang—The commission of Yu Kie—Hwui Shăn the envoy mentioned—Yu Kie's story—The presents given to the emperor—The custom of offering tribute—The yellow silk—The term applied to vegetable fibers—Sisal hemp—Its strength—Probability that the agave fiber would be brought home by a traveler—The semi-transparent mirror—Mexican obsidian mirrors—Nature of obsidian—The "Palace of the Sun"—The Chinese zodiac—Their horary cycle—Concave and convex mirrors—Obsidian mirrors peculiar to Mexico—The silk taken from the agave—Lack of cocoons—The seeds of the century-plant carried to Corea—The use of agave leaves as fuel—The ashes used for obtaining lye—The agave fiber steeped in an alkaline solution—The feast of Huitzilopochtli—Intercourse between Corea and China—The Corean records—Possibility that further information may be found in them—The palace of the king—The glitter of obsidian in the morning light—The Country of Women again—Serpent husbands—The expedition of Nuño de Guzman—The Smoking Mountain—Volcanoes—Hairy worms—The "nopal de la tierra"—The fire-trees—The fire-rats—The Black Valley—The Snowy Range—Huitzilopochtli—The intoxicating liquor—The "Sea of Varnish"—Petroleum—Mineral springs—Hot springs—The extent of the land—Animals—Winged men—Birds that bear human beings.

In the appendix to the account of Fu-sang, given by the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, contained in the thirteenth chapter of this work, and in the slightly different version which was translated by Professor Williams, and which is copied in the fourteenth chapter, it is stated that, in the commencement of the years called TIEN-KIEN—which were the first years of the reign of the emperor WU-TI, of the LIANG dynasty, beginning in 502 A. D.—an envoy from the kingdom of Fu-sang presented himself, and offered to the emperor divers objects from his country. WU-TI charged an official of his court, named YU KIE, to interrogate him regarding the customs and the productions of Fu-sang, the history of the kingdom, its cities, its rivers, its mountains, etc., as was the custom in similar cases whenever a for-

eign embassador visited the court. D'Hervey gives conclusive reasons for believing that this envoy was none other than the monk Hwui Shăn. It seems that Yu Kie wrote down the account found in the Chinese official records, and that he included in it only such statements as he thought worthy of a place in these records, and as he felt convinced that he thoroughly understood; all that seemed doubtful or unworthy of belief being omitted.

It happened, however, that he one day entertained the attendants at court with an account of the wonders of Fu-sang, and a portion of his narration has been preserved. This was told in a joking way, and many of the facts were evidently exaggerated or perverted; while other details seem to be founded upon a misunderstanding of the imperfect Chinese of a man who had been but two or three years in the country. Yu Kie appears to have thought, however, that the account related to him by Hwui Shăn was as wonderful as anything that he could himself invent, and he therefore seems to have adhered quite faithfully to the story that he had heard. While his joking account can not be fully relied upon as to any particular point, many statements are contained in it which throw light upon facts which are but imperfectly described in the official record.

Before examining this merry tale, however, it will be well to notice the statements made in regard to the presents which were brought to the emperor by Hwui Shăn. The account of these gifts seems as reliable as any portion of the record that was copied by Ma Twan-lin, and it is therefore necessary to inquire whether the articles were such as were produced or made in Mexico, and as would be likely to be taken by a foreigner, when about to leave the country, as being representatives of the most valuable or most wonderful articles to be found in it.

I.—THE PRESENTS WHICH HE OFFERED CONSISTED PRINCIPALLY OF THREE HUNDRED POUNDS OF YELLOW SILK, SPUN BY THE SILK-WORM OF THE FU-SANG TREE, AND OF AN EXTRAORDINARY STRENGTH. THE EMPEROR HAD AN INCENSE-BURNER OF MASSIVE GOLD, OF A WEIGHT OF SOME FIFTY POUNDS. THIS COULD BE LIFTED AND HELD SUSPENDED BY SIX OF THESE THREADS, WITHOUT BREAKING THEM.

Maundevile, in speaking of the emperor of China, says:[1833] "The custom is suche, that no Straungere schalle come before

him, but gif he geve hym sum manere thing, aftre the olde Lawe, that seythe, *Nemo accedat in conspectu meo vacuus.*"

It therefore appears that Hwui Shăn, in his offer of tribute, was but complying with one of the necessary conditions of an imperial audience.

The "yellow silk" presented by him was unquestionably the fiber of the agave. The usual Chinese character for silk is 絲, sz'. This is defined by Professor Williams :[2568] "Silk as it comes from the cocoons ; silk in general ; *the fibers of nettle-hemp* (Bœhmeria) *and other plants.*" Copper-wire is also called "copper-silk." It therefore appears that the character 絲, being equally applicable to any lustrous vegetable fiber, does not necessarily mean *silk*, but might be used with propriety for the glossy fiber of the American agave. This is of a beautiful light golden yellow colour, as may be seen by any one who will take the trouble to examine a strand of the so-called "Sisal hemp." Its strength is such that a weight of at least eight pounds can be lifted by a single fiber ; and the statement as to the weight which was lifted by six of the fibers (probably twisted together) does not seem to be exaggerated. Here Yu Kie seems to have misunderstood Hwui Shăn. He gathered from his account the fact that the so-called "silk" was in some way connected with the fu-sang tree (i. e., the agave), but failed to learn what the exact connection was. His reference to the silkworm of the fu-sang tree seems to have been based upon the belief that the fiber, although so coarse and strong as to differ greatly from common silk, was in reality a species of true silk, and that it must therefore be the product of a silk-worm.

The weight that was presented to the emperor is not in excess of the amount that could be carried by a single man in an open boat, coasting along the shore from Mexico to China by the route heretofore pointed out.

As the fu-sang tree, or agave, was not only the plant from which the country took its name, but was also both the most wonderful and the most valuable plant contained in it, and as its chief value lay in its fiber (which was used for making cordage, cloth, and paper), it would be surprising if a stranger who visited the land, and who wished to take with him specimens of its strangest, most valuable, and most characteristic products, should have failed to include among them the fiber in question.

II.—THERE WAS ALSO AMONG THE PRESENTS OFFERED TO THE EMPEROR A SORT OF SEMI-TRANSPARENT PRECIOUS STONE, CUT IN THE FORM OF A MIRROR, AND OF THE CIRCUMFERENCE OF MORE THAN A FOOT. IN OBSERVING THE SUN BY REFLECTION, BY MEANS OF THIS STONE, THE PALACE WHICH THE SUN CONTAINS APPEARED VERY DISTINCTLY.

Nearly all the historians of Mexico mention the fact that the Aztecs made mirrors of obsidian,[717] which were often ornamented with gold. Bancroft says that their mirrors of rock-crystal, obsidian, and other stones, brightly polished, and encased in rich frames, were said to reflect the human face as clearly as the best of European manufacture,[227] and he refers particularly to Peter Martyr (dec. v, lib. x), who says of the obsidian of the country: "Excellent glasses may bee made thereof by smoothing and polishing them, so that we all confessed that none of ours did better showe the naturall and liuely face of a manne."[228] These mirrors were found as far north as New Mexico[393] or Arizona,[547] and as far south as Yucatan and Nicaragua,[274] and specimens of them are still preserved in the National Museum of the City of Mexico.[388] Masks, and even rings and cups, were sometimes worked from the same material,[226] and it was also the stone of which they made their knives, razors, swords, daggers, and other cutting instruments.[1516] Hernandez says of this stone:[1516]

"Three varieties are distinguished, the blue, white, and black, all of which are translucent. When cut into shape, they are bright and sparkling, and of wonderful transparency. They are dug out of veins, of which many are found in Mexico, and are cut into moderately small pieces, of such size and shape as may be desired, the angles being rubbed down with other small stones of a gritty nature."

Respecting obsidian relics, Mr. Tyler says:[389] "Any one who does not know obsidian may imagine great masses of bottle-glass, such as our orthodox ugly wine-bottles are made of, very hard, very brittle, and, if one breaks it with any ordinary implement, going, as glass does, in every direction but the right one. Out of this rather unpromising stuff the Mexicans made knives, razors, arrow and spear heads, and other things, some of great beauty. I say nothing of the polished obsidian mirrors and ornaments, nor even of the curious masks of the human face that are to be seen in collections, for these were only labouriously

cut and polished with jewelers' sand, to us a commonplace process."

But if the semi-transparent mirror which Hwui Shăn presented to the emperor was brought from Mexico, what is "the palace which the sun contains," which was said to be reflected in it? Here there is a possibility of error, owing to the fact that we have no copy of the statement in Chinese. It seems probable, however, that the character translated "palace" is 宮, KUNG, which means "a mansion or palace." Now, the Chinese divide the zodiac into twenty-eight KUNG,[2507] constellations, lunar mansions, houses, or palaces.[2566] The zodiac is further divided into twelve signs, or palaces, ranging from 25° to 38° in length, named after the twelve branches, or the animals representing them;[2568] and these last are probably the divisions referred to by Schlegel, when he says:[2237] "The twelve divisions of the Chinese horary circle are named in Chinese the twelve KUNG, or palaces." As the phrase YUEH KUNG, "the moon's palace," means "the bright moon,"[2543] it is possible that "the sun's palace" may mean "the bright sun," or "the brightness of the sun." I think, however, that there is here a reference to the fact that a spherically concave or convex mirror will, when laid horizontally, with its reflecting surface facing the zenith, exhibit an image of the sun, in some particular part of the mirror; the exact place being governed by the position of the sun in the heavens. Hence, the distance of the sun above the horizon could be seen represented in the mirror, and from this it would be easy to determine the KUNG, or celestial mansion, or palace, in which the sun then was.

We have unquestionable proof that the Aztecs had not only plain mirrors, but also made them both concave and convex. Herrera says that they had mirrors "as large as one's fist, round as a ball, framed in gold."[225] Castañeda's plates include a semi-spherical mirror of copper-covered lava, three and a half inches in diameter.[380] Clavigero gives the accompanying engraving,[1080] and says that[1084] it is a picture of a Mexican mirror, which represents the city of Tehuillojoccan, which name means "the Place of the Mirrors." Brasseur de Bourbourg says:[715] "They sold mirrors having two faces, polished on both

FIG. 16.—An Aztec mirror.

sides, and made some of them *concave*, of white or black stone." He also says that the priests of Central America, by the use of a mirror, caused the holy fire to descend upon the victim, which was thus immediately consumed.[641] This could only have been done by a concave mirror. Finally, Sahagun states that the Mexicans made mirrors which reflected the figure differently from what it really was, for they enlarged the different parts of the visage, and made them appear deformed. They were given different forms, round, triangular, etc.[2217] These must have been either concave or convex.

It should be noticed that, in the cases in which the size of the mirrors is mentioned, this corresponds closely with the dimensions of the one presented to the emperor by Hwui Shăn; and it seems that a concave or convex mirror of obsidian, such as were made by the Aztecs, would fully answer the description given in the Chinese account. So far as I know, these peculiar mirrors were never made in any other country in the world, and the account of this one article seems sufficient to prove that its giver must have brought or obtained it from Mexico. Accustomed as the Spanish conquerors were to excellent mirrors, they thought that these of Aztec manufacture were worthy of special mention, and we find them named among the list of precious articles which Montezuma and other chieftains presented to their enslavers.[224] The only reflectors manufactured by the Chinese in the days of Hwui Shăn were metallic;[2505] and, as they were then unacquainted with glass, the semi-transparent mirror presented by the Buddhist priest must have struck them as both new and wonderful.

To me, the presents brought by Hwui Shăn seem to be exactly such articles as a traveler would be likely to bring from Mexico, as representative of its most characteristic and most valuable productions, and I know of no other land from which they could have been obtained.

Recurring now to Yu Kie's statements, we find the following:

III.—Silk-worms are found in Fu-sang which are seven feet long and as much as seven inches in circumference. Their colour is golden. It takes a year to raise them. On the eighth day of the fifth month they spin yellow silk, which is extended upon the branches of the fu-sang tree, for they make no cocoons. This silk is naturally

VERY WEAK, BUT IT IS COOKED (or BOILED ; perhaps the meaning is "steeped") IN LYE PREPARED FROM THE ASHES OF THE WOOD OF THE FU-SANG, AND THUS ACQUIRES SUCH STRENGTH THAT FOUR THREADS TWISTED TOGETHER ARE SUFFICIENT TO RAISE A WEIGHT OF THIRTY CHINESE POUNDS. THE EGGS OF THESE SILK-WORMS ARE AS LARGE AS SWALLOWS' EGGS. SOME WERE TAKEN TO COREA ; BUT THE VOYAGE INJURED THEM SO THAT NOTHING ISSUED FROM THEM BUT SILK-WORMS AS SMALL AS THOSE OF CHINA.

Here, for the second time, we find an error arising from an imperfect understanding of Hwui Shăn's faulty Chinese, and from the belief that the fiber shown was true silk, and, therefore, the product of a silk-worm. The fiber of the agave is produced from something which is about seven feet long and about seven inches in circumference (or rather breadth) ; this much Hwui Shăn succeeded in causing Yu Kie to understand ; but that something is not a silk-worm, but the leaf of the plant. The golden or yellow colour is the tint of the fiber.

It may easily be imagined that the explorer endeavoured to explain that the fiber was in the leaf of the fu-sang tree and extended through it ; and all that Yu Kie could make of his few Chinese words, helped out by signs, and possibly by rude drawings, was that the "yellow silk" was "extended upon the branches of the fu-sang tree," while Hwui Shăn's attempt to set him right, by explaining that there were *no cocoons*, was unsuccessful.

The so-called "eggs" are undoubtedly the seeds of the agave. Some of these he brought with him as far as Corea, and there they were either found to have been killed by the cold of the Arctic regions, through which he had passed, or else, having been planted, he was obliged to leave the young plants there while they were small.

As to the reference to the lye prepared from the ashes of the wood of the fu-sang : we find, first, that the leaves of the agave, or maguey, formed a common fuel[123] in Mexico.[572] Becher says that tortillas "are cooked in an earthen dish over a fire, *generally of dried maguey leaves*" ; and Sahagun names, among the articles sold by the dealer in fire-wood, "the leaves of the maguey," [2206] and adds that [2220] "they make an excellent fire, *and the ashes are very good for lye.*"

The general statement of the Mexican historians is, that the maguey fibers were prepared for use by the same process as

that adopted for the preparation of flax in other countries.[231] The Aztecs macerated the leaves, steeping them in water,[721] then cleaned the fiber, dried it in the sun, and beat it until fit to spin.[1083] There is no proof that they were acquainted with the use of an alkaline bath for treating the fiber, although Sahagun's statement leads to the reasonable inference that the Mexicans extracted lye from the ashes of the agave leaves; and alkalies are used in the process now most frequently employed. Squier says that, at Key West,[2371] the people either preserve the primitive process which is practiced in Yucatan, of beating or scraping the leaves, or, after crushing them between a pair of rollers, *they steep them in an alkaline solution* for a few days, and then hackle them. He adds that[2369] the use of alkalies in treating fibers, either with or without pressure, in the process of boiling, will take out much of the gummy and colouring matters which they contain, but the heat will fix or set that which is left of a *buff* colour, of greater or less depth, according to the strength of the alkaline bath used.

The statement that it takes a year to raise the worms, or the silk, and that the silk is spun upon the eighth day of the fifth month, each year, seems to vaguely indicate that the agave leaves were cut or the fiber gathered on a fixed day of the year, and, if so, the customs of the Mexican people were such that this annual harvest would probably be connected with a feast or festival in honour of the god Huitzilopochtli, "the Ever-youthful One of the Thorny Plant," whom we have already identified as a deification of the plant in question.

Bancroft says that the first half of the month called Toxcitl (which was probably the fifth month) was,[186] among the Mexicans, taken up with a continuous scene of festivals in honour of Tezcatlipoca; the latter half of the month was devoted to the worship of his brother god Huitzilopochtli.[187] From Sahagun's statement it would appear, however, that the feasts and banquets in honour of Tezcatlipoca lasted but *five days;*[2179] then, according to Lenoir,[1728] *two days* before the feast of Huitzilopochtli (or *Vitzlipultzi*, as he spells the name) a statue representing him was kneaded from corn-meal and honey. It therefore appears not impossible that the feast of Huitzilopochtli fell on the *eighth* day of the fifth month. It is probable that too little is now known of the life of the aboriginal Mexicans to enable us

to determine whether this was the exact date of his feast, or whether it was connected in any manner with the gathering of the fiber of the century-plant.

The mention of the circumstance that the "eggs," or seeds, were taken to Corea, shows that Hwui Shăn passed through that country on his way to China. Attention has already been called to the fact that some knowledge of his story seems to have been preserved in that country. Corea paid tribute to China throughout the fifth and sixth centuries, and there was then constant communication between the two countries,[1656] so that the Buddhist priest must have found this portion of his journey very easy. It is possible that the visit to the Chinese emperor Liang Wu-ti [1260] (the emperor to whom Hwui Shăn presented the "silk" and the semi-transparent mirror), of Corean embassadors, who came to ask for the Buddhist classics, was brought about by the interest in Buddhist doctrines occasioned by the visit of Hwui Shăn.

The Coreans first adopted the ideographic writing of the Chinese; but as their language is susceptible of being written by means of an alphabet, they either invented or adopted one, in the year 374 A. D. This alphabet is still in general use in Corea, although Chinese characters are also used in almost all scientific works.[1654]

As the Coreans were able to write at the time that Hwui Shăn visited them, it seems not unreasonable to hope that some account of his story may still be found among their records, which will supplement and complete the account which we have borrowed from the Chinese.

Oppert says, however:[1995] "The few native writings, pretending to supply historical accounts, contain in truth nothing whatever that throws light upon any subject of importance. They limit themselves solely to the enumeration of the different kings and queens, without furnishing dates of any important events that may have occurred; the most likely conjecture for which, perhaps, is that they really have had no prominent facts to record. It is true that a journal was kept in every magistrate's office, giving an accurate account of even insignificant occurrences happening in the district; this kind of registration appears, however, to have been carried on more for the purpose of facilitating the superintendence of the central government over the different parts of the country, than with a view to record monuments of

historical interest. Nearly four hundred volumes were found, on the occasion of Admiral Roze's visit to Kangwha, in the buildings of the Prefecture, containing journals of such district records, but which the French believed at the time to contain matters of great historical moment. These books were sent to Paris, and placed in the then Bibliothèque Impériale, where they still are. It is almost unnecessary to add, after what has been stated above, that they are not of the slightest value for the purpose of researches on the general history of the country."

Still, notwithstanding Oppert's statement, something of value may yet be found in these records.

As there seems no other possible explanation of the fact, mentioned by M. the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys (see Chapter XII of this work), that the highest dignitaries of Corea bear the same title of "Great Tui-lu" that was borne by the first rank of the nobility of the country of Fu-sang, I venture to suggest the theory that, after the story of the land of Fu-sang had become well known in Corea, the officer of some secret society, or some political party, assumed this foreign title—just as in America the chief officer of "Tammany Hall" assumed the aboriginal title of "sachem"—and at some later date this society or party succeeded in forcing a recognition by the government, and shared in the power of the throne. The fact that the mandarins of this title in Corea are elected and deposed by the members of this rank, by their own authority, without consultation either with the king or his ministers, indicates an independence which can hardly have originated otherwise than in the manner above suggested.

IV.—The palace of the king is surrounded by walls of crystal, which appear clearly before daylight; but these walls become quite invisible during an eclipse of the moon.

Here there seems a reference to walls built of some semi-transparent or translucent stone, such as obsidian, alabaster, or gypsum. The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg states that[716] marble, jasper, porphyry, alabaster, and obsidian were everywhere used as materials either for ornaments of the palaces and temples, or for statues and other sculptured objects, and he mentions that[733] the edifice designed for the preservation and propagation of the birds, whose feathers were used for the manufacture of mosaic feather-

work, was surrounded by porticos of alabaster, which opened upon vast gardens. Tecali, a transparent stone resembling alabaster, was sometimes used in the temples for window-glass,[246] and plates of gypsum are still sometimes used in Mexico or New Mexico for the same purpose.[1187]

Diaz states that Montezuma's palace was of stone and lime, and the walls were covered with marble, jasper, and porphyry, in the smoothly polished surface of which one could see his reflected image ;[1202] and among the notable edifices of Mexico is mentioned the *Tezcacalli*, or "House of Mirrors," so called from the (obsidian) mirrors which covered its walls.[253] If the ancient traditions may be believed, the Toltec monarchs built as magnificent palaces as their Aztec successors.[162] The sacred palace of that mysterious Toltec priest-king Quetzalcoatl had four principal halls, which were ornamented respectively with gold ; with emeralds, turquoises, and precious stones ; with silver and seashells, and with red jasper.

To one unacquainted with true glass, the glitter and transparency of obsidian, iztli, or volcanic glass would seem very remarkable. Both Prescott and Bancroft [466] mention the glistening of obsidian in the dawning light, the former in these words :[2077] "The first gray of the morning was coming over the waters, . . . while the bosom of the lake, as far as the eye could reach, was darkened by canoes, crowded with warriors, whose spears and bludgeons, armed with blades of 'volcanic glass,' gleamed in the morning light."

Some such reference as this seems to have been made by Hwui Shăn to the gleam of the obsidian or alabaster in the walls of the king's palace, when illuminated by the first light of the morning, and Yu Kie exaggerated it into the shape given in the text.

V.—The lord Yu Kie said besides : At the northwest, about ten thousand li, there exists a Kingdom of Women who take serpents for husbands. Moreover, these reptiles are inoffensive. They live in holes, while their wives, or concubines, live in houses and palaces, and exercise all the cares of state. In this kingdom there are no books, and they know nothing of the art of writing. They believe firmly in the efficacy of certain forms of prayers, or of maledictions. The women who act uprightly

PROLONG THEIR LIVES, AND THOSE WHO SWERVE FROM THE RIGHT ARE IMMEDIATELY CUT OFF. THE WORSHIP OF SPIRITS IMPOSES LAWS THAT NONE DARE TO VIOLATE.

Here there is a reference to the "Country of Women." In the account of the voyage to Cibola, contained in the collection of M. Ternaux-Compans, it is stated that the Tahuas, living in the province of Culiacan (the province in which the Country of Women was often said to be situated), raised large serpents, for which they had great veneration.[2436] A full description of this curious custom is given in the "First Anonymous Account of the Expedition of Nuño de Guzman," published in the collection of Icazbalceta.[1422] "In the religious rites of this land, the devil is worshiped as their god; and in many houses of this country they keep numerous great serpents, which live in a corner in the darkest part of the house; the serpents are twined together in a great ball or heap, and some of these masses of serpents are very large. When they are thus twined together in a round ball, from which the head of one projects at the top, and another from the bottom, and others from the middle, the spectacle is one that is frightful to behold; for they are as large around as the arm, and they open their mouths; but they do no harm, for the Indians take them in their hands and feed them. These Indians say that the serpents have the form of the demon whom they adore, and they therefore pay them great honour."

A story of a custom of this kind, existing in a land named "the Country of Women," might very readily give rise to the curious *mêlange* narrated by Yu Kie, if it was related to him by a man who had but a slight knowledge of Chinese, and who was therefore unable to make himself fully understood.

VI.—TO THE SOUTH OF HO-TCHEOU (the "Island of Fire"—probably 火, HWO, "fire," and CHEU, 州, "an island or district"), SITUATED TO THE SOUTH OF THIS COUNTRY, IS THE MOUNTAIN YEN-KOUEN ("Burning Mountain"—probably 烟, YEN, "smoke," and 崑, KWUN, "a peak, a high mountain"), THE INHABITANTS OF WHICH EAT LOCUSTS, CRABS, AND HAIRY SERPENTS, TO PRESERVE THEMSELVES FROM THE HEAT. IN THIS LAND OF HO-TCHEOU, THE HO-MOU (trees of fire—probably 火, HWO, "fire," and 木, MUH, "wood, a tree") GROW; THEIR BARK FURNISHES A SOLID TISSUE. UPON THE SUMMIT OF THE MOUNTAIN YEN-KOUEN THERE LIVE FIRE-RATS (HO-CHOU, probably HWO, 火, "fire," and 鼠, SHU, "a

rat, mouse, weasel, squirrel, or similar animal"), THE HAIR OF WHICH SERVES ALSO FOR THE FABRICATION OF AN INCOMBUSTIBLE STUFF WHICH IS CLEANED IN FIRE INSTEAD OF IN WATER.

The Marquis d'Hervey's transcription of the words which he renders "Burning Mountain" shows that the translation should rather be "Smoking Mountain." This is exactly the meaning of the Aztec name, "Popocatepetl," [2345] which is applied to the highest mountain and most active volcano of Mexico (from *popoca*, "smoking," and *tepetl*, "a mountain"). South of Mexico several mountains are to be found, the native names of which mean either "Fire Mountain," "Burning Mountain," or "Smoking Mountain." No equal extent of the American Continent, perhaps of the globe, possesses so many volcanoes, active and extinct, or exhibits so many traces of volcanic action as Central America; that is to say, the region embraced between the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and that of Panama, or Darien. In the words of Mr. Stephens, the entire Pacific coast of this remarkable country "bristles with volcanic cones." [2364]

Oviedo makes a long enumeration of the volcanoes known at the time, and continues: "But it seems to me that none of these volcanoes are to be compared with that of Masaya, which, as I have said, I have seen and examined myself. Of this the reader shall be the judge, after he has read the description of that mountain whose name signifies "the Burning Mountain," in the language of the Chorotegans, in whose territory it is situated. In the language of Nicaragua it is called *Popocatepec*, which means 'Boiling Stream.'"

Mr. Squier explains that this translation is a mistake of the chronicler; "Popocatepec" meaning * "Smoking Mountain." [2362]

As to the "hairy serpents," Purchas [2114] states that, in preparing an unction for purposes of sorcery, "they did likewise grinde with these ashes blacke and hairie wormes, whose haire onelie is venomous: all which they mingled together with blacke, or the fume of rosine, putting it in small pots, which they set before their God, saying it was his meate, and therefore called it a Diuine meate." The statement that these hairy serpents were eaten "to preserve them from the heat" seems, however, to indicate, that Hwui Shăn made a rude drawing of the "nopal de la tierra,"

* Or rather "At the Smoking Mountain," or "The Region of the Smoking Mountain."—E. P. V.

a species of cactus very common in Mexico, whose round, prickly stems, straggling about upon the ground, would look in a drawing much like "hairy serpents." This species of nopal is often eaten in the hot and arid districts of Mexico, and its juicy stems serve to quench the thirst in many regions where water can not be otherwise obtained.

Hernandez says that a species of rhododendron is called *quauhtlepatli*, or "the fire-tree remedy," [1499] and he also mentions the *tlepatli*, or "fire-remedy," [1502] which may be the same plant. *Ocotl*, the name of the pitch-pine tree, was also applied to a torch, lamp, or candle; [611] and hence *ocotochtli*,[1527] the name of the marten,[2212] meaning literally the "pine-rabbit," might be understood to mean the "torch-rabbit." The "hair" of the "fire-rat" is evidently asbestos, once known as "salamander's-wool," and as in Europe and Asia this substance, which "when woven into cloth and thrown into the fire remains incombustible," [1794] gave rise to the myth of the salamander, it may in Mexico have led to similar stories of a species of "fire-rat." The *Ychcatetl*, or "cotton-stone," mentioned by Hernandez [1517] as among the productions of Mexico, seems to have been a variety of asbestos.

VII.—To the north of this Kingdom of Women is the Black Valley (He-ko, probably 黑, hoh, "black," and kuh, 谷, "a ravine, gully, gorge, cañon"), and north of the Black Valley are mountains so high that they reach to the heavens. Snow covers them all the year. The sun does not show itself there at all. It is there, it is said, that the dragon Tcho-long (the "Luminous Dragon"—probably 燭, chuh, "an illumination, a torch, to illumine," and 龍, lung, "a dragon") resides.

North of Mexico is found the Cañon of the Colorado River, the most wonderful chasm in the world, with walls so steep, high, and close together, that, as I once heard General Crook express it, "it is necessary to lie down upon one's back in order to see the sky." Into much of this deep gorge no ray of sunshine ever falls, and it well deserves the name of the "Dark Cañon." North of this is found the Sierra Nevada, "the Snowy Range." The reference to the Luminous Dragon is probably borrowed from some superstition of China, but it is not impossible that the worship of Huitzilopochtli, who, according to Saha-

gun,[2174] "bore upon his escutcheon a frightful head of a dragon vomiting flames," was, in later days, mixed with that of some god who, in the fifth century, was adored only in the region north of Mexico.

VIII.—AT THE WEST IS A FOUNTAIN THAT INEBRIATES, AND HAS THE TASTE OF WINE. IN THESE REGIONS THERE IS ALSO FOUND A SEA OF VARNISH, OF WHICH THE WAVES DYE BLACK THE FEATHERS AND FURS THAT ARE DIPPED IN THEM; AND ANOTHER SEA OF THE COLOUR OF MILK.

That which inebriates, and has the taste of wine, is probably the liquor made from the juice of the agave, which Yu Kie erroneously understood to be the product of a fountain. The "Sea of Varnish" is thus described by Sahagun:[2207]

"What is the *chapopotli?* It is a bitumen which comes from the sea, and which resembles Spanish pitch when it is soft. The waves of the sea throw it upon the shore, particularly on certain days at the times of the waxing of the moon. It lies spread out upon the waves like a great piece of cloth, and those who reside near the shore gather it upon the coast. The *chapopotli* is fragrant, and much esteemed by the women. When thrown upon the fire its odour extends to a great distance."

Hernandez gives the following account of "*chapopotli*, or the bitumen of the sea-shore of New Spain":[1515] "Chapopotli is a mineral which is of a dark yellowish colour, and from old times has been called Jewish bitumen. When of a purple colour, and exhaling a powerful odour like that of trefoil, asphalt, or rue, it is considered very valuable. It flows forth by the Northern Ocean, and the flowing liquid immediately runs along the shores of this New Spain in sheets which are said to be sometimes two miles in length, and when chance favours, two or three spans in thickness. Such is its abundance in these regions that it is of but little value. The Mexican women chew it, and not without pleasure, as its cleanses the mouth, and restores the teeth to their original brightness." Brasseur de Bourbourg describes it as "a black matter, analogous to pitch, which is found in the neighbouring seas, which is thrown up by the waves upon the coast";[702] and Acosta[1] mentions a spring or fountain of bitumen as occurring upon the Pacific coast. This native petroleum, or bitumen, was one of the substances used by the Mexicans as a means of producing a black colour.[2184]

I know of no sea "of the colour of milk" in Mexico, but the western portion of the American Continent contains so many springs and lakes of strange qualities, that the probability is that one thoroughly acquainted with the country could point out more than one lake or spring which would answer the description. Sahagun says: "In regard to the springs, there are so many in that land, and they are of such diverse qualities, that they would merit a separate treatise, especially if we were to enumerate those of the kingdom of Michoacan. There are an infinite number of springs of mineral water, nitrous, sulphurous, vitriolic, and aluminous."[1054] Squier[2063] says that, at the edge of Lake Managua, in Nicaragua, there were hundreds of hot springs. "In fact, for a considerable extent, the ground was covered with white incrustations, resembling a field of snow; and, as we walked over it, the sound of the water beneath was like that of a violently boiling cauldron."

IX.—The territory surrounded by these natural marvels is of great extent and extremely fertile.

This well describes Mexico and the neighbouring regions of America, but would be wholly inapplicable to any other location which has been suggested for Fu-sang.

X.—Dogs, ducks, and horses of a great height live in it . . . The rabbits of this country are white, and as large as horses, their hair being a foot long. The sables are as large as wolves; their hair is black and of extraordinary thickness.

Dogs and ducks were common in Mexico, as well as in other parts of America. The question of the existence of "horses" in the country has been considered in Chapter XXVI.

The rabbits of the western portion of America, commonly called "jackass rabbits," while not "as large as horses," are the largest of their race, and weigh at least four times as much as the common rabbits of other countries. The "sables" may possibly have been beavers.

XI.—Birds which produce human beings live in this country. The males born of these birds do not live. The daughters only are raised with care by their fathers, who carry them with their beak or upon their wings. As soon as they commence to walk, they become mistresses of themselves. They are all of remarkable

BEAUTY, AND VERY HOSPITABLE, BUT THEY DIE BEFORE REACHING THE AGE OF THIRTY YEARS.

This appears like a remarkable perversion of the peculiarities of the inhabitants of the "Country of Women." The name leads to the myth that the males die and only the daughters are raised. As soon as they are able to walk, they commence to provide for themselves, and they die of old age "before reaching the age of thirty years." They are said to be born of "birds," because a monkey's "swiftness on the trees is said to be like the flight of a bird," [2519] and being thus described as *like* a bird, Yu Kie seems to have understood that Hwui Shăn meant that they were really birds. Traditions of men with wings exist in many countries. Mackenzie mentions such a myth as current among one of the Indian tribes met in his travels in Northwestern America; [1776] the Chinese give a similar account of the Maotsz' aborigines in Kwéichau; [2549] and the religious books of the Buddhists contain numerous tales of the kind. [1251, 1268, 1352, 1356, 1358]

On the whole, although Yu Kie's account contains many absurdities, most of them seem mere perversions or exaggerations of the truth, or to be founded on a misunderstanding of Hwui Shăn's statements; and some of the points referred to appear to throw additional light upon the facts mentioned in the official record.

CHAPTER XXX.

MEXICAN TRADITIONS.

Mexican hieroglyphics—The tradition regarding Wixipecocha—His arrival—His appearance—His conduct—His teachings—Persecution—His departure—Survival of the doctrines he taught—The "Wiyatao"—Another version of the tradition—The written account preserved by the Mijes—The "Taysacaa"—Identity of the term Wixipecocha with the name and title "Hwui Shin, bhikshu"—The Mexican language—Huazontlan—Quetzalcoatl—His history not a myth—The epoch at which he lived—His arrival—His garments—His attendants—Their knowledge of arts—Another account—Customs introduced—Religious penances—The foundation of monasteries and nunneries—Belief that he was a Buddhist priest—Brahmanism and Buddhism—The worship of Siva—The religion of Nepal—The goddess Kali—The worship of Mictlancihuatl—Quetzalcoatl's horror of bloodshed—The arts he taught—The calendar—His promise to return—His vow to drink no intoxicating liquor—His temptation and fall—His sorrow—Etymology of his name—Its true meaning not "the Plumed Serpent," but "the Revered Visitor"—Term applied to the priests of Nepal—The Mexican "Cihuacoatl"—The arrival of Quetzalcoatl from the east—Possible explanations—The crosses on his mantle—Explanation of occurrence of crosses in Yucatan—Intercourse with the West Indian Islands—The god Hurakan—Oracles and prophecies—Veneration of the cross in ancient times—Its occurrence in India and Egypt—Its use in Asia as a symbol of peace—The patchwork cloaks of the Buddhist priests—Buddha's commands—The mark of a foot-print in the rocks—Occurrence of such foot-prints in America and Asia—Veneration shown them.

We have now finished our examination of the records found in Asia of Hwui Shăn's trip to Mexico, and shall next inquire whether any record or tradition of the visit can be found in America.

The hieroglyphics of the Mexicans were, at the best, but an imperfect method of recording historical events; but we might have hoped to find, among the books or paintings in their possession at the time of the Spanish conquest, some reference to a visit having so important an influence upon their life and civili-

zation as that of this Buddhist monk, if it were not for the unfortunate fact that the Spanish priests—thinking the hieroglyphic records of the Indians to be closely connected with the superstitious worship of their idols—destroyed all their native documents so thoroughly that scarcely one escaped their hands.

We are therefore thrown back on the still more unreliable witness of tradition, and find that this furnishes us with a tale in striking conformity with the account which we have been considering. This story is thus narrated by the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg :[681]

"The construction of the great edifices at Yopaa, which has since been so celebrated under the name of Mictlan (the Place of the Dead), has been attributed to the disciples of Quetzalcoatl. This place, however, has been rendered famous by the appearance here, at about the same epoch, or in earlier times, of an extraordinary personage, having a white complexion, to whom tradition gives the name of Wixipecocha. This name is still preserved for the statue of this person, which is erected upon a high rock at the village of Magdalena, about four leagues from Tehuantepec. It is not known to what race he belonged, or from what region he came, when he presented himself to the Zapotec people. A vague tradition states that he came from the South Sea, a cross in his hand, and debarked in the neighbourhood of Tehuantepec. His statue at Magdalena represents him as a man of a venerable appearance, having a white and bushy beard. His garments are composed of a long robe, and of a mantle in which he is enveloped, covering his head like a cowl, in the manner of a monk. His statue represents him as seated in an attitude of reflection, apparently occupied in listening to the confession of a woman kneeling at his side. His speech, to accord with his appearance, was of a remarkable sweetness. He taught the people to detach themselves from the things of this world, and to devote themselves to the practice of penitence and mortification, and to abstain from sensual pleasures. Adding example to precept, he kept away from women, and did not permit them to approach him, except for the purpose of auricular confession, which was part of his doctrine.

"This extraordinary conduct inspired the respect of the wicked, for they considered it an unheard-of thing that a man could dispense with marriage; but he was often persecuted by those

whose views and superstitions he attacked. Pursued in one province, he passed into another. Thus he arrived at the Zapotec Valley, the greater part of which was then taken up by a lake called Lake Rualo. Having finally entered into the country of the Mijes, to work for their conversion, some of them sought to put him to death. Those who had been sent to capture him overtook him at the foot of Cempoaltepec, the highest peak in the country; but at the moment when they thought to seize him he disappeared from their sight, and soon after, the tradition asserts, his form was seen upon the highest summit of the mountain.

"Full of astonishment, they hastened to climb its sides; but, when they reached the top, Wixipecocha appeared to them again for a few moments: but, like a phantom, he vanished for the second time, leaving no other trace of his presence than the imprint of his feet engraved upon the rock which he left. Thenceforth Wixipecocha was seen no more; but tradition adds, nevertheless, that he was seen again upon the enchanted island of Monapostiac, not far from Tehuantepec, where, perhaps, he embarked for the purpose of going to make new proselytes.

"His doctrine lost nothing of its influence by the departure of its first apostle. In spite of the silence of history concerning the date of his appearance and the disciples whom he left, it can not be doubted that the pontiff of Yopaa continued his work, and that the 'Wiyatao,' who for several centuries exercised the functions of high-priest and supreme pontiff of Zacotecapan, was merely the vicar and successor of the prophet of Monapostiac. It seems impossible to decide whether the worship of Quetzalcoatl derived from him the innovation which the prophet of Tollantzinco introduced among the Toltecs, or whether it is from the latter that Yopaa received the institutions which are found in the two religions; but it is certain that, in spite of some notable differences between their rites and customs, there are striking resemblances which militate strongly in favour of a common origin." Quotations are made from "Papeles Curiosos de la Historia de las Indias, recogidos por Don Mariano Veytia"; "Rasgos y Señales de la Primera Predication en el Nuevo Mundo, MS. de Don Isidro Gondra"; Carriedo, "Estudios Historicos y Estadisticos del Estado Oaxaqueño," Mexico, 1850, tome i, cap. i; and Burgoa, "Geogr. Hist. de Guaxaca," etc., cap. lxxii.

This account of the tradition is repeated by Bancroft,[173] who in other places gives the following variation of the tale :[340]

"However doubtful the tradition regarding Votan may be, there is one among the Cajacans which to me has all the appearances of a mutilated version of the myth of Quetzalcoatl, deformed still more by the orthodox Fathers. In very remote times, about the era of the apostles, according to the padres, an old white man, with long hair and beard, appeared suddenly at Huatulco, coming from the southwest by sea, and preached to the natives in their own tongue, but of things beyond their understanding. He lived a strict life, passing the greater part of the night in a kneeling position, and eating but little. He disappeared shortly after as mysteriously as he had come, but left as a memento of his visit a cross, which he planted with his own hands, and admonished the people to preserve it sacredly, for one day they would be taught its significance. Some authors describe a personage of the same appearance and character coming from the same quarter, and appearing in the country shortly after ; but it is doubtless the same old man, who, on leaving Huatulco, may have turned his steps to the interior. His voice is next heard in Mictlan, inveighing in gentle but firm accents against the pleasures of this world, and enjoining repentance and expiation. His life was in strict accordance with his doctrines, and never, except at confession, did he approach a woman. But the lot of Wixepecocha, as the Zapotecs call him, was that of most reformers. Persecuted by those whose vice and superstitions he attacked, he was driven from one province to another, and at last took refuge on Mount Cempoaltepec. Even here his pursuers followed him, climbing its craggy sides to lay hands upon the prophet. Just as they reached the summit, he vanished like a shadow, leaving only the print of his feet upon the rock.

"The Mijes had this tradition written in characters on skin. (Burgoa, 'Geog. Descrip.,' tome i, pt. ii, fol. 299.)

"It is in Zapotecapan that the disciples of Quetzalcoatl appear most prominently. There they are said to have founded Mitla or Yopaa, and to have diffused their arts and religious teachings throughout the whole country, as far as Tehuantepec. The mysterious apostle Wixipecocha, of whom a full account has already been given, is said to have appeared in these regions. He was generally respected, but was sometimes persecuted,

especially in the Mije country, whither he went after passing through the Zapotec Valley.

"Nothing definite is known of the early history of the Miztecs (or Mijes) and Zapotecs. All that has been preserved is some account of their spiritual rulers. Thus, we are told that the Kingdom of Tilantengo, which comprised Upper Mizteca, was spiritually governed by the high-priest of Achiutla, who bore the title of 'Taysacaa,' and whose power equaled, if it did not surpass, that of the king; while in Zapotecapan the 'Wiyatao,' or sovereign pontiff, united in his person the supreme sacerdotal and secular power." [436]

Bancroft also makes several other references to this preacher of strange doctrines,[341] and to the statue [317] set up in his honour,[342] and Brasseur de Bourbourg also refers again to the statue of Wixipecocha,[746] but nothing of importance is added to the foregoing statements.

As to the name, it should be noticed that the syllables "Wixi" or "Wixe" express very nearly the same sounds that occur in the name Hwui Shăn. Nearly all other authors than Professor Williams (and he himself elsewhere than in his dictionary) spell the last name of the Buddhist priest "Shin" instead of "Shăn." The "x" in "Wixe" or "Wixi" is intended to express the sound "sh," and we would, therefore, spell the name Wixi-pecocha, "Wi-shi-pecocha." The closing portion of the term I imagine to be derived from the Sanskrit word, "bhikshu," which was used as the title of the wandering Buddhist monks. It was customary to place this title after the name, and Hwui Shăn's full name and title would, therefore, have been "Hwui Shăn, bhikshu." Of "bhikshu" the Mexicans can hardly have made anything else than "pecocha," or "picoxa," for they had neither *b* nor *bh* in their language, and *p* is the letter which they would naturally substitute therefor. It is against their rules to permit two consonants to stand together, without the insertion of an intermediate vowel (*tl*, *tz*, *x*, and *ch* being regarded as single sounds), and they would, therefore, insert *o* or some obscure vowel sound between *k* and *sh*; and they seem to have seldom, if ever, permitted a word to end with *o* or *u*.

With the exception of the dropping of the terminal nasal of Hwui Shăn, or Hwui Shin, the term Wi-shi-pecocha is as faithful a preservation of "Hwui Shin, bhikshu" as could be expected.

As to this terminal nasal, it should be remarked that, in the Aztec language, such a nasal played nearly the same part as the "anuswara" of the Sanskrit, and was often either assimilated to the following consonant or else dropped. Thus the word for "one," when standing by itself, is *ce;* but "one stone" ("stone" being *tetl*) is *centetl*, and "one tally" ("tally" being *poalli*) is *cempoalli*, "twenty." A similar fluctuation of the terminal nasal sound is seen in the Maya language of Yucatan, some authorities writing *Chilan Balam* for the same words which others spell *Chilam Balan* or *Chilam Balam*.[817]

Upon the Pacific coast of Mexico, near the mouth of the Tehuantepec River, is a town called Huazontlan, or "the Place of Huazon," which may possibly preserve the name of our Buddhist explorer in a slightly different shape.

The statements made in regard to Wixipecocha show that there was some confusion in the native traditions between this prophet and Quetzalcoatl, the so-called "Plumed Serpent"; the civilizer who was afterward deified, to whom the legend attributes all the doctrines, all the arts, and all the industries which characterize the Toltec period.[1426]

The history of Topiltzin Céacatl Quetzalcoatl is one of the most interesting episodes of the annals of Mexico.[628] His mysterious appearance, his glory, and his misfortunes have popularized his name, which is indissolubly connected with that of the Toltecs in all the countries in which the Nahuatl language is used. His triple reign in Anahuac, at Cholula, and in Yucatan is not one of the least singular phenomena of the life of this extraordinary personage, whom all the traditions of North America have celebrated, and regarding whom so many authors have written since the discovery of the Western Continent. This history is not only interesting, however, but also contains much that is difficult to explain.

Too frequently confounded with the mythical creations which are found in the ancient theogonies, Quetzalcoatl, in the eyes of a great number, is merely an allegorical figure, symbolizing, like many others, certain attributes of the divinity; but careful study of the Mexican histories and traditions gives positive proofs to the contrary. Living at an epoch contemporaneous with that of Charlemagne and Haroun-al-Raschid, Quetzalcoatl, in America, united in his person all the splendours of the civilization of his century.

He was made the instrument and the personification of all that was most august, as was the case with the two rulers of Europe and Asia above named. High-priest of the nation of which he was the supreme chief, if he did not change the dogmas of the Toltec religion, he at least modified them considerably, clothed them with the veil of mystery, added new feasts and ceremonies to the ritual, and surrounded the worship of their ancient religion with pompous display. Far from being merely a personified symbol, he identified with himself the pre-existing symbols, and prepared the apotheosis of the heroes of his family by personifying the ancient myths in them. Finally, he surrounded himself with so much mystery, and enveloped himself in an exterior so solemn, that while some deemed him a true god, others, irritated by his pride, were repelled from him, and commenced the great Toltec schism which, at the close of a civil and religious war of which he was the object, and of which his intolerance was the cause, ended by the destruction of the empire.

More than fifteen years after the death of Totepeuh Nonohualcatl, the news of the appearance of Quetzalcoatl was spread throughout the provinces of the Toltec dominion. He was a person of an honourable deportment, large, well made, of a prepossessing countenance, white of colour, with blonde hair, and with a beard that was bushy and well trimmed. Like his companions, he wore long and flowing garments ; his robe being of a white stuff strewed with black flowers. Several authors say that his robe was decorated with red crosses,[310] and still others state that the crosses were black. We, however, accept the testimony of las Casas that the ornaments were black flowers.

The sleeves of his robe were large, but were fastened above the elbow.

His suite was numerous, all composed of men equally skillful in the works of art and in the combinations of science : architects, painters, sculptors, masons, goldsmiths, jewelers, mathematicians, astronomers, musicians, and men of all other trades and professions, even those who by their art were able to add to the pleasures of the table. They were a true colony of artists, who appear to have purposely sought these countries. They were seen for the first time in the neighbourhood of Panuco, where they had debarked, but no one ever knew whence they had come.[628]

Bancroft condenses a passage from Torquemada as follows :

[312] "Certain people came from the north by way of Panuco. These were men of good carriage, well dressed in long robes of black linen, open in front and without capes, cut low at the neck, with short sleeves that did not come to the elbow; the same in fact that the natives use to this day in their dances. From Panuco they passed on very peaceably, by degrees, to Tulla, where they were well received by the inhabitants. The country there, however, was already too thickly populated to sustain the new-comers; so these passed on to Cholula, where they had an excellent reception. They brought with them, as their chief and head, a personage called Quetzalcoatl, a fair and ruddy-complexioned man with a long beard. In Cholula, these people remained, and multiplied, and sent colonies to people Upper and Lower Mixteca, and the Zapotecan country; and these it is said raised the grand edifices, whose remains are still to be seen at Mictlan. These followers of Quetzalcoatl were men of great knowledge and cunning artists in all kinds of fine work; not so good at masonry and the use of the hammer as in casting metals, in the engraving and setting of precious stones, in all kinds of artistic sculpture, and in agriculture."

Sahagun says that he was represented as wearing upon his head a miter spotted like a tiger's skin, and ornamented with a plume of the feathers called *quetzalli*.[2176] A small image of Quetzalcoatl, contained in the Parisian Museum of Ethnography (see Fig. 22, Chapter XXXII), represents him as wearing a plaited conical bonnet, fastened in front by a large band, ornamented with great buttons, and which, according to Hamy,[1427] "reminds one of the bonnets worn by the Lama priests."

Quetzalcoatl seems to have been the leader of the party of five Buddhist priests referred to by Hwui Shăn, from whom the latter, in some way, became separated. Von Humboldt says of him that he was without doubt the most mysterious being of all the Mexican mythology. He was a white and bearded man, like Bochica, the hero of the Muyscas of South America. He was the high-priest of Tollan, a legislator, and the chief of a religious sect which, like the Sonyasis, and the Buddhists of Hindostan, imposed the most cruel penances upon themselves. He introduced the custom of piercing the lips and ears, and of disfiguring the rest of the body, with the thorns of the leaves of the century-plant, or with the spines of the cactus, and of introduc-

ing reeds into the wounds, so as to cause a more abundant flow of blood. One fancies that he sees one of the Rishis, hermits of the Ganges, of whom the Puranas celebrate the pious austerity.[1583] He adds that[1584] he permitted no other offerings to the divinity than the first-fruits of the harvest.

Nearly all the accounts tell us that Quetzalcoatl was never married, and that he held himself aloof from all women in absolute chastity.[829] Following the example of their master, many of the priests of his cult refrained from sexual relations, and, as a mortification of the flesh, they practiced a painful rite by transfixing the tongue with the sharp thorns of the maguey-plant, an austerity which, according to their traditions, he was the first to institute. There were also in the cities where his special worship was in vogue, houses of nuns, the inmates of which had vowed perpetual virginity, and it was said that Quetzalcoatl himself had founded these institutions.

Von Tschudi is led, by the general resemblance of the dress and doctrines of this teacher to those of the devotees of the religions of India, to state his belief that he, as well as Manco Capac of Peru, was a missionary of the worship either of Brahma or Buddha ("Peruv. Antiq.," pp. 17–20).[407] Von Humboldt is in error in his statement that the Buddhists impose cruel penances upon themselves; these penances belong rather to the Brahmanic than to the Buddhist religion. It is a fact, however, that the truth of the Brahmanic mythology was not denied by the founder of Buddhism or his followers,[1263] and that Brahmanic ideas form a strong element in Buddhism.[1270] It is a religion, contemplative, mild, a little sad, and eclectic. Propagandistic by nature, it converts by reason and example, never by force. It appropriates, with the greatest facility, all that it finds good in the religions which it meets, and, pushing this principle to extremes, it finds no difficulty in adopting and placing in its pantheon the gods of the nations among which it is transplanted, making these deities subordinate to Buddha.[1884] Hence it did not suppress the gods of Brahmanism, [1881] and, by the latter part of the fifth century, its doctrines had become mixed with the incongruous teachings of the Brahmanic religion, [1341] and the term "A Brahman Buddhist" is an expression that occurs more than once.[1342] It is particularly in what is called *Northern* Buddhism that Brahmanic ideas are most prevalent,[1742] and the religion in-

troduced into Thibet was much corrupted by Sivaism—a mixture of witchcraft and Hindu philosophy.[1302] In Java, also, the worship was that of Siva united to Buddhism;[1142] and Crawfurd holds that the testimony afforded by the relics of Hinduism, in the principal temples of Java, may be considered as a proof that the religions of Brahma and Buddha are essentially the same, the one being nothing but a modification of the other.[1143] Dr. Stevenson, of Bombay, in an article contributed to the seventh volume of the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society," mentions a sect in the Marhatta country, in Guzerat, Central India, and the Carnatic, who combine the worship of Buddha with that of Vishnu.[1354] It is well known that the Buddhists of India admitted a great number of Indian idols into their temples, and that even now, in the countries in which Buddhism is the ruling religion, they do not exclude the local divinities from their places of worship; but that now, as formerly, they unite the doctrines of the local religion with those properly pertaining to their own system, or subordinate the former to the latter.[1608] All accounts agree that, when gods that are plainly and decidedly Brahmanic are found in connection with Buddhistic ideas, it is usually Siva and the mythical beings connected with that worship that are found, and very seldom either Brahma or Vishnu, or idols of this branch of the Indian pantheon. Schmidt notices this fact, especially, also, in regard to the nations of Central Asia.[1609]

Convincing proofs of a connection between Buddhism and the worship of Siva are furnished by the ruins of Buddha-Gayâ, and the religious situation in Nepal. In the first, so many of the sculptures are connected with the worship of Siva, that Buchanan-Hamilton thought it probable that the former Buddhists of this region worshiped more especially Siva and the accompanying destroying feminine power. The number of these remains is as great as those of the images of Buddha, and some are so large and remarkable that they can not be considered as mere decorations. In Nepal, the worship of Siva is so mixed with Buddhistic customs and ideas, in the views and religion of the people, that the pure teachings of Buddha can only be learned from the religious books.[1610]

Two scholars who have studied this subject with a thorough knowledge of Oriental writings, MM. Schmidt and W. von Humboldt, have asked why Buddhism allies itself rather with Sivaism

than with Vishnuism, and the conclusion is reached that there has not been a complete fusion of the two religions, but that there has been merely the practice of diverse ceremonies, and an adoration by the Buddhists of different gods belonging properly to the worship of Siva ; the worshipers being but little disquieted by the discordance between their ancient faith and their new superstitions.[859]

Count Stolberg is of opinion that the two great religious sects of India, the worshipers of Vishnu and those of Siva, have spread over America, and that the Peruvian cult is that of Vishnu, when he appeared in the form of Krishna, or the Sun, while the sanguinary religion of the Mexicans is analogous to that of Siva, in the character of the Stygian Jupiter. The wife of Siva, the black goddess Kali, or Bhavani, symbol of death and destruction, wears, according to Hindu statues and pictures, a necklace of human skulls. The Vedas ordain human sacrifices in her honour. The ancient cult of Kali, continues Humboldt, presents, without doubt, a marked resemblance to that of Mictlancihuatl, the Mexican goddess of hell. (Quoted from Humboldt, "Vues," tome i, pp. 256–257, and "Geschichte der Religion Jesu Christi," tome i, p. 426.)[405]

Bancroft adds that, not only does the worship of Mictlancihuatl preserve the most perfect analogy with that of the sanguinary and implacable Kali, but the legends of the Mexican divinity Teoyamiqui recall with equal force the formidable Bhavani ; both these Indian deities were wives of Siva Rudra.[406]

M. Viollet-le-Duc notes a similar analogy between the Brahmanic ideas concerning the divinity and certain passages of the *Popol-Vuh*, or Sacred Book of the Quiches of Central America.[1217]

The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg suggests [756] that Quetzalcoatl introduced the drawing of blood by thorns as a hygienic measure, rather than as an act of religious worship. It seems more probable, however, that the five Buddhist monks were devotees of an impure form of Buddhism, more or less mixed with the worship of Siva, and that they introduced into Mexico religious penances somewhat similar to those which they had practiced in their distant home north of India.

The analogy between the religion introduced into Mexico by Quetzalcoatl and that prevalent in Eastern Asia, and between the

arts of these two regions of the world, will be considered hereafter. For the present, it is sufficient to note that all the traditions represent this missionary to have been of an exceedingly chaste and quiet life, and of great moderation in all things. The people had at least three reasons for the great love, reverence, and devotion with which they regarded him : first, he taught the silversmith's art, a craft the Cholulans greatly prided themselves on ; second, he desired no sacrifice of the blood of men or animals, but delighted only in offerings of bread, roses, and other flowers, or perfumes, and sweet odours ; third, he prohibited and forbade all war and violence,[310] and even covered his ears when the subject was mentioned.[317]

He taught not only the art of casting metals,[1068] but also that of cutting gems,[1067] and, as some say,[697] taught them the arrangement of their seasons and calendar.[1854] He also taught the people agriculture.[317]

The influence of his teachings was so great that the prediction which he made when he left them, that in the future his descendants (or the people of his nation) would return[741] to moderate the laws of the country and put its government in order,[2348] was firmly believed in, both by Montezuma and his people, at the time of the coming of the Spaniards ; and much of the ease with which they conquered the country was due to the fact that their arrival was regarded as a fulfillment of this prediction.[416]

In the legends regarding Quetzalcoatl it is usually stated that when he became oppressed with the weight of old age he was induced to drink,[2188] as a medicine, of the intoxicating liquor[2189] prepared from the juice of the agave,[309] notwithstanding the fact that when first urged to taste it he replied, "No ; I can not drink it : I can not so much as taste it."[311] Much is said of the sorrow which he evinced at having thus weakly yielded to temptation. Now, although it can not be claimed that this doctrine of "total abstinence" is peculiar to the Buddhist religion, it seems at least worthy of notice that on this point, as on so many others, the principles by which this teacher professed to be governed were in strict accordance with the doctrines of the Buddhists. According to their teachings, of the five crimes, the taking of life, theft, adultery, lying, and drinking, the last is the worst ; for, though a man be ever so wise, when he drinks he becomes foolish, and like

an idiot. It is therefore the cause of all other sins, and for this reason it is the greatest crime.[1461]

Possibly the true etymology of the name Quetzalcoatl may be of assistance in forming a conclusion as to the character of the man to whom it was applied. As *quetzalli* is the name of a species of feathers much valued by the Mexicans ; as *coatl* means "serpent" ; and as the Aztecs wrote the name by picturing a serpent with feathers—it has been thought that the meaning was "Plumed Serpent," and no other derivation has been sought. The French editors of Sahagun's work, however, give the following definition of the term *quetzalli:*[2177] "This is a very long and beautiful feather from the tail of the bird (*tototl*) called *quetzal tototl.* It is so valued that the Mexicans metaphorically address a beloved child by the word *noquetzale,* 'Oh, my beautiful feather!' *They also designate by this term a chief, a superior, a father, a mother—in one word, any powerful person.*" By reference to the Aztec dictionaries it will be seen that *coatl* not only means a serpent, but from its compounds it is evident that the word once also had the meaning of a guest or a visitor. The compound Quetzalcoatl is therefore susceptible of the meaning "the revered guest," or "the honoured visitor," and I am strongly of the opinion that the term should be so translated, rather than by the absurd rendering of "the Plumed Serpent." *

In this connection it should be noticed that the Buddhist priests of Nepal are frequently referred to in their religious books by the term *Vadjra âtchârya,* meaning "the diamond teacher," or "the precious teacher,"[858] and it can not be considered strange that the leader of this party of missionaries should have been given a name which is practically a translation of the title which he had borne in his own country.

The most serious objection that can be urged against the theory which identifies Quetzalcoatl with the leader of the party of Buddhist monks mentioned by Hwui Shăn is that Quetzal-

* One of the highest officers of the Mexican government bore the title of "Cihuacoatl." This has usually been translated "the Woman-Serpent." I would suggest that its true meaning is "the women's guest," or "the wives' guest." In some of the islands of the Pacific Ocean there is an officer, standing next in rank to the chief, who, during the absence of the latter on military expeditions, fills his place at home in both governmental and domestic affairs. The rank and title of the Mexican Cihuacoatl suggest that his duties were the same, when the office was first established, if not at the time of the Spanish conquest.—E. P. V.

coatl is said to have come from the *east*. All the incidental circumstances that are mentioned, however, agree so closely with the theory that this reformer came from Asia, and are so incompatible with the belief that he came from Europe, that the mere mention of the east is not sufficient to outweigh them all. I can only suggest as possible explanations, the following :

First.—The party may have crossed the western portion of the American Continent by some one of the routes pointed out by Mr. Morgan,[1944] and have reached the Gulf of Mexico by way of the Mississippi River, and hence have arrived at Mexico from the east, while Hwui Shăn, who seems to have become separated from the rest, came down the Pacific coast.

Second.—As the party left Asia by way of Corea and Japan, their references to these countries as "the Land of the Freshness of the Dawn,"[2522] and "the Land of the Rising Sun"[2323] (these phrases being translations of the names of the countries in question), may have led to the impression that the country from which they came lay to the east ; *Chivim*,[332] the term preserved in Guatemala as the name of the land from which Votan came,[621] is at least as near to the name of Japan as the form *Sipangu*, which is given by Marco Polo.

Third.—The old traditions may have had this statement added to them after the arrival from the east of the Spaniards, who were supposed to be the descendants of their former prophet and teacher. Bandelier calls attention to the fact, that it was not until many years after the conquest that the detail that Quetzalcoatl came from or sailed to the east was added to the earlier accounts regarding him, and he reaches the conclusion that[497] there is absolutely no evidence to prove that this return was expected by sea, rather than by land, or, in general, from any quarter or country whatever in preference to any other.

The reference to crosses upon the mantle of Quetzalcoatl may have been another addition to the legend that was made after the arrival of the Spaniards ; and the fact that some versions of the story refer to the figures as flowers, rather than as crosses, would seem to favour this belief. It is undeniable, however, that crosses were actually found in Mexico and Central America by the Spaniards. Signor Zamacois gives both the following account of the discovery of a cross and a theory which seems to give a reasonable explanation of its existence:

"When the expedition of Grijalva reached the island of Cozumel, near the coast of Yucatan, he called the attention of the Spaniards to the solidity of the houses, and the beautiful construction of a number of temples, all of lime and stone. Among the last there was one surpassing all the rest, of a pyramidical form, surrounded by a wall, in the spacious lower porch of which a stone cross, three yards in height, and perfectly worked, was conspicuous.

"The sight of this cross, and of many others which were afterward found in the peninsula of Yucatan, has caused many to suppose that the apostle St. Thomas came to preach the Gospel in these remote countries. Other writers suspect that in 1517 the Governor Don Francisco Montejo reached a point only fourteen leagues distant from Merida, and that the inhabitants, when the Spaniards, whom they took for celestial beings, had retired, adopted the cross among their divinities. But no one of the suppositions that have been made regarding the origin of the sign of the cross in Yucatan rests upon a secure basis, and they are all open to question. If I may be permitted to enter the vast field of simple conjecture, I will venture to state my opinion in respect to the manner in which, as I conceive, the cross may have been planted in that part of the New World, while it was not encountered in any other part of America.

"The island of Cuba was occupied by Velasquez in 1511, when the Indians embraced Catholicism almost immediately. Various insurrections set on foot by the caciques, and crushed out by the Spaniards, obliged many Indians to emigrate from the island; but it is reasonable to suppose that they would not seek countries under the rule of the Europeans. It being then impossible for them to seek a home in San Domingo, it might easily happen that, floating aimlessly on the sea, they should be thrown by the currents upon Cozumel, or some other place upon the coast of Yucatan. Being admitted among the inhabitants, and continuing the adoration of the cross of the new religion, of which they had scarcely any true knowledge, it might easily happen that the inhabitants, hearing of the prodigies which they related regarding it, should have admitted it into the list of their divinities, while having no knowledge whatever of that which it symbolized.

"This is merely a conjecture, although it seems to be based

upon some probability. In any case, it is true that the cross figured in the religion of various tribes of the peninsula of Yucatan, and that it represented the god of Rain." [2585]

Bandelier thinks, however, that the crosses, which were frequently used previously to the conquest by the aborigines of Mexico and Central America, were merely designed as ornaments, and were not the objects of worship among them, while the so-called crucifixes, like that on the "Palenque tablet," were only the symbol of the "new fire," or close of a period of fifty-two years. He believes them to be merely representations of "fire-drills," more or less ornamented.[498]

The theory of Signor Zamacois, that there was more or less communication between the natives of the West India Islands and those of Yucatan, prior to the time that the Spaniards reached this last-named country, is confirmed, however, both by the fact that a god named Hurakan, the deification of the power of the tempest, was worshiped alike in these two regions,[503] and by the circumstances that the natives of Española are said to have received an oracle, shortly before Columbus's arrival, announcing the coming of bearded men with sharp, bright swords. (Villagutierre, "Hist. Conq. Itza.," p. 33.) The Yucatec records abound in predictions to the same effect, more or less clear. The most widely quoted is that of Chilam Balam, high-priest of Mani, and reputed a great prophet, who foretold that, ere many years, there would come from the direction of the rising sun a bearded white people, bearing aloft the cross which he displayed to his listeners. Their gods would flee before the new-comers, and leave them to rule the land, but no harm would fall on the peaceful, who admitted the only true God. The priest had a cotton mantle woven, to be deposited in the temple at Mani, as a specimen of the tribute required by the new rulers, and he it was who erected the stone crosses found by the Spaniards, declaring them to be the true tree of the world. Cogalludo, "Hist. Yucathan," pp. 99–101, gives the prophecy at length.[452]

These prophecies can hardly be accounted for on any other theory than that their authors had obtained some knowledge of the arrival of the Spaniards in the neighbouring islands, and that they thought it safe to predict that these wonderful strangers would soon find their way to Yucatan.

If it be thought that the mantle of Wixipecocha was really

embroidered with crosses, their presence may possibly be accounted for by remembering that the cross was venerated as the object of religious worship in regions of Asia where the light of Christianity had never risen.[2071] That it was of pagan, not of Christian origin ;[848] that in the earliest times it was the most sacred symbol in the eyes of our Aryan ancestors (see "Edinburgh Review" for October, 1870) ;[849] that it was the sign used to seal the jars of holy water taken from the Nile and Ganges ;[1611] that it was the monogram of Vishnu and Siva,[1252] and was used in India before the Christian era as a symbol of Buddha,[846] and a sign of recognition of orthodoxy in Buddhism.[847] The form of cross most frequently used for these purposes is known as the Swastika [1252] fylfot, or gammadion, and this same form was frequently used by the Christians of the Middle Ages as a decorative device.[1508]

Mr. Godfrey Higgins, in his "Celtic Druids," p. 126, says: "Few causes have been more powerful in producing mistakes in ancient history than the idea, hastily taken up by Christians in all ages, that every monument of antiquity marked with a cross, or with any of those symbols which they conceived to be monograms of Christ, were of Christian origin. . . . The cross is as common in India as in Egypt and Europe."[845]

If crosses were actually worn upon the mantle of Wixipecocha, they may have been used, as they still are in the curtains of the windows of Buddhist monasteries in Thibet, as symbols of quietness or peace.[2232] In Japan the loop-holes of the forts are, in times of peace, covered with such curtains embroidered with crosses ; when a war breaks out they are removed. This missionary may, therefore, have worn them as a traveler might now carry a white flag : as a sign of peaceful intentions.

The disagreement between the several versions of the tradition, as to the nature of the ornaments with which his mantle was adorned, seems rather to indicate, however, that the story owed its origin to the fact that the outer garment of Buddhist priests is, in accordance with the commands of the founder of their religion, made of patchwork.

The physician Juvaka, having given two magnificent robes to Gôtama Buddha, the sage reflected that if the priests were allowed to receive robes of this description they would be in danger from thieves, and he therefore intimated this danger to his

attendant, Ananda, who cut them into thirty pieces, and then sewed them together in five divisions, so that the robe resembled the patches in a rice-field divided by embankments.[1434] On seeing this contrivance, Buddha made a law that his priests should only have three robes at one time, and that they should always be composed of thirty pieces of cloth.[1435] Buddhist ascetics have three kinds of dresses: *First.* The SENG-KIA-LI, so called from a Sanskrit word (*sanghâti*), signifying "joined or doubled," because it is made of pieces cut and united together again. As to its use, it is called "a dress to enter the palace of kings," or "a dress for a public place," because it is worn on the occasion of preaching the law in palaces, as well as begging in the cross-ways. *Second.* YU-TO-LO-SENG (*uttarasanghâti*), a Sanskrit word signifying the "upper garment," "surtout"; it consists of seven pieces, and is worn on the occasion of ceremonies, prayers, festivals, and preaching. *Third.* AN-THO-HOEI: this word means an inner vesture used in sleep and worn next the body. A Buddhist work calls it "the nether garment," and states that it is composed of five pieces. Its use is defined to be "a garment formed of several pieces worn in-doors by those who practice the law." Its Sanskrit name is *antaravâsaka.*[1339]

A mantle so patched that it "resembled the patches in a rice-field divided by embankments" may easily have given rise to the story that it was embroidered with crosses.

It should be noticed that the tradition states that when Wixipecocha disappeared he left the imprint of his feet engraved upon the rock on which he had stood; it is also said of Quetzalcoatl that, in a valley near Tlalnepantla or Tanepantla, he pressed hand and foot into a rock with such force that the impression has remained down to the latest centuries.[152] Similar statements are also made regarding the mysterious teachers mentioned in the legends of several nations of South America, and referred to in the following chapter. I can hardly think it a mere coincidence that a favourite form of relic worship among the Buddhists consists of respect paid to the impressions of Gôtama's foot, called *Srî-pâda.* On the third visit of the sage to Ceylon, in the eighth year after he obtained the Buddhaship, he left such an impression on the summit of the mountain, usually known by the name of Adam's Peak, seven thousand four hundred and twenty feet above the level of the sea, intended as "a

seal to declare that Lanká would be the inheritance of Buddha." In the same journey he left other impressions of a similar kind in different parts of India.[1445]

Buddhists mention a great many foot-prints of this kind ; the veneration these receive, scarcely inferior to that paid to Buddha himself, has no doubt contributed to augment the number. It is quite plain that every country must have its own, and that each sect pretends to honour in it the divinity it adores, or the head of the doctrine it has embraced. All, therefore, do not belong to Sâkya Muni ; indeed, the Pâli texts recognize but five genuine ones, named *Pancha pra patha*, " the five divine feet." Captain Low has devoted an article to this subject in the " Translations of the Royal Asiatic Society of London." [1362]

Foot-prints of this nature are mentioned by Fa Hian as existing near Palibothra,[1353] and in the kingdom in the north of India which he designates as Ou-chang,[1337] as well as in Ceylon.[1360]

CHAPTER XXXI.

VARIOUS AMERICAN TRADITIONS.—BUDDHISM.

White and bearded men wearing long robes—The great numbers of countries in which such traditions exist—Non-intercourse between them—Traditions of Yucatan—Zamná and Cukulcan—The introduction of the alphabet—Attendants—The name Cukulcan—The three brothers of Chichen Itza—The buildings erected—The teachings of Cukulcan—His departure—The survival of his doctrines—Votan—His long-robed attendants—Resemblance of name "Votan" to Asiatic perversions of "Gautama"—The time of these visits—The "katuns" of Yucatan—South American traditions—The Muyscas—Their civilization—The arrival of a white stranger—His names—The arts he taught—His doctrines—The veneration of the people for him—Resemblance of his names to Buddhist titles—A *Pachchéko*—The *Upásakas*—The Chinese *Ho Shang*—Tradition of the Guaranis—Tamoi, Tamu, Tume, or Zume—His teachings—The impress of his foot-prints—The tradition in Paraguay—His promise to return—Adventure of the fathers de Montoya and de Mendoza—The Brazilian tradition—The great road—Foot-prints—Another tradition—The story in Chili—Tonapa in Peru—His appearance—His mildness—His teachings—His departure—Viracocha—The pyramids of Peru—Con, or Contice—The Buddhist decalogue—Avoidance of women—Buddhist practices—The dress of the priests—Hats not worn by the Indians—Resemblance of teachings of the American culture-heroes to those of the Roman Catholics—Resemblances between Buddhism and Roman Catholicism—Their monasteries—Their doctrines—The costume of the Grand Lama—Belief in an early mixture of Christianity and Buddhism—A Central American image—The calendar—The arts practiced by Buddhist priests—The art of casting metals—Sculptured vases.

It is a remarkable fact that, throughout all the American Continent south of the United States, there were traditions of a visit by one or more white and bearded men, dressed in long robes, who taught the people all the religious precepts as well as all the arts with which they were acquainted at the time that they were first visited by Europeans. These tales are so similar that the first impulse is to believe that they must have been borrowed by one nation from another; and yet there was so little possibility

of intercourse between the tribes of Yucatan, Central America, New Grenada, Brazil, Peru, Chili, and Paraguay, that this theory seems wholly untenable. Barney says that while some portions of the legends of New Grenada bear so close a resemblance to those of Mexico that one is led to suspect invention and collusion among historians or their informers, yet it is very difficult to see how such could have been, or what object was to be gained by the deception.[530] The only other reasonable explanation of the existence of these stories, among tribes so widely separated, is that each nation actually preserved some recollection of a visit from a missionary who taught the doctrines which were still enshrined in their hearts, and, if so, the missionary can hardly have been any other than one of the party described by Hwui Shăn. These devoted men seem to have become separated, and some of them continued to push on farther and farther into the unknown land to which they had found the way, until they at last wandered as far as Chili and Paraguay.

In Yucatan, nearly or quite every tribe had its traditions of teachers who came in the distant past to seek new homes, escape persecutions, or introduce new ideas.[155] The most popular names were Zamná and Cukulcan, both culture-heroes, and considered by some to be identical. The tradition relates that, some time after the fall of the Quinamean empire, Zamná appeared in Yucatan, coming from the west, and was received with great respect wherever he stayed. Besides being the inventor of the alphabet, he is said to have named all points and places in the country.[343] He was also called Itznamná, and the Indians gave the same name to the characters which they used as letters (Cogolludo, "Hist. Yuc.," p. 185).[279] He was accompanied by a band of priests and artisans, and was the first temporal and religious leader of the people,[439] and, like Votan, united in himself the qualities of ruler, law-giver, educator, and priest.[265]

Cukulcan appeared in Yucatan from the west, with nineteen followers, two of whom were gods of fishes, two gods of farms, and one of thunder, all wearing full beards, long robes, and sandals, but no head-covering. This event is supposed to have occurred at the very time that Quetzalcoatl disappeared in the neighbouring province of Coatzacoalco, a conjecture, which, in addition to the similarity of the names, character, and work of the heroes, forms the basis for their almost generally accepted iden-

tity.[344] The name Cukulcan is merely the Maya translation of the Aztec term Quetzalcoatl.

At Chichen Itza, ten leagues from Itzamal, the ancients say there reigned three lords, brothers, who came from the west, and gathered together many people, and reigned some years in peace and justice; and they constructed large and very beautiful edifices. It is said that they lived unmarried and very chastely; and it is added that in time one of them was missing, and that his absence worked such bad results that the other two began to be unchaste and partial; and thus the people came to hate them, and slew them, and scattered abroad, and deserted the edifices, especially the most stately one, which is ten leagues from the sea.

"Those who established themselves at Chichen Itza call themselves Itzas: among these there is a tradition that there ruled a great lord called Cukulcan, and all agree that he came from the west; and the only difference among them is as to whether he came before, or after, or with the Itzas; but the name of the building at Chichen Itza, and what happened after the death of the lords above mentioned, show that Cukulcan ruled the country jointly with them. He was a man of good disposition; was said not to have had either wife or children, and not to have known woman; he was devoted to the interests of the people, and for this reason was regarded as a god. In order to pacify the land, he agreed to found another city, where all business could be transacted. He selected for this purpose a site eight leagues farther inland from where now stands the city of Merida, and fifteen leagues from the sea. There they erected a circular wall of dry stone, about a half-quarter of a league in diameter, leaving in it only two gate-ways. They erected temples, giving to the largest the name Cukulcan, and also constructed around the wall the houses of the lords among whom Cukulcan had divided the land, giving and assigning towns to each." *

Bancroft believes that Cukulcan should be identified with Quetzalcoatl, and he regards his appearance, and the rule of the three "holy princes" at Chichen and Mayapan, as the first introduction of the Nahua influence in Yucatan.[440] The teachings of Cukulcan forbade the sacrifice of human victims,[269] and he introduced the practice of confession.[347]

* Translated from Herrera's "Historia de las Indias Occidentales," dec. iv, lib. x, cap. ii.[322]

Another singularity is presented in his history: it is his abdication and departure from Yucatan. Nothing in the short fragments that we possess indicates the motives which induced him to take this course. No other reason can be seen than his great age, or the fear of drawing the arms of his enemies upon the Mayas.[642]

After the mysterious departure of Cukulcan from Yucatan, the people, convinced that he had gone to the abode of the gods, deified him, and built temples and instituted feasts in his honour.[268]

The first seven sovereigns who reigned after Cukulcan, upon the throne of Mayapan, continued, in emulation one of the others, to render services to their country which surrounded the reign of the Cocomes with a glorious aureole. Without excepting the re-establishment of justice, and the exact observance of the civil and religious laws so strongly recommended by Cukulcan as the only basis of national prosperity, tradition, usually so vague, mentions fully their benefactions to their subjects, and the monuments which they erected in so many places. Fountains, roads, palaces, temples, schools, hospitals for the old and infirm, retreats for widows and orphans, inns for travelers and pilgrims, baths, and artificial ponds: such were the titles of the Cocomes to the public remembrance.[643]

In Guatemala a story is told of a culture-hero named Votan,[623] very similar in its details to those which have already been given regarding Wixipecocha, Quetzalcoatl, Cukulcan, and Zamná. He brought with him, according to one statement, or, according to another, was followed from his native land by, certain attendants or subordinates, called in the myth *tzequil*, "petticoated," from the long and flowing robes they wore.[831] Bancroft thinks that he was probably a companion of Zamná.[265]

To me the name Votan seems to be a possible corruption of "Gautama," which in Chinese is changed to *Kiu-tan*, in Thibetan to *Geoutam*,[1459] in Siamese to *Kodom*, and in Manchu and Mongolian to *Godam;*[1357] while Zamná may possibly be the Sanskrit *Sramana*, the Siamese *Somona*, an epithet often attached to the name Gautama,[1357] and a term afterward applied to those of his disciples who devoted their life to his service. It is the Chinese Sha-man already referred to, which appears in English in the same form, and which is the usual designation of Buddhist priests.

As to the time when these missionaries visited Yucatan and

Guatemala, the only clew that we have is contained in the records known as the Books of Chilan Balam, which have been preserved in Yucatan. The total period of time, from the earliest date given to the settlement of the country by the Spaniards, is seventy-one "katuns." If the katun is estimated at twenty years, this equals 1,420 years; if at twenty-four years, then we have 1,704 years.

All the native writers agree, and in spite of the contrary statement of Bishop Landa we may look upon it as beyond doubt, that the last day of the eleventh katun was July 15th, 1541. Therefore one of the above calculations would carry us back to A. D. 121, the other to B. C. 173.

The chief possibility of error in the reckoning would be from confusing the great cycles of 260 (or 312) years, one with another, and assigning events to different cycles which really happened in the same. This would increase the number of the cycles, and thus extend the period of time they appeared to cover. This has undoubtedly been done in at least one case.[821]

Thomas believes that,[2448] if we assume that these great periods were numbered in regular order, 1, 2, 3, 4, which is more than probable, as they were but seldom referred to, then we have evidence that the Itza record ran back three great cycles—936 years before the year A. D. 1519, that is, to the year 583 of the Christian era.[2448] He also fixes the date when the Itzas set out upon their travels from Tulapan to Chichen Itza as between the years 486 and 510.[2449]

Bancroft thinks that these visits occurred "within the first two centuries of the Christian era."[440] The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg thinks the year 174 A. D. to be the earliest historical date named in the records of Yucatan;[696] and Lenoir[1729] mentions 660 A. D. as the year in which Huematzin, a celebrated Toltecan astronomer, wrote the divine book *Teoamoxtli*, containing the history of the heavens and the earth, the cosmogony, the description of the constellations, the divisions of time, the migrations of the people, the mythology, and the moral law.[1729]

It will be seen that, while the exact date can not be determined from the traditions or records of Yucatan, they seem to fix the time of the introduction of civilization into the country, by these white, bearded, and long-robed teachers, at about the same era as the dates mentioned by Hwui Shăn—458 and 499 A. D.

In South America there are numerous traditions of a visit by civilized strangers. On the lofty plateau of the Andes, in New Grenada, where, though nearly under the equator, the temperature is that of a perpetual spring, was the fortunate home of the Muyscas. It is the true Eldorado of America—every mountain-stream a Pactolus, and every hill a mine of gold. The natives were peaceful in disposition, skilled in smelting and beating the precious metal that was everywhere at hand, lovers of agriculture, and versed in the arts of spinning, weaving, and dyeing cotton. Their remaining sculptures prove them to have been of no mean ability in designing, and it is asserted that they had a form of writing, of which their signs for the numerals have alone been preserved.

The knowledge of these various arts they attributed to the instructions of a wise stranger, who dwelt among them many cycles before the arrival of the Spaniards. He came from the east, from the llanos of Venezuela, or beyond them, and it is said that the path he made was broad and long, a hundred leagues in length, and led directly to the holy temple at his shrine at Sogamoso. In the province of Ubaque his foot-prints on the solid rock were reverently pointed out long after the conquest. His hair was abundant, his beard fell to his waist, and he dressed in long and flowing robes.[332]

His names were various, but one of the most usual was Chimizapagua, which we are told means a messenger from Chiminigagua; other names applied to this hero-god were Nemtequeteba, Bóchica, and Zuhe or Sua, the last mentioned being the ordinary word for the sun. He was reported to have been of light complexion.[333] He it was who invented the calendar and regulated the festivals.[401] He also taught them how to build and to sow, formed them into communities, gave an outlet to the waters of the great lake, and, having settled the government, civil and ecclesiastic, retired into a monastic state of penitence for two thousand years.[314]

"The matters that Bóchica taught," says the chronicler Piedrahita, "were certainly excellent, inasmuch as these natives hold as right to do just the same that we do." "The priests of these Muyscas," he goes on to say, "lived most chastely and with great purity of life, insomuch that, even in eating, their food was simple and of small quantity, and they refrained altogether

from women and marriage. Did one transgress in this respect, he was dismissed from the priesthood.[835]

Barney relates the legends regarding this teacher, as follows:[530] "The 'culture-hero,' who, according to one of their traditions, was the originator and organizer of their religion and laws, was generally designated by two names, Nemterequeteba, or "the sent from God," and Xue-Chimzapaque, which had a similar signification. . . . He taught the people not only to spin and weave, but to colour their cloths red and blue, yellow and brown, etc., that they should not forget his teachings. He also instructed them in government and a system of religious faith, which bears much resemblance to the doctrines of Christ, notwithstanding the many perversions which crept in during the lapse of the ages after his departure. . . . So great was the veneration of the people for him that, to facilitate his return, they constructed and paved a road that he might ascend again to the plain with ease. He was not worshiped by the Chibchas as a god, but was greatly venerated as a man of wonderful purity of life and of great usefulness. The early priests of the Catholic faith seem to have believed that this culture-hero could have been none other than St. Bartholomew or St. Thomas."

In the name Nemterequeteba, the last three syllables seem to be a corruption of "Gautama." Bóchica may possibly be for the Sanskrit "Pachchêko," which is a term applied to an inferior being, or saint, who is never co-existent with a supreme Buddha;[1453] or it may represent the term "Upâsaka,"[1431] a title applied to lay devotees of Buddha,[854] whose duties are thus described:[1416]

"The class of persons called Upâsakas, in some districts, and especially in the neighbourhood of Matura, go about from house to house, after the manner of the Scripture-readers, reading works on religion that are written in the vernacular Singhalese, accompanied with familiar expositions. It is by this means that Buddhism is, in many places, principally supported."

The Upâsakas were under vows of chastity, etc., but not so completely as the Bhikshus. A Bhikshu, or full Buddhist monk, was forbidden to labour in the field, but the Upâsaka was not; the Bhikshu wore yellow robes, the Upâsaka wore white garments.[562]

The expression HO-SHANG, much used in China, is explained in the ordinary dictionaries as "priest of Foe, bonze." It is for-

eign to the Chinese language, and belongs to that of Khoten, in which it represents the Sanskrit word Upâsaka. The Chinese interpret it as *fortes, robore nati, in vi viventes;* also as *purissimi doctores,* and *officio proximi,* which is further explained by saying that these are men who by their purity approach the state necessary for the reception of the doctrine of Foe. Upâsaka means simply "faithful," in a religious sense, and is the general name of the Buddhists of Ceylon and Pegu. But this word more particularly designates the laics,[1349] although in Eastern Turkestan it was extended to all monks.[1248]

The Guaranis,[2000] from the Rio de la Plata to the Antilles, and from the shores of Brazil to the foot of the Bolivian Andes, reverence, without fearing him, a beneficent being, their first father, Tamoi, or "the Venerable Man from Heaven," who appeared among them, and taught them agriculture, and finally disappeared in the east, from whence he protected them. Among the Guarayos prayers were addressed to him in octagonal cabins, but never either offerings or sacrifices. The *Payes,* or *Piaches,* "sorcerers," were his diviners, his interpreters.[2001, 2002, 2003]

Wherever the wide-spread Tupi-Guaranay race extended, the early explorers found the natives piously attributing their knowledge of the arts of life to a venerable and benevolent old man whom they called "our Ancestor," Tamu, or Tume, or Zume. The legend was that Pay Zume, as he was called in Paraguay (Pay=magician, diviner, priest),* came from the east, from the Sun-rising, in years long gone by. The spot where he stood is still marked by the impress of his feet.[834]

Purchas gives the name as Paicume, and states that in Brazil the people say that they were taught by him to shave their heads.[2120] Brinton says that he was called "Grandfather" and "Old Man of the Sky."[807] Dobrizhoffer mentions the tradition as existing in Paraguay;[1209] and Charlevoix[946] gives the following full account of the legend:

"There had been current, for a long time past, in the adjacent provinces, a tradition, to which perhaps more credit has been given in some relations than it really deserves; but which, however, it is, I believe, as difficult to refute as to prove. As soon as the Fathers Cataldino and Maceta had removed to a greater distance from the Spanish settlements, in order to meet

**Pay,* father, is a word for priest introduced into America by the Portuguese.[1218]

with fewer obstacles to the conversion of the Guaranis, some of the principal men among these Indians assured them that they had been informed by their ancestors that a holy man called Pay Suma, or Pay Tuma, had preached in their country the faith of Heaven (so they expressed themselves); that numbers had put themselves under his conduct; and that, at his departure, he had foretold that they and their descendants would abandon the worship of the true God, whom he had made known to them; but that, after some hundreds of years, new envoys of the same God would appear among them, armed with a cross like that which he carried, and would re-establish the same worship among their descendants.

"Some years after this, the Fathers de Montoya and de Mendoza, having penetrated into the canton of Tayati, the inhabitants, seeing them come with crosses in their hands, received them, to their great surprise, with uncommon demonstrations of joy and affection, and, on the fathers expressing their surprise, related to them the same passages that the Fathers Cataldino and Maceta had heard from other Indians, adding, that the holy man was, likewise, called Pay Abara, or "the Father, who lives in a State of Celibacy." The tradition of the Brazilians tallies with that of the Guaranis, even to adding that the father landed in the port of Saints, opposite to the bar of St. Vincent, and that he instructed the inhabitants in the arts of cultivating manioc, and making bread of it.

"There is a great road leading from Brazil to Guayra, which, though very seldom used, is never overgrown with any but small weeds; and the natives call it the road of Pay Suma. In short, there is, above the Assumption, a rock, whose summit forms a terrace, where some people imagine they can perceive the tracks of human feet; and the Indians say that it was from this spot Pay Suma used to preach the Law of God to their forefathers. The Peruvians, who give him the same name, show some similar vestiges in their country, and relate a great many wonders, which, they say, the saint wrought among them. Be this as it will, several Spaniards have given credit to the tradition, and pretend that Pay Suma was the apostle Saint Thomas."

This account is quoted in the proceedings of the Second Session of the Congress of Americanists, [1092] and the following remarks are added:

"The committee of publication call attention to the facts: 1. That the tradition in question was first made known by Fathers Cataldino and Maceta more than a hundred years after the discovery of Paraguay. 2. That Father Charlevoix, a priest of the Society of Jesus, was evidently not well convinced of the truth of this tradition.

"The second tradition is also reported by Father Charlevoix (tome ii, livre xv, p. 274).

"This nation is *very superstitious.* An ancient tradition states that the apostle Saint Thomas had preached the Gospel in their country (that of the Mañacicas), where some of his disciples had been sent; this at least is certain, that among the gross fables and the monstrous dogmas of which their religion is composed, some traces of Christianity may be discovered. It appears especially, *if what they say is true*, that they have a clear idea of a God made man for the good of the human race; for one of their traditions is that a virgin, gifted with a perfect beauty, without having known any man, conceived a very beautiful son, who, when he had arrived at the age of manhood, worked great prodigies, resuscitating the dead, making the lame walk and giving sight to the blind. Having one day assembled a great multitude of people, he was raised into the air, and transformed into the sun which gives light to us. The Maponos say that if he were not at so great a distance all the features of his countenance might be distinguished."

In Chili, also, a similar tradition existed, which is thus repeated by Bancroft: [403]

In former times, as they (the Chilians) had heard their fathers say, a wonderful man had come to that country, wearing a long beard, with shoes, and a mantle such as the Indians carry on their shoulders, who performed many miracles. (Quoted from Rosales inedited "History of Chili," in Kingsborough's "Mexican Antiquities," vol. vi, p. 419.)

In Peru the following version of the story was current: [2583]

"There came to these provinces and kingdoms of Tabantinsuyo, a bearded man of medium size, with long hair and with moderately long robes, and they say that he was a man who had passed the age of youth, having gray hairs, and being thin, and traveling with a pilgrim's staff, and that he taught the natives with great love, calling them all sons and daughters, a thing

never before known among the natives, and that he went through the provinces performing many miracles and wonderful works; he cured the sick merely by touching them, and they say that he spoke all the languages of the country better than the natives, and he was called *Tonapa* or *Tarapaca* (*Tarapaca* means 'eagle'), *Viracochan pachayachicachan* or *Pacchacan* and *Bicchhaycamayoc Cunacuycamayoc*. The old men say that the commandments which he preached were very nearly the same as those of God, principally the seven precepts. There was lacking only the name of God our Lord, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord, which was a fact well known to the elderly people of those days; and the punishments were severe for those who transgressed those commandments. They say that the said Tonapa went along the river Chacamarca until he came to the sea, and it is understood that he went by the passage* toward the other sea. This was investigated and established by the ancient Incas."

Viracocha, under any and all his surnames, is always described as white and bearded, dressed in flowing robes, and of imposing mien. His robes were also white, and thus he was figured at the entrance of one of his most celebrated temples, that of Urcos. His image at that place was of a man with a white robe falling to his waist, and thence to his feet.[830]

The Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg makes the following statement regarding some of the monuments found in Peru:[724]

"M. L. Angrand, formerly Consul-General in Guatemala, and more lately in Peru, who has carefully examined the archæological remains of this country, has called our attention to a matter of great interest from the double point of view of the art and the religion of the American nations. 'In the provinces of Huamanga and Abancay, situated to the north of Cuzco, which were formerly inhabited by several tribes, of which the principal was that of the Huilcas, there are found numerous monuments of a pyramidal form, composed of several superposed terraces, constructed with more or less care. A stair-way mounts to the summit of the edifice, and occupies one of the faces. The number of terraces varies from three to five, and their total height varies from five to thirty metres. These edifices are isolated, and there is never more than one in a place, but they are always surrounded by other constructions which served as

* This may be a mountain-pass or a strait.

habitations, and some of which were very extensive.' We have seen designs of several of these pyramidal edifices; they are true *teocallis*, like those of Mexico and Central America. These designs, taken in connection with the preceding observations, confirm the views which we have always held regarding the propagation of the civilization and religion of the Toltecs in South America, even far beyond the neighbouring provinces of the Isthmus of Panama, from which those of Abancay and Huamanga are distant more than four hundred leagues to the south. This conviction is supported by the fact that, before the religion and the rule of the Incas existed in Peru, there was, according to the historians of this country, another more ancient religion, which had been preached by a divine personage named Con, or Contice (probably the Comitl or Huey-Comitl of the heroic traditions of Mexico), who had come to preach the doctrines and the knowledge of one God alone, from far beyond the high mountains of the north. The time, the name of the preacher, and the circumstances of his preaching, seem to indicate a disciple of Quetzalcoatl, who set forth, perhaps from Cholula, at the same time as those whom the prophet sent into Mixteca and Mictlan."

A full description of the teocallis of Mexico, showing their resemblance to the pyramids raised by the Buddhists of Asia, will be found in a following chapter.

The Buddhists have a decalogue which is in some respects curiously like that of the Bible. According to the commentators upon the Pilgrimage of Fa Hian, the five precepts are:

1. Not to kill any living being.
2. Not to steal.
3. Not to commit adultery or to marry.
4. Not to lie.
5. Not to drink wine.

These five precepts answer to the five corresponding virtues: humanity, prudence, justice, sincerity, and urbanity.

Three others are added to these, making eight:

6. Not to sit on a large bed, or a large or lofty seat.
7. Not to wear flowers or ribbons on the dress.
8. Not to become fond of songs, dances, or comedies.

The two following are likewise enumerated, completing the number of ten:

9. Not to wear on the arms ornaments of gold or silver.

10. Not to eat after noon.

Such are the precepts which the aspirant to the rank of the Shamans should observe. They are called "the Ten Precepts of the Ascetics."[1340]

The order of the last five does not seem to be settled, as Professor Williams gives them, with some variations in the wording, in the order, seventh, eighth, sixth, tenth, and ninth,[2516] and Mr. Hardy in the order tenth, eighth, seventh, sixth, and ninth.[1461]

The first five of these obligations are called "the pancha-sil." They are repeated by some persons every day at the "pansal," especially by the women. The first eight are called "the ata-sil," and they are repeated only on "pôya" days, or festivals. When taken by a laic, they involve the necessity of his living apart from his family.

Among the commands of Buddha was the following which he addressed to the Shamans: "Beware of fixing your eyes upon women! If you find yourselves in their company, let it be as though you were not present."[1575] The tradition as to the care with which these teachers avoided the society of women is therefore in strict accordance with the commands of the Buddhist religion.

The priests, from the commencement of their novitiate, are shaved;[1433] but the shaving is often confined to the crown of the head, while the remainder of the hair is allowed to grow to its full length, and the hair of the Buddhist hermits is allowed to grow entirely unshorn,[1961] the custom being so general that the typical representation of a hermit is always that of a man with long uncut hair and beard,[2228] while in Chinese the phrase "to let the hair fall" means to become a priest or nun.[2548]

When first entering the priesthood the Buddhist monks wear black robes;[1485] these are sometimes succeeded by yellow garments, or, in Corea, by long white robes.[1997] In Tartary the priests wear miter-shaped caps,[1572] similar to the one which Quetzalcoatl is represented to have worn. Schlagintweit thus describes the caps of the Thibetan lamas: "They are conical, with a large lap, which is generally doubled up, but is let down over the ears in cold weather. Some head-priests have a kind of miter of red cloth, ornamented with flowers of gold worked in the stuff. This latter kind of cap bears a remarkable resemblance to the miters of the Roman Catholic bishops."[2230] Hats or caps are not worn

by any Indian tribe, the nearest approach to them being in the case of the Mexicans, who at the most wore merely an ornamental head-dress. This fact was seized by most of the Indians of the United States as forming the easiest and most characteristic means of distinguishing between whites and Indians in their rude drawings; the former always being represented with hats, and the latter without.

The dress of the teachers mentioned in the traditions, and the doctrines which they were stated to have taught, were so much like those of the Roman Catholic priests, that the Spaniards believed that St. Thomas, or some other missionary of the Christian faith, had succeeded in carrying the Gospel into this unknown quarter of the world. Even at the time of the conquest, there were so many analogies between the dogmas and rites of the Roman Catholics and those of the Mexicans, which struck Montezuma[742] and the other chiefs of the land,[753] as well as the Spaniards, that the latter were often led to ascribe them to imitation by Satan of the rites of the Christian Church.[15] It is not surprising that this resemblance should be noticed, if the teachers referred to in the traditions were Buddhist missionaries, as the same resemblance has been remarked between Roman Catholicism and Buddhism in Asia—a resemblance so striking that the first Roman Catholic missionaries in Asia, like their brethren in Mexico, thought that it must be an imitation by the devil of the religion of Christ.[1303] Every one who visits their monasteries can at once discover the resemblance.[965]

Their celibacy, their living in communities, their cloisters, their service in the choirs, their string of beads, their fasts, and their penances, give them so much of the air of Christian monks that it is not surprising that a Capuchin should be ready to hail them as brothers.[1797]

Father Grueber was much struck with the extraordinary similitude he found, as well in the doctrine as in the rituals, of the Buddhists of Lassa to those of his own Romish faith. He noticed: 1. That the dress of lamas corresponded with that handed down to us in ancient paintings as the dress of the apostles. 2. That the discipline of the monasteries, and of the different orders of lamas or priests, bore the same resemblance to that of the Romish Church. 3. That the notion of an incarnation was common to both, as also the belief in Paradise and Pur-

gatory. 4. He remarked that they made suffrages, alms, prayers, and sacrifices for the dead, like the Roman Catholics. 5. That they had convents, filled with monks and friars, to the number of thirty thousand, near Lassa, who all made the three vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity, like Roman monks, besides other vows. 6. That they had confessors, licensed by the superior lamas, or bishops; and empowered to receive confessions, impose penances, and give absolution. Besides all this, there was found the practice of using holy water, of singing service in alternation, of praying for the dead, and a perfect similarity in the costumes of the great and superior lamas to those of the different orders of the Romish hierarchy.[2092] The Buddhists also use rosaries for counting the number of their prayers.[2231]

Father Huc says that he and his companion one day had an opportunity of talking with a Thibetan lama for some time, and the things he told them about religion astounded them greatly. A brief explanation of the Christian doctrine, which they gave to him, seemed scarcely to surprise him; he even maintained that their views differed little from those of the grand lamas of Thibet.[1567] He adds that, if the person of the grand lama did not particularly strike them, his costume did, for it was strictly that of their own bishops; he bore on his head a yellow miter, *a long staff in the form of a cross* (*or crosier*) was in his right hand, and his shoulders were covered with a mantle of purple-coloured silk, fastened on the chest with a clasp, and in every respect resembling a cope.[1573]

Huc was led by these resemblances to the belief that the modern form of Buddhism in Thibet arose from a mixture of Christianity with that religion.[1264] The following quotation from Marsden shows that he too was inclined to adopt the same opinion:

"The belief of an early spreading of the Gospel in these parts derives some additional strength from an opinion entertained by some of the best informed missionaries that the lama religion itself is no other than a corrupted species of Christianity; and although this may be too hasty an inference from what they had an opportunity of observing in the country, it will not be found upon examination so unlikely as it may at first appear. In its fundamental principles the religion of the country which bears the names of Butan, Thibet, and Tangut, is that of the Bud-

dhists of India; but at the same time the strong resemblance between many of the ceremonies and those of the Christian churches, both East and West, have been pointed out by every traveler who has visited Tartary—from Carpini and Rubruquis, by whom it was first noticed, to our countrymen and contemporaries, Bogle and Turner, who resided at the court of one of the grand lamas. We find it avowed even by the Jesuit missionaries, whom we can not suppose to have been influenced in their observation by any undue bias." [1796]

A more probable opinion is, however, that sundry of the observances of the Roman Catholic Church were derived from Buddhistic sources,[1893] the chain of evidence that establishes the greater antiquity of these practices by the Buddhists being complete.[2098]

Isaac Taylor drew attention, in his "Ancient Christianity," to the knowledge of Hindoo monasticism possessed by Clement of Alexandria, and traced the origin of the monasticism of Christianity to that of India.[1241]

On the supposition of the pre-existence of Buddhism, such as their sacred books describe, and its professors still preach, the rapid spread of Christianity in the first and second centuries of our era is not surprising. To a mind already impressed with Buddhistic belief and Buddhistic doctrines, the birth of a Saviour and Redeemer for the Western World, recognized as a new Buddha by wise men of the East, that is, by Magi, Shamans, or Lamas, who had obtained the Arhat sanctification, was an event expected, and therefore readily accepted when declared and announced. It was no abjuration of an old faith that the teachers of Christianity asked of the Buddhists, but a mere qualification of an existing belief, by the incorporation into it of the Mosaic account of the creation, and of original sin, and the fall of man. The Buddhists of the West, accepting Christianity on its first announcement, at once introduced the rites and observances which for centuries had already existed in India. From that country Christianity derived its monastic institutions, its forms of ritual, and of church service, its councils or convocations to settle schisms or points of faith, its worship of relics, and working of miracles through them, and much of the discipline and of the dress of the clergy.[2100]

As a description of the robes of Buddhist priests is given in

some of the foregoing quotations, the following engraving of an image found in Campeachy is inserted as showing how accurate a knowledge of their appearance has been preserved by tradition.

The legends assert that the Mexicans and natives of Yucatan and Central America owed their calendar to the same strangers to whom they were indebted for nearly all the arts which they possessed. It is not necessary to attempt to add anything to the remarks of Humboldt on this subject, which are quoted in Chapter IX, the resemblance between the Asiatic and Mexican calendars being so great, that he was convinced, by this one fact alone, that there must have been some early connection between the two regions of the world. Attention may, however, be called to the fact that both the Javans [2123] and the Mexicans [241] had a week of five days, [699] by which their markets or fairs were regulated.[1133] Just as in Mexico we find Asiatic names for the months, but not in their proper order, so in Java the names of the Hindoo months have been wantonly transposed,[1135] and Crawfurd is therefore led to the belief that the Bugis year is the relic of an indigenous calendar, which was modified by that of the Hindoos ; an explanation which will account equally well for the similar transpositions found in the Mexican calendar. Sahagun states that the Mexicans attributed their calendar to four sages, who "invented judicial astrology, and the art of interpreting dreams, established the reckoning of the years, the night, the hours, and the differences of the seasons ; all things which were preserved under the government of the kings of the Toltecs, the Mexicans, the Tepanecas, and the Chichimecas." [2210]

Fig. 17.—An image found in Campeachy.

The men who accompanied Quetzalcoatl were said to have been cunning artists, especially in casting metals, in the engraving and setting of precious stones, and in all kinds of artistic

sculpture. These were precisely the arts which a party of Buddhist priests would have been able to teach. Huc says of the lamas of Tartary that they are not merely priests, but are also the painters, poets, sculptors, architects, and physicians of the land;[1564] and de Milloué states that, when the first Buddhist missionaries arrived in Japan, they carried with them many industries previously unknown in that country, which were necessary to their worship. They made rich sacerdotal cloths, sacred vessels of pottery-ware or bronze, gilded idols and luxurious temples; and, finally, the priests advanced as sculptors, as chiselers, as gilders, as painters, as weavers, as potters, as founders: a complete invasion of mechanics with shaven heads, of artists with lowered eyes, of labourers in frocks and chasubles.[1886]

Elsewhere in North America nothing was known of the art of melting or casting metals. In cases in which gold or copper was used, the northern Indian simply took a stone and by physical force hammered the metal into the required shape.[2451] The Mexicans, however, to make jewelry, idols, and other objects of art, melted the metal in crucibles, and cast it in moulds made of clay or charcoal.[688]

The so-called "lost art" of casting parts of the same object of different metals was known:[496] thus fishes were modeled with alternate scales of gold and silver; copper and other metals were gilded by a process which would have made the fortune of a goldsmith in Europe; furnaces, perhaps of earthen-ware, and blow-pipes, are depicted on native paintings in connection with gold-working. This art of casting metals was the one which was held by them in the highest esteem.[718] Cortez admitted that in this the Mexican smiths far excelled those of the Spaniards.[1096]

Their miracles in that art would not be believed if it were not for the fact that, in addition to the testimony of those who saw them, many of these curiosities were sent to Europe.[1081] The works of gold and silver sent as presents to Charles V, by the Conqueror Cortez, filled the goldsmiths of Europe with astonishment, who, as several writers of that period testify, declared that they were altogether inimitable.[2597]

Herrera, who says they could also enamel, commends the skill of the Mexican goldsmiths in making birds and animals with movable wings and limbs, in a most curious fashion. ("Hist. Gen.," dec. ii, lib. vii, cap. 15.) Sir John Maundevile, as usual,

"... With his hair on end
At his own wonders,"

notices the "gret marvayle" of similar pieces of mechanism at the court of the grand Chane of Cathay. (See his "Voiage and Travaile," chap. xx.)[2068]

The Aztecs not only knew how to cast gold and silver, and how to make the casting take any shape that they desired, but they also worked all species of gems very dexterously; and this was, more than all others, the particular art which rendered their name the most celebrated.[1060]

M. Lenoir makes the following statement in regard to sculptured vases found in Mexico:

"As to these vases, ornamented with fantastical figures and made of granite, of green or black basalt, of jade, or of glazed terra cotta, a great resemblance is noticeable between them and the vases of the Japanese made of jade, of soft stone, of rice paste, or of porcelain. My opinion has been confirmed by M. Baradère who, on seeing in my cabinet an old Japanese vase of white jade, mistook it for a valuable vase which he had seen in the Museum of Mexico, the form and the details were so similar. It is very remarkable to observe such a resemblance between two of the works of art of nations so widely separated by the seas, and between which there seems to have never been any communication. In the collection of designs executed by M. Franck, of the objects contained in this same Mexican Museum, several of the jade vases have a great analogy, a resemblance almost perfect, to some I possess which are of Japanese origin. He has also drawn a small figure, carefully worked from some hard substance, of which the head, the pose, and the costume are evidently Chinese. This, therefore, raises a new presumption that some ancient communication may have existed between Asia and America." [1730]

Had M. Lenoir been acquainted with all the proofs of a visit to America by Buddhist priests (priests of the same faith being also the introducers into Japan of many of the arts of civilization), and with the fact that the traditions of Mexico uniformly attributed to these missionaries the knowledge which the natives possessed of the arts of casting the metals and of cutting gems, he might have omitted the statement that there seemed never to have been any communication between the two nations.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS

The incongruity of the religious system of the Aztecs—The Toltecs—Contentions between rival sects—Monasteries—The "Tlamacazqui"—The herb-eaters—Their asceticism—The monastery and nunnery attached to the chief temple of the city of Mexico—The duties of the devotees—Their clothing—The discipline—The differences in rank—Other ascetics—Probation of candidates—Vows not for life—Married priests—The monastery of the Totonacas—The pontiff of Mixteca—The title "Taysacaa"—Auricular confession—The practice of bearing a calabash—The dress of the priests—Continence—Prayers—Fasting—The early disciples of Sâkya Muni—The Buddhist monasteries—Candidates for the priesthood—Education of children—Food and clothing—Penances—Nunneries—Life of the inmates—Punishment of incontinence—Time for meals—Clothing of idols—Absence of vital points of Christian doctrine—Marriage of the priests—Vegetarianism—Failure of the Buddhists to strictly comply with the tenets of their religion—The eating of flesh—A curious anomaly in Buddha's teachings—Religious terms—The name Sâkya—Its occurrence in Mexico—Otosis—Gautama—Guatemala—Quauhtemo-tzin—Tlama and lama—Teotl and Dêva—Refutation of a negative argument—Religious tenets—The road to the abode of the dead—The divisions of the abode of the dead—Transmigration—Yearly feast for the souls of the dead—The tablet at Palenque—The lion-headed couch—Seated figures—An image of Quetzalcoatl—The story of Camaxtli—Preservation of his blonde hair.

In contemplating the religious system of the Aztecs, one is struck with its apparent incongruity, as if some portion of it had emanated from a comparatively refined people, open to gentle influences, while the rest breathes a spirit of unmitigated ferocity. It naturally suggests the idea of two distinct sources, and authorizes the belief that the Aztecs had inherited from their predecessors a milder faith, on which was afterward engrafted their own mythology.[2065] Tradition imparts to the Toltecs a higher civilization than that found among the Aztecs,[414] who had degenerated with the growth of the warlike spirit,[152] and who destroyed much of the culture of their predecessors;[432] and it is plain that much

of the religion of this earlier nation may now be unknown—their temples and altars having been appropriated for the worship of a different religion, modificative or subversive of the first.[1226] It seems to have been an ineradicable Toltec tendency to indulge in religious controversy, to the prejudice of their national prosperity,[419] and these struggles over religious creeds would naturally result in numerous and radical changes in the current belief. Tradition states that in early days there was bitter contention between the rival sects of Quetzalcoatl and Tezcatlipoca, and that with the growth of the Aztec influence the bloody rites of the latter sect had prevailed, under the auspices of the god Huitzilopochtli; and the worship of the gentler Quetzalcoatl, though still observed in many provinces and many temples, had with its priests been forced to occupy a secondary position.[429] Still, even at the time of the Spanish conquest, there were many traces remaining in the land of the pure and gentle faith taught by Wixipecocha and Quetzalcoatl. In nothing was the influence of these teachings more apparent than in the monasteries or colleges for the two sexes, which existed throughout the land, and the first of which were said to have been founded by Quetzalcoatl.[629] In these the doctrines of the prophet were preserved, and his devotees occupied themselves in the study of science, and in prayer to heaven for the abolition of the bloody sacrifices, and the scourges which afflicted the land.[736]

The Toltec civilization, intrenched behind the mountains of Zapotecapan and of Mixtecapan, was much better preserved from contact with barbarism than in the provinces near Anahuac. The people of these states were, therefore, given the special designation of the children of Quetzalcoatl.[689] Still, even in the city of Mexico and its neighbourhood, some knowledge of the earlier faith was preserved, although mixed with the savage rites by which it had been nearly superseded.

To each temple was attached a monastery, the members of which enjoyed privileges similar to those of our canons. The Tlamacazqui, "deacons" or "ministers," and the Quaquacuiltin, "herb-eaters," were those who dedicated themselves to the service of the gods for life. They led a very ascetic life; continence was imposed upon them, and they mortified the flesh by deeds of penance, in imitation of Quetzalcoatl, who was their patron deity.

Some dedicated their whole lives to the service of the gods;

others vowed themselves to perpetual continence. All were poorly clothed, wore their hair long, lived upon coarse and scanty fare, and did all kinds of work. At midnight they arose and went to the bath; after washing, they drew blood from their bodies with spines of the maguey-plant; then they watched, and chanted praises of the gods, until two in the morning. Notwithstanding this austerity, however, these monks could betake themselves alone to the woods, or wander through the mountains and deserts, there in solitude to spend the time in several ways.[169]

The monastery and nunnery attached to the chief temple of the city of Mexico are thus described by Purchas:[2113] "Within this great Circuit of the principall Temple were two houses, like Cloisters, the one opposite to the other, one of men, the other of women. In that of women they were Virgins only, of twelve or thirteen yeares of age, which they called the Maids of Penance; they were as many as the men, and liued chastely, and regularly, as Virgins dedicated to the seruice of their God. Their charge was to sweepe and make cleane the Temple, and euery morning to prepare meate for the Idoll and his Ministers of the Almes the Religious gathered. . . . These Virgins had their haire cut, and then let them grow for a certaine time; they rose at midnight to the Idol's Mattins, which they dayly celebrated, performing the same exercises which the Religious did. They had their Abbesses. . . . Their ordinary habite was all white. . . . They did their penance at midnight. . . . If any vvere found dishonest, they were put to death without remission, saying, shee had polluted the house of their God. . . . This profession continued a yeare, during which time their fathers and themselues had made a vow to serue the Idol in this manner, and from thence they went to be married.

"The other Cloyster or Monasterie was of yong-men, of eighteene or twenty yeares of age, which they called Religious. Their crownes were shauen, as the Friers in these parts; their haire a little longer, which fell to the middest of their eare, except on the hinder part of the head, where they let it grow to their shoulders, and tied it vp in trusses. These serued in the Temple, liued poorely and chastely, and (as the Leuites) ministered to the Priests, Incense, Lights, and Garments, swept and made cleane the holy Place, bringing wood for a continuall fire, to the harth of their God, which was like a Lampe that still burned be-

fore the Altar of their Idoll. Beside these, there were other little boyes that serued for manual vses, as to decke the Temple with Boughs, Roses, and Reedes, giue the Priests water to wash, Rasours to sacrifice, and to goe with such as begged Almes, to carrie it. All these had their superiours, who had the gouernement ouer them, and when they came in publike, where women were, they carried their eyes to the ground, not daring to beholde them. They had linnen garments, and went into the Citie foure or sixe together, to aske almes in all quarters, and if they gote none, it was lawfull for them to goe into the Cornefields, and gather that which they needed, none daring to contradict them. There might not aboue fiftie liue in this penance ; they rose at midnight and sounded the Trumpets, to awake the people. Euery one watched by turne, least the fire before the Altar should die. They gave the censer with which the Priest at midnight incensed the Idoll, and also in the mórning, at noone, and at night. They were very subiect and obedient to their Superiours. . . . This austeritie continued a yeare. The priests . . . drunke no wine, and slept little. . . . Gomara speaketh of others . . . which liued in those Cloysters . . . euery one abode there as long as they had vowed, and after vsed their libertie."

Of the several religious orders, the most renowned for its sanctity was the Tlamacazcayotl, which was consecrated to the service of Quetzalcoatl. The superior of this order, who was named after the god, never deigned to issue from his seclusion except to confer with the king. Its members, called Tlamacazqui, led a very ascetic life, living on coarse fare, dressing in simple black robes, and performing all manner of hard work. They bathed at midnight, and kept watch until an hour or two before dawn, singing hymns to Quetzalcoatl ; on occasions, some of them would retire into the desert, to lead a life of prayer and penance in solitude.[328]

Acosta makes mention of certain ascetics who dedicated themselves for a year to the most austere life ; they assisted the priests at the hours of incensing, and drew much blood from their bodies in sacrifice. They dressed in white robes, and lived by begging. ("Hist de las Ynd.," pp. 341, 342.)

The only food of the candidate for the priesthood, during the year of probation, was herbs, wild honey, and roasted maize ;[171] his life was passed in silence and retirement, and the monotony

of his existence was only relieved by waiting on the priests, taking care of the altars, sweeping the temple, and gathering wood for the fires. When four years after his admission to the priesthood had elapsed, during which time he seems to have served a sort of apprenticeship, he was permitted to marry, if he saw fit, and at the same time to perform his priestly functions. If he did not marry, he entered one of the monasteries, which were dependent on the temples, and, while performing his regular duties, increased the austerity of his life. If one of them violated his vow of chastity, he was bastinadoed to death.

In spite of the austerity of their retreat, the monks nevertheless sometimes repaired alone to the woods, to wander in the mountains and deserts in a spirit of contemplation.[704]

The title of "Teopixqui," or sacred guardian, designates indifferently all the members of the priesthood.[630] Some of the number are married, and live an ordinary life in the world, without retiring therefrom except when engaged in the service of the temple. Others, following the example of Quetzalcoatl, who instituted ecclesiastic celibacy, bound themselves by a vow to continence, either perpetual or for a term; these taking the title of "Tlamacazqui," which corresponds to that of deacon or priest. The conduct of all these men, consecrated to the altars of their gods, is extremely reserved and austere. Whenever they meet women, in the streets or in the houses, they bend their eyes upon the ground. They never drink any intoxicating liquor; all their exterior announces mortification, gravity, and circumspection, and their maintenance is imposed upon the people; they are considered as beings superior to the rest of mortals, and as of a divine perfection, and a blind confidence is felt in the truth of everything that they say.

Centeotl (the goddess of maize) is the principal divinity of the Totonacas; they have among them a college of priests who are specially consecrated to her. Their life is passed in a succession of austerities, analogous to those of the East Indian anchorites; but they do not admit into their monastery any others than aged priests, more than sixty years old, of good habits and especially of an irreproachable continence. The number of these priests is fixed, and a new member can not be admitted except at the death of one of the community. They give themselves constantly to works of penitence and mortification, pray-

ing to the goddess and the other gods for the prosperity of the people, and supplicating them to put an end to human sacrifices. They never go forth into the world, and never speak to any one, except for the purpose of giving advice as to the conduct of those who come to consult them upon the subject. On such an occasion they sit upon a bench, and, with eyes humbly lowered, they listen to that which is said to them, and reply with kindness to all that is asked of them, consoling the afflicted, and resolving the difficulties which are proposed to them. All the world has so great consideration for them, that the highest and most dignified pontiffs, and even the king himself, resort to them for counsel as if to living oracles.

Except for the hours passed in prayer and contemplation, they occupy their time in drawing up and writing out the annals of the country, and in composing sermons, which the high-priest finally reads in public.[700] (Torquemada, "Monarq. Ind.," lib. viii, cap. 5, and lib. ix, cap. 8.)

They dressed in skins and ate no meat.[331] (Las Casas, "Hist. Apologetica," MS., cap. cxxxii.)

The kingdom of Tilantongo, which comprehends Upper Mixteca, is governed spiritually by the high-priest of Achiuhtla, who has the title of "Taysacaa," and whose power equals, if it does not exceed, that of the sovereign. The title is probably derived from *tay*, a man, and *sacaa*, pontiff. ("Vocab. of the Mixteca Language.")

The supreme pontificate is preserved, to all appearance, in the royal family, and is transmitted in the male line; but the "sacaas," or simple priests, may be chosen indifferently from among any of the free families. All, even to the successor of the pontiff, render a rigorous novitiate of a year, from which no one of them can be excused. Up to this moment they are required to have constantly lived in a state of perfect chastity, and he who has before this time known any woman is considered unworthy of the gods. Their food, during the novitiate, consists of herbs, of wild honey, and of roasted maize; their life is austere, and they pass it in silence and "in retreat"; their sole occupation being to serve the priests, to have the care of the altars, to sweep the sanctuary, and to provide the wood necessary for the sacrifices.[683]

Among the rites in use in Nicaragua was that of auricular confession. It was not an ordinary priest who was charged with

the duty of hearing such confessions, but a venerable man, chosen usually from among the wisest and the most venerable of the country. At his death another was chosen in his place. He must be a celibate, of pure and austere life, living in his own house, where he listened to those who came to him. This office was much esteemed, and, as a mark of the office, he carried a calabash suspended from his neck. Those who had committed any grave fault approached him with humility, and remained standing in his presence, confessing their sins to him, persuaded that after this avowal their conscience should be entirely eased. The venerable man guarded their secret scrupulously, and imposed a penance for the profit of the temple, such as the sweeping of it, or the bringing of wood for its use, and finally dismissed them, saying, "Go and sin no more." [654]

The ordinary dress of the Mexican priests differed little from that of other citizens; the only distinctive feature being a black cotton mantle, which they wore in the manner of a veil thrown back upon the head. Those, however, who professed a more austere life, such as the Quaquaquiltin and Tlamacazqui before mentioned, wore long black robes; many among them never cut their hair, but allowed it to grow as long as it would; it was twisted with thick cotton cords, and bedaubed with unctuous matter, the whole forming a weighty mass, as inconvenient to carry as it was disgusting to look at. The high-priest usually wore, as a badge of his rank, a kind of fringe which hung down over his breast, called Xicolli; on feast days he was clothed in a long robe, over which he wore a sort of chasuble, or cope, which varied in colour, shape, and ornamentation, according to the sacrifices he made and the divinity to which he offered them.[170]

The usual dress of the Zapotec priests was a full white robe, with openings to pass the arms through, but no sleeves; this was girt at the waist with a coloured cord. During the ceremony of sacrifice, and on feast days, the Wiyatao wore, over all, a kind of tunic with full sleeves, adorned with tassels, and embroidered in various colours with representations of birds and animals. On his head he wore a miter of feather-work, ornamented with a very rich crown of gold; his neck, arms, and wrists were laden with costly necklaces and bracelets; upon his feet were golden sandals, bound to his legs with cords of gold

and bright-coloured thread. The Toltec sacerdotal system so closely resembled the Mexican that it needs no further description in this volume. Their priests wore a long black robe reaching to the ground; their heads were covered with a hood, and their hair fell down over their shoulders and was braided. They rarely put sandals on their feet, except when about to start on a long journey. The common Totonac priests wore long black cotton robes with hoods; their hair was braided like that of the other common priests of Mexico, and was anointed with the blood of human sacrifices. The common priests of Michoacan wore their hair loose and disheveled; a leathern band encircled their foreheads, their robes were white, embroidered with black, and in their hands they carried feather fans. In Puebla they also wore white robes, with sleeves, and fringed on the edges. The papas, or sacrificing priests of Tlascala, allowed their hair to grow long, and anointed it with the blood of their victims.[175] The pontiff at Mictlan, in Salvador, who stood on nearly the same level as the king, bore the title of Teoti, "divine," and was distinguished by a long blue robe, a diadem, and a baton like an episcopal cross; on solemn occasions he substituted a miter of beautiful feathers for the diadem.[349]

Continence was strictly imposed on the Zapotec priests,[159] but in Yucatan,[348] as well as in Mexico, many of the priests were married.

Their prayers were standard compositions, learned by rote at school; while reciting them they assumed a squatting posture, usually with the face toward the east; on occasions of great solemnity they prostrated themselves.[335]

Fasting was observed as an atonement for sin, as well as a preparation for solemn festivals. An ordinary fast consisted in abstaining from meat for a period of from one to ten days, and taking but one meal a day, at noon; at no other hour might so much as a drop of water be touched.[336] The female recluses also made it a practice to fast strictly, eating but once a day, and never before noon, and taking but a meager collation after noon.[705]

All the Tlamacazqui were required to sleep in their monastery; they occupied four hours in the morning in sweeping and cleaning, and they were all bound by vows to live chastely, to be temperate and truthful, to live devoutly, and to fear God.[2195]

To one at all familiar with the accounts of the life of Buddhist asceties in the different countries of Asia, the foregoing relation of the duties and practices of the priests and nuns of Mexico will recall many analogies between the beliefs and customs of the two regions of the world; and in fact much of the account of the Mexican ascetics might with equal truth be applied to their brethren in Asia, and with only a few changes might be thought to be the relation of some Asiatic traveler.

The early disciples of Sâkya Muni are generally represented as wandering about with their royal master; others, in consequence of his frequent exhortations to lead a solitary life, are said to have retired to the forests and woods which surround the settlements, or to have lived in solitary and forsaken houses, which they only left at certain periods in order to betake themselves to Sâkya Muni and listen to his words.[2226] Monasteries were almost immediately established, however.

The tenets of Buddhism require a renunciation of the world, and the observance of austerities to overcome evil passions, and fit its disciples for future happiness. A vow of celibacy is taken, and the priests dwell together, for mutual assistance in attaining perfection by worshiping Buddha and calling upon his name. They shave the entire head as a token of purity, but not the whole body, as the ancient Egyptian priests did; they profess to eat no animal food, wear no skin or woolen garments, and get their living by begging, by the alms of worshipers, and the cultivation of the grounds of the temple.[2514]

The bonzes are taken young into the service; and, if there are no volunteers, young boys are bought; their heads are then shaven; they wear a yellow dress; and commence the recitation of short prayers, while at the same time they perform the duties of scullions and menial servants. Finally they are ordained.[1419]

In Arrakan, candidates for the priesthood are received without any regard to their country, caste, or previous religion. If the age of the postulant does not exceed fifteen years, he is appointed to the performance of menial duties, and gradually instructed about the duties he will afterward be required to attend to, until he arrives at twenty years of age, the period appointed for ordination. It is not unusual for young men to enter the order for a limited period, that they may acquire merit, or expiate some crime. The children of the laity are educated

at the monasteries, no distinction being made between the rich and the poor ; and no remuneration is received by the priests beyond their usual allowance of alms. Some of the boys are allowed to go home to their meals, but they are obliged to sleep in the monastery, as the lessons they have learnt during the day are repeated in the evening, or at daybreak on the following morning.[1418] In Mexico, also, the children are educated by the priests, and are allowed to go home to their meals, but required to sleep in the establishment. [2194]

The priests of Thibet are permitted to eat treacle, to cook for themselves in time of famine, to cook in ten kinds of places, to eat meat under certain restrictions, and to accept gifts from the laity. They are to wear not more than three pieces of cloth, of a red colour, to wear cotton garments when bathing, to be clean in their dress and in their bedding, and never to go naked.[1427]

They do nothing but keep the vigils. There are convents containing from fifty to one hundred, whose sole occupation consists in reading mass and observing vigils.[1420]

The principal exercises of penance appear to be sweeping the court-yard, and sprinkling sand under the bó-tree, or near the dágobas.[1436]

In the commencement of Buddhism there was an order of female recluses,[1423] and there still are a number of nunneries, but they are not so numerous as the monasteries, and the inmates are comparatively few. The rules are nearly the same, adapted to the peculiarities of the sex.[1421] The novice is not admitted to full orders till she is sixteen, though previous to this she adopts the garb of the sisterhood ; the only difference consists in the front part of the head being shaved, and the hair plaited in a queue, while the nuns shave the whole. . . . The Chinese nun . . . is required to live a life of devotion and mortification, to eat only vegetables, to care nothing for the world, and to think only of her eternal canonization, keeping herself busy with the services of the temple. "Daily exercises are to be conducted by her ; the furniture of the small sanctuary, that forms a part of the convent, must be looked after and kept clean and orderly ; those women or men who come to worship at the altars, and seek guidance and comfort, must be cared for and assisted. When there is leisure, the sick and poor are to be visited ; and all who have placed themselves under her special directions, and spiritual in-

struction, have a strong claim upon her regard. That she may live the life of seclusion and self-denial, she must vow perpetual virginity." [2515]

If a monk and a nun happen to succumb to the temptations of the flesh, the one is expelled from the convent, sent back ignominiously to her family, and dishonoured for life ; the other is driven out of the order, branded upon the forehead with a red-hot iron, and exiled to the mountains, to live with the wild beasts for several years, in a temperature so frigid as to cool the passions. But if neither of the two culprits has been fully admitted to the order, they are permitted to repair their fault by marriage. In case of refusal, the monk is publicly bastinadoed, and is sent away from the place which he has scandalized.[2387]

What the Buddhists call *time* in reference to meals is thus explained : The time of the gods is the early morning, the hour chosen by the gods to take their repast. The time of the law is noon, the hour selected by the Buddhas, past, present, and to come, for their refection. The time of brutes is evening, when animals feed. The time of the genii is night, during which good and evil spirits eat. Thus all meals taken after midday are unseasonable for ecclesiastics, and all who observe the precepts rigorously abstain from such.[855] Those, however, who are sick, observe no such distinction, but eat when they please.[1343]

In addition to the analogies which may be observed in the preceding accounts, it should be observed that the most scrupulous modesty is observed in the invention and the execution of the Mexican idols, as well as in the arrangement of their draperies. The care in this respect gives them a great resemblance to the paintings of the gods and goddesses of India, who are represented with almost precisely the same styles of head-dresses and the same vestments as those of the Mexican divinities.[1731]

Buddhism does not sanction shocking rites or Bacchanalian orgies, like the other idolatrous systems of Asia. Nor have we to complain of indecency in its representations of idol gods ; they may be hideous, but they are never repulsive to the feelings of modesty.[966]

We add, with Mr. Wilson, that the obligation of the priests of being always covered furnishes to archæology a character of the first importance, by which to determine the authenticity of statues or sculptured scenes, as to which there is doubt whether

they should be considered Buddhistic or not. The scenes in which the religious personages are clothed pertain, very probably, to Buddhism; but this can not be said of those in which they are nude.[856]

Many of the facts which have been mentioned recall Roman Catholicism as strongly as they do Buddhism, and may well have been considered by the first Catholic missionaries as furnishing strong confirmation of the belief that America had, in the early centuries of the Christian era, been visited by a traveler of their own faith.

These are all points, however, in which, as has already been explained, Roman Catholicism and Buddhism strongly resemble each other. That the missionary who exerted so great an influence on their customs and beliefs could not have been of the Catholic Church is shown by the entire absence of any reference to the Christian Sabbath; by the lack of any mention of the Virgin Mary; by the fact that the adoration of the cross was not carried to the extent which would have been taught by a Catholic priest; by the failure of all reference to a Trinity, or to the name of the Saviour; and by the fact that the ascetics were allowed to take their vows for a limited length of time, instead of for life.

When my attention was first called to the subject, it seemed to me that the permission to marry, enjoyed by the Mexican priests, and the fact that although some of them were called "herb-eaters," nevertheless the greater part of them also ate flesh, militated against the belief that they were the representatives of the Buddhist faith, which had been introduced into the country more than a thousand years before. I found, however, on investigation, that even the Buddhists of Asia were not governed very strictly by the laws by which they professed to be guided. Even the prohibition of intoxicating liquors is but little regarded [954] by the lamas of Mongolia.[955] In Burmah the priests make their mantles of cloth of the finest quality,[1435] instead of from the coarse material prescribed by Buddah; and, in Ceylon, caste exists among the disciples of this religion, although directly contrary to the tenets of its founder.

Although celibacy was enjoined on the priests of Buddah, it is by no means universal,[1800] and married priests are found in China, Japan,[970] Nepal,[857] Thibet,[1798] and Ceylon.[1440]

Gautama's teachings present the curious anomaly that, al-

though he absolutely forbade the taking of life, yet he nevertheless permitted his disciples to eat the flesh of animals which had been killed by others ;[1792] and to this day his followers will not admit that by purchasing the flesh they make themselves partakers in the sin of killing.[951] They, therefore, do not refuse any kind of food that is offered them, and whatever dies of itself they consider to be killed by God, and they therefore feel at liberty to eat it.[1732]

One of Buddah's disciples suggested to him that it would be well to issue an order that no priest be permitted to eat flesh of any kind. "There are others who observe this ordinance," said he, "and, as there are many persons who think it is wrong to eat flesh, the non-observance of this ordinance by the priests causes the 'dharma' to be spoken against." But Buddha replied, "I can not consent to the establishment of such an ordinance. The Buddhas are not like the blind, who require to be led by another ; they do not learn from others, or follow the example of others. The faithful give to the priests flesh, medicines, seats, and other things, and thereby acquire merit. Those who take life are in fault, but not the persons who eat the flesh ; my priests have permission to eat whatever food it is customary to eat in any place or country, so that it be done without the indulgence of the appetite or evil desire. There are some who become rahats at the foot of a tree, and others in pansals ; some when they are clothed in what they have taken from a cemetery, and others when clothed with what they have received from the people ; some when abstaining from flesh, and others when eating it. If one uniform law were enforced, it would be a hindrance in the way of those who are seeking nirvâna ; but it is to reveal this way that the office of the Buddhas is assumed." [1457]

Hence, although Buddhism teaches that man should view all animated beings as his brethren and relations, and not kill them, and although there is a proverb which says, "To eat flesh is equal to eating one's relations," [2229] many of the Buddhist priests eat whatever is offered them in alms ; and the fact that Gautama Buddha himself died from indigestion, produced by eating pork, has been a circumstance too well known to be set aside by the more rigid of his disciples, who might otherwise have been ready to insist upon a dietetic discipline more extensive in its prohibition.[1032]

It therefore appears that neither the marriage of the Mexican priests, nor the fact that they were permitted to eat meat, is any proof that they were not the representatives of Buddhism.

It would appear that if Buddhism were preached in Mexico, and if it had sufficient influence upon the people to produce any changes in their customs or beliefs, some traces of the name or names of its founder, of its chief religious terms, and of the images which were brought by the missionaries, should be found in the land.

Although "Buddha" is the name by which the founder of this Asiatic religion is best known among us, this word is merely an epithet, meaning "the Enlightened," and in Asia he is usually designated either by his patronymic, "Gautama," or by the name of his race, "Sakya"; and it is these names which we might expect to find in Mexico. It has already been mentioned that the high-priest of Mixteca bore the title of *Taysacaa*, or "the Man of Sakya"—*Tay* meaning "man," and *sacaa* having no meaning in the language, but being merely the term which was applied to a priest. We also find the term *Zaca-tlan*, or "Place of Sakya," applied to the state of Chiapas,[651] and *Zacatepec*, or "Mountain of Sakya," applied to one of the most beautiful departments of the Republic of Guatemala.[665]

It is true that other explanations are given of these names—the "Zaca" in the last two cases being supposed to be connected with *Sacatl*, the term applied to herbage or fodder for animals; but it is well known that otosis, or the substitution of a familiar word for an archaic one of similar sound but wholly diverse meaning, is a very common occurrence and easily leads to myth-making. For example, there is a cave near Chattanooga which has the Cherokee name Nik-a-jak. This the white settlers have transformed into Nigger Jack, and are prepared with a narrative of some runaway slave to explain the cognomen.[826]

So, too, the fruit of the *Persea gratissima*, known by the Mexicans as the *Ahuacatl*,[2241] after having its name changed to the "avocado pear,"[2243] came to be known by sailors as the "alligator pear,"[2242] and the explanation that it is so called because of the fact that alligators are exceedingly fond of it is always ready.

It is therefore evident that the fact that some kind of an etymology may be found for a name, in the language in which the term is used, is not conclusive proof that it may not be a foreign

word, adopted into the language and possibly more or less changed, and we should not feel debarred from seeking the true meaning of the term in the language from which it was borrowed.

In addition to the names Zacatlan and Zacatepec, already mentioned, we also find the towns of Sacapulas, Sacatecoluca, Saco, Zacapa, Zacapata, Zacatecas, Zacatula, and Zacoalco, nearly all these names being found in one small district upon the Pacific coast, near the boundary-line between Mexico and Guatemala, the exact district which Wixipecocha is said to have visited. The name Guatemala I believe to be from *Gautama-tlan*, "the Place of Gautama." Bancroft gives the following account of the futile attempts that have been made to find a meaning for the word in the language of the country: "The name Guatemala is, according to Fuentes y Guzman, derived from *Coctecmalan*, that is to say, *Palo de leche*, milk-tree, commonly called *Yerba mala*, found in the neighbourhood of Antigua Guatemala. See also Juarros, 'Guatemala,' ii, pp. 527, 528. In the Mexican tongue, if we may believe Vasquez, it was called *Quauhtimalli*, 'rotten tree.' ('Chronica de Guatemala,' p. 68.) Others derive it from *Uhatezmalha*, signifying 'the hill which discharges water'; and Juarros suggests that it may be from Juitemal, the first king of Guatemala, by a corruption, as *Almolonga* from *Atmulunga*, and *Zonzonate* from *Zezontlatl*. The meaning of the word would then be 'the Kingdom of Juitemal.'" [481]

It is scarcely necessary to say that no one of these derivations is satisfactory, and that they have merely been suggested in the absence of any other clew to the meaning of the word.

In Michoacan we find a town called Huatamo, and in Jalisco one called Huazamala, both of which seem to preserve the term Gautama. The name seems to have survived as a personal designation up to the time of the Spanish conquest. After the death of Montezuma, the strongest candidate for the Mexican throne was the former high-priest Quauhtemo-tzin.[462] The native authorities incline to the form "Quauhtemoc"; but the Spanish generally add the "tzin," the "c" being elided, and the "Q" changed to "G," making the name Gautemotzin.[463] Solis spells the word *Guatimocin*,[2360] and Diaz, *Quauhtemoctzin*.[1205] Prescott explains that the Aztec *tzin* was added to the names of sovereigns and great lords as a mark of reverence.[2090] It therefore

appears quite as probable that the name meant "the Great Gautama" as that it meant "the Eagle that Stoops."[463]

The title "Tlamacazqui" of the Mexican priests has already been mentioned. Of this the radical part is "Tlama,"[508] a term which was also used alone as the appellation of a "medicine man" or physician. De Paravey called attention to the similarity of this word to the title of "lama," applied in Thibet to the Buddhist priests. It appertains by right to the superior priests only, but it has come to be regarded as a title which courtesy requires one to give to every Buddhist priest.[2227]

The Mexican language has no word with an initial "l," and "tlama" is the form which a foreign word "lama" would inevitably take if adopted into the Aztec tongue.

The religious establishments of the priesthood in India are called *Viharas*.[2091] In Zapotecapan the supreme pontiff was called the *Wiyataо*,[172] a term which may possibly be connected with it. Burgoa writes this word *Huijatoo*, and translates it as "Great Sentinel." The Zapotec vocabulary translates it by the word "pope" or "priest."[263] *Wiyana* was a term applied to priests of a lower order.[174]

The resemblance to "Deus" of the term "Teotl," applied by the Mexicans to the Divine Being, of whom they seem to have had some indistinct ideas, almost eradicated by the idolatry which they practiced, may be accounted for by the introduction, by the party of Buddhist priests from Cophène, of the Sanskrit "Dêva,"[2128] or some word very similar, from the Pali or other language closely connected with Sanskrit.

I do not claim any very great value for these efforts to point out resemblances to names used by the Buddhists. There is no one of the cases as to which the explanations that are given may not be erroneous; and yet it does not seem probable that *so many* resemblances can be wholly accidental. They have been mentioned, however, mainly in refutation of the negative argument which might be urged if the names "Sakya," "Guatama," etc., were not found in the country, that therefore the religion of this sage could never have been so preached in the land as to have had any effect upon the belief of its people.

Several of the religious tenets and practices of the Aztecs, which bear a striking analogy to those of the Buddhists, may be mentioned.

Among these may be named the belief as to the road to the abode of the dead.

The officiating priests laid passports with the body, which were to serve for various points along the road. The first papers passed him by two mountains, which, like the symplegades, threatened to meet and crush him in their embrace. The second was a pass for the road guarded by a big snake ; the other papers took him by the green crocodile, Xochitonal, across eight deserts, and over eight hills. Then came the freezing *itzehecaya*, "wind of knives," which hurls stones and knives upon the traveler, who now more than ever finds the offerings of his friends of service. How the poor soul escaped this ordeal is not stated. Lastly he came to the broad river Chiconahuapan, "nine waters," which could be crossed only upon the back of a dog of reddish colour, which was killed for this purpose by thrusting an arrow down its throat, and was burned with the corpse. According to Gomara, the dog served for a guide to Mictlan ; but other authors state that it preceded its master, and, when he arrived at the river, he found it on the opposite bank, waiting with a number of others for their owners. As soon as the dog recognized its master, it swam over, and bore him safely across the rushing current.[352]

The Buddhists also speak of a mountain in Hades, near which passes the road which the souls of the dead must travel to reach the place of judgment, and of a river which must be crossed on the way.[1489]

It is possible that the nine divisions of the abode of the dead, which are mentioned as having had an existence in the Aztec faith, were the eight places of torment of the Buddhists,[1451] added to the one land of darkness of their earlier faith.

A belief in transmigration, so firmly rooted and widely propagated in Oriental countries, also existed in Mexico.[1065] In both regions it was the practice to adorn the temples with hangings of paper,[1486] and in both a belief in enchantments and magic played a great role.[563] It is possible that if the details as to the belief in lucky and unlucky days, and other superstitious notions as to good and evil fortune, could be brought to light, as it has existed in the two regions of the world, a comparison would go far toward a settlement of the question as to whether these beliefs

had a common origin, or had grown up in each region independently of the other.

One of the most striking analogies between the religious tenets of the two regions is that in Mixtecapan or Zapotecapan they are convinced that the souls of the dead wander about for a certain number of years, before they enter into the sojourn of the blessed, and that they return, once each year, to visit their families. This opinion has given rise to a singular feast, consecrated to the reception of these returning spirits, which is held in the twelfth month of the Zapotec year, corresponding to the month of November.[684] It is also a practice of the Buddhist priests to celebrate every year a great nocturnal feast of the dead, summoning the hungry ghosts by beat of gong and sound of bells.[1740]

FIG. 18.—Sculptured tablet at Palenque.

In the translation of d'Eichthal's "Study," contained in Chapter VIII, an engraving is given (Fig. 2, page 128) of a bas-relief found at Palenque, which contains a figure seated in the characteristic attitude of Buddha, upon a lion-headed couch. Figs. 18 and 19 are reproductions of the same design as drawn by different artists.

FIG. 19.—Another representation of the sculptured tablet at Palenque.

I am indebted for both cuts, as well as for most of those which follow, to the courtesy of Mr. H. H. Bancroft, from whose great work, entitled "The Native Races of the Pacific States," they are borrowed.

It will be seen that while the several artists have differed somewhat as to a number of the details, the general resemblance to the usual Asiatic representations of Buddha, as shown in Fig. 1, page 128, and Fig. 9, page 135, is equally striking in all the copies.

The representations of Buddha by the Asiatics, when he is drawn as occupying the central part of a picture, present him, as a rule, as seated upon "the throne of lions" (in Sanskrit, *Sim-*

Fig. 20.—Beau-relief in stucco at Palenque.

hâsana; in Thibetan, *Sengti*, or *Senge chad ti*, "the seat of eight lions"). The throne is so called from the eight lions which sup-

port it; in the drawings, however, two lions only are seen in front.[2:35] Fig. 20 (see last page) represents a cross-legged figure found at Palenque, seated upon a similar couch,[375] upheld by the heads and forelegs of two of the American animals which most nearly resemble the lion, and which are often called by that name.

Above the doors of the "House of the Monks," at Uxmal, there are niches containing seated figures (see Fig. 21) which

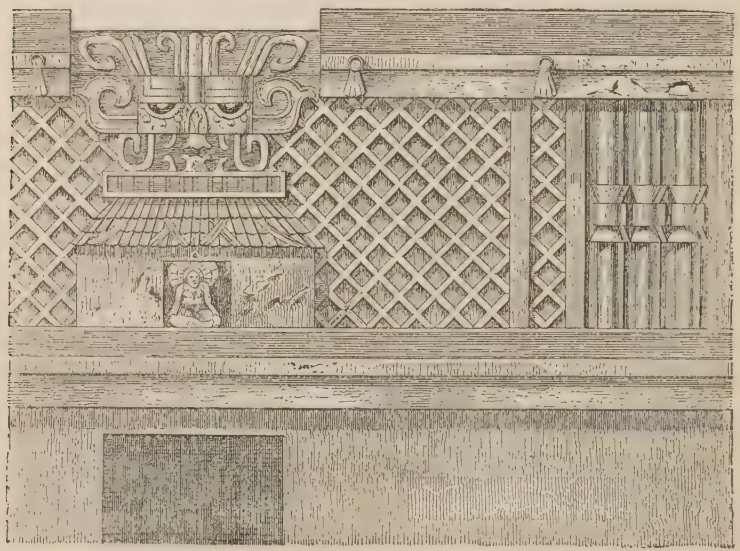

Fig. 21.—Detail of façade of a building at Uxmal.

bear a great resemblance to the statues of Buddha, which are placed in similar niches in the walls of many Asiatic temples.

Taken by itself, the similarity might be considered as accidental; but when consideration is given to the nature of the building in which the American figure is found, and to its wonderful resemblance to the religious structures erected by the Buddhists of Asia, much weight is added to the assumption that both figures are the product of the same religious belief.

If these resemblances are accidental, why is it that the accident occurs nowhere in the world except in the region described by Hwui Shăn?

Perhaps the most remarkable similarity to the Asiatic images of Buddha which is found in any Mexican object is, however, exhibited in a small image now contained in the museum of the Ethnographical Society of Paris, and said to be a representation of Quetzalcoatl.

Fig. 22.—A Mexican image, said to represent Quetzalcoatl.

Fig. 22, which (as well as the cut of the elephant-mound in the following chapter) is copied by permission of Messrs G. P. Putnam's Sons, from the translation published by them of the Marquis de Nadaillac's "Pre-Historic America," shows the complete identity of this image with those which are found in Asia.

The Chinese character for Buddha is 佛, Fo, which consists of the Chinese representation of a "bow," 弓, KUNG, and four nearly vertical lines. On each side of the seated figure, of which

an illustration is given on the last page, there may be seen a number of hieroglyphics; and the one in the upper left-hand corner consists of an exact reproduction of the Chinese "bow" (except for the reversal—which may exist only in the engraving, not in the original figure), together with four vertical lines. It certainly does not seem impossible that the Chinese character Fo, copied blindly by one generation of Indians after another, may, in the course of centuries, have degenerated to the form shown in this image; and it is at least a surprising coincidence that a figure which so closely resembles the representations of the Asiatic Buddha should bear a hieroglyph so similar to the one by which he was designated by the Chinese.

If any reliance can be placed upon the story in regard to Camaxtli, who is said to have been the father of Quetzalcoatl,[743] it may be considered as adding something to the proofs which have already been adduced of an early visit to Mexico by a party of men of the Caucasian race.

This story is thus told by Bancroft:[465] "It is stated that when the Mexicans were practically forced into a nominal acceptance of Christianity, 'the people secretly hid the adored images, and while accepting baptism still retained the old worship in secret.' Among the idols and relics saved from the general destruction were the ashes of Camaxtli, the chief god of the tribe, said by some to have been the brother of Tezcatlipoca, by others the father of Quetzalcoatl. They were jealously guarded by the chief Tecpanecatl Tecuhtli, of Tepeticpac, till 1576, when, tired of the temporal injuries which were falling upon him, owing to their presence in his house, he turned to the Church and surrendered the relic, and died the same week, on Holy Thursday, while penitently lashing himself before the Madonna. On opening the envelope of the relic, a mass of blonde hair fell out, showing that tradition was true in describing the god as a white man." (Camargo, "Hist. Tlax.," pp. 151-159, 178, 179.)

Having thus called attention to many analogies between the religious belief and practices of the Aztecs, and those of the Asiatic Buddhists, the following chapter will be devoted to an examination of the similar analogies existing in the pyramids, temples, and other buildings, and in the arts and customs of the two regions of the world.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE PYRAMIDS, IDOLS, AND ARTS OF MEXICO.

Temples built upon truncated pyramids—Mounds antedating Aztec occupation—Speculations as to the date of their erection—The Place of the House of Flowers—The monuments of San Juan Teotihuacan—Their size—Their construction—Mexican "teocallis"—Their proportions—Resemblances to the pyramids of India—Pyramids found wherever Buddhism prevails—The tumulus or tope—Its occurrence at Nineveh, in China, and Ceylon—Resemblances noticed by several authors—The temple of Boro-Budor in Java—The palace at Palenque—Dome-shaped edifices—The dome at Chichen—The construction of the pyramids—The layer of stone or brick—The layer of plaster—The false arch—Decorative paintings—The priests the artists—The ornament upon the breast—The name Chaacmol—Cornices—Friezes—Representation of curved swords—An elephant's head as a head-dress—Other ornaments in shape of an elephant's trunk—The elephant the symbol of Buddha—The tapir—Remains of the elephant or mastodon in America—Their possible contemporaneity with man—Pipes carved in the shape of elephants—Their discovery—An inscribed tablet—The elephant mound of Wisconsin—A Chippewa tradition—Ganésa—Teoyaomiqui—Their resemblance—The conception of Huitzilopochtli—The story of Cuaxolotl—Tezcatlipoca—The mirror held by him—Similar idols in Asia—The imprint of the hand—The cataclysms by which the human race has been destroyed—The cardinal points—Their connection with certain colours—The temples of Thibet—The palace of Quetzalcoatl—A small green stone buried with the dead—Sweeping the path before the monarch—The use of garments and dishes but once—The breech-cloth—Quilted armour—Suspension-bridges—Books—Marriage ceremonies and customs—Tying the garments together—Postponement of the consummation of marriage—Polygamy—Children carried on the hip—Children's toys—The cakes used as food—A game—Practices of many Asiatic countries—Milk not used—Authors led to believe in a connection between Asiatic and Mexican civilization—Differences between the Mexicans and other American tribes—Erroneous criticism.

When the Spaniards first pushed their way into the Mexican country, they found in each Aztec settlement one or more temples or places for the worship of the natives' gods. The idols

and the buildings containing them were uniformly placed upon the summit of a truncated earthen pyramid. Some of these structures were of immense size, and the ruins of many are still to be found in Mexico, Central America, and Yucatan. Although some of the smaller mounds may have been built by the tribe then occupying the country, they were, if so, merely imitations of the larger and more perfect pyramids erected by some more civilized nation which had been displaced by the Aztecs. It is the uniform testimony of travelers that the most ancient architecture is in the highest style, and shows "marvelous workmanship," while the later additions are much inferior, and seem to be the work of a people less advanced in culture and skill.[93]

That the mounds of Mexico antedate Aztec occupation is proved by records that the Aztecs did not enter the valley until the close of the thirteenth century, and by investigations showing that the mounds contain skulls that are not Aztec, and that they contain specimens of the plastic art which could not have come from the hand of an Aztec;[1323] while the tradition, still existing among the natives in many places, also credits these monuments to an earlier race.[647] An old Indian, living near Uxmal, in 1586, told a traveler that, according to the native traditions, the structures there found had been built nine hundred years, and that their builders had left the country nearly that long ago.[823] The editor of the "Antiquités Mexicaines" thinks that the temples at Palenque "may antedate the beginning of the Christian era,"[1226] and Brasseur de Bourbourg refers to them as "antediluvian,"[771] while the very name *Palenque* means "a thing that is decayed."[1397]

There is therefore reason for believing that these pyramids may have been built for the worship of a gentler and purer religion than that which was dominant in the country in the early part of the sixteenth century. Humboldt remarked that one of these ancient sacred structures bore the name of Xochicalco, meaning "the Place of the House of Flowers," and asked whether this name might not have been given it "because the Toltecs, like the Peruvians, offered nothing to the divinity but fruits, flowers, and incense."[1585]

The monuments of San Juan Teotihuacan, said to be, with the exception of Cholula, probably the most ancient remains on the Mexican soil, are thus described:[575] "They were found by the Aztecs, according to their traditions, on their entrance

into the country, when Teotihuacan (the Habitation of the Gods), now a paltry village, was a flourishing city, the rival of Tula, the great Toltec capital. The two principal pyramids were dedicated to *Tonatiuh*, the Sun, and *Meztli*, the Moon. The former, which is considerably the larger, is six hundred and eighty-two feet long at the base, and one hundred and eighty feet high, dimensions not inferior to those of some of the kindred monuments of Egypt. They were divided into four stories, of which three are now discernible, while the vestiges of the intermediate gradations are nearly effaced. The interior is composed of clay mixed with pebbles, incrusted on the surface with light porous stone. Over this was a thick coating of stucco, resembling in its reddish colour that in the ruins of Palenque. According to the traditions, the pyramids are hollow; but hitherto the attempt to discover the cavity in that dedicated to the Sun has been unsuccessful. In the other an aperture has been found in the southern side at two thirds of the elevation. It is a narrow gallery, which, after penetrating several yards, terminates in two pits, or wells, the largest about fifteen feet deep, the sides faced with unbaked bricks; but to what purpose devoted, nothing is left to show. It may have been to hold the ashes of some powerful chief, like the solitary apartment in the great Egyptian pyramid. That these monuments were dedicated to religious uses there is no doubt, and it would only be conformable to the practice of antiquity, in the Eastern Continent, that they should have served for tombs as well as temples. Distinct traces of the latter destination are said to be visible on the summit of the smaller pyramid, consisting of the remains of stone walls, showing a building of considerable size and strength. There are no remains on the top of the pyramid of the Sun. The summit of this larger mound is said to have been crowned by a temple. . . . Around the principal pyramids are a great number of smaller ones, rarely exceeding thirty feet in height." (Copied from Prescott.)

The Mexican *teocallis* were very numerous. There were several hundred in each of the cities, and the towns, villages, and districts had their share, many of them, doubtless, but humble edifices. They were masses of earth cased with bricks or stone, about one hundred feet square, and in their form resembled the pyramids of Egypt, except that they were truncated. The ascent was by four or more stories, by a flight of steps turning at

the angles of the pyramids, so that one or more circuits had to be made before reaching the top, or, in other cases, the steps led directly to the summit; the top was a broad area with one or two towers forty feet or more high.[574] The base was either circular or quadrangular; the pyramids sometimes consisted of only a single story, but were usually of several, each smaller than that below it.[1927] None of them terminated in a point. They always had a platform of greater or less extent, which served, without doubt, as a foundation upon which to place the statues or the sacrificial altars of their divinities.[1233] At the first view one is not only struck by their conical or pyramidical form, but also by the slight elevation of the edifices as compared with their extent, as well as by the solidity of their construction.[725] The main teocalli of the city of Mexico, as well as others elsewhere, stood in the midst of a vast area, encompassed by a wall of stone and lime.[573]

These pyramids have often been compared with those of Egypt; but the resemblance is more in the name than in the appearance, the material or style of construction, the proportions of the structure, or the purposes for which it was erected. The Egyptian pyramids were of stone; the Mexican mainly of earth. The Egyptian pyramids were carried up to a point; the Mexican were always truncated. The Egyptian were nearly as high as the diameter of their base; the Mexican were usually very much broader than their height. Stephens urges the following additional facts in proof of their radical dissimilarity:[2331]

"The pyramids of Egypt are peculiar and uniform, and were invariably erected for the same uses and purposes, so far as those uses and purposes are known. They are all square at the base, with steps rising and diminishing until they come to a point. The nearest approach to this is at Copan; but even at that place there is no entire pyramid standing alone and disconnected, nor one with four sides complete, but only two, or, at most, three sides, and intended to form part of other structures; all the rest, without a single exception, were high elevations, with sides so broken that we could not make out their form, which, perhaps, were merely walled around, and had ranges of steps in front and rear as at Uxmal, or terraces or raised platforms of earth, at most of three or four ranges, not of any precise form, but never square, and with small ranges of steps in the center. Besides, the pyra-

mids of Egypt are known to have interior chambers, and, whatever their other uses, to have been intended and used as sepulchers. These, on the contrary, are of solid earth and stone. No interior chambers have ever been discovered, and probably none exist; and the most radical difference of all is, the pyramids of Egypt are complete in themselves; the structures of this country were erected only to serve as the foundations of buildings. There is no pyramid in Egypt with a palace or temple upon it; there is no pyramidal structure in this country without, at least none from whose condition any judgment can be formed.

"But there is one further consideration, which must be conclusive. . . . There is no doubt that originally every pyramid in Egypt was built with its sides perfectly smooth. The steps formed no part of the plan. It is in this state only that they ought to be considered, and in this state any possible resemblance between them and what are called the pyramids of America ceases."

If the American pyramids do not resemble those of Egypt, have they any similarity to any found elsewhere, or do they stand alone in the world?

Mr. Squier has answered the question, though in a manner somewhat contrary to what seems his own predilection for the theory of an aboriginal civilization, by stating that "in India are found the almost exact counterparts of the religious structures of Central America; analogies furnishing the strongest support of the hypothesis which places the origin of American semi-civilization in Southern Asia."[1645] Wherever the religion of Buddha prevails, temples of a pyramidal form, both with square and circular bases, are to be found,[1806] in some instances rising to an elevation that has only one parallel among the works of man.[1441] The earliest Buddhist temple was the tumulus (tope). Outside was a circle of rude stone monoliths, like those of Avebury, Stennis, Stonehenge, etc., and within this circle was the principal edifice, the tope, a gigantic hemisphere of brick or stone, and earth, containing a tiny little secret chamber in the center. Huge statues, and sumptuous railings of stone and marble, with gateways at intervals, were erected around the tope.[1739] Truncated earthen pyramids are found throughout Central and Eastern Asia. There is one near the ruins of Nineveh.[1443] They were erected in China in early days, as is shown by the character T'AN, 墰,[2569] which is

defined as "an open altar on which to offer sacrifice, a high terrace for worship." In Ceylon, the principal dágobas (as these religious structures are sometimes called) are at Anurádhapura; and though time has divested them of a part of their original majesty, they are yet most imposing in their appearance. The Ábhayagiri was originally four hundred and five feet high, being only about fifty feet less than the highest of the pyramids of Egypt, or the dome of St. Peter's at Rome, and fifty feet higher than St. Paul's at London. Its elevation is not now more than two hundred and thirty feet. The wall around the platform upon which it is built extends to the distance of one mile and three quarters. The Jaitáwanaráma, completed A. D. 310, was originally three hundred and fifteen feet high, but is now reduced to two hundred and sixty-nine feet. It has been calculated that the contents of this erection are 456,071 cubic yards, and that a brick wall twelve feet high, two feet broad, and ninety-seven miles long might be built with the materials that yet remain.[1442]

It will be seen that in size, proportions, materials, uses, and appearance, these Asiatic structures closely resemble those of Mexico and Central America. Von Tschudi mentions, with surprise, "the characteristic likeness which exists between the pagodas of India and the teocallis of Mexico."[406] Hardy says upon the subject:

"The ancient edifices of Chichen, in Central America, bear a striking resemblance to the topes of India. The shape of one of the domes, its apparent size, the small tower on the summit, the trees growing on the sides, the appearance of masonry here and there, the style of the ornaments, and the small doorway at the base, are so exactly similar to what I had seen at Anurádhapura, that when my eye first fell upon the engravings of these remarkable ruins, I supposed that they were presented in illustration of the dágobas of Ceylon."[1444]

The writer of an article in the "Edinburgh Review," for April, 1867, says:

"The great temple of Palenque corresponds so exactly in its principal details to that of Boro-Budor, situated in the province of Kédu (in Java), that it is impossible to reasonably dispute the community of the origin and of the purpose of the two monuments."[19]

It should be observed that these two writers had no theory

to serve, and that they were probably unaware of any other reason for believing that there had been early communication of any kind between the two continents. In order that the wonderful resemblance last mentioned may be seen by the reader,

Fig. 23.—The temple of Boro-Budor in Java.

Figs. 23 and 24 have been inserted: the first being a copy of the frontispiece of Volume II of Crawfurd's "History of the Indian Archipelago," illustrating the temple of Boro-Budor, in

Fig. 24.—The "palace" or temple at Palenque, Yucatan.

Java; and the second being a plate of the so-called "palace" at Palenque, Yucatan, enlarged from an illustration found on page 394 of the second volume of the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica"—American reprint.

If these engravings are compared with a representation of the pyramids of Egypt, the dissimilarity of the latter to the structures of Asia and America will be very apparent, and the close resemblance of these last to each other will be brought out by the contrast.

Most of the Buddhist edifices in Asia are dome-shaped. Again we find the coincidence that, while most of the temples of Mexico were quadrangular,[1069] those which were specially dedicated to Quetzalcoatl were completely circular, "without an angle anywhere,"[827] and were surmounted by a dome.[252] Chief among the temples of Cholula was the semi-spherical structure devoted to Quetzalcoatl, standing upon a quadrilateral mound nearly two hundred feet, ascended by one hundred and twenty steps, and with a larger base than any Old World pyramid.[457] A similar dome at Chichen is thus described by Norman:[1972]

"This building stood upon a double foundation, as far as I could judge, although I was unable to satisfy myself completely, owing to the fallen ruins, which once formed a part of its structure, but which now almost concealed its base from the view. I found, on the east side, broken steps, by which I ascended to a platform, built about thirty feet from the base, the sides of which measured each about one hundred and twenty-five feet. The walls were constructed of fine hewn stone, beautifully finished at the top, and the angles, parts of which had fallen, were tastefully curved. In the center of this platform, or terrace, was a foundation work, twelve feet high, and in ruins; the four broken sides measuring about fifty feet each, upon which is built a square of a pyramidical form fifty feet high, divided off into rooms, but inaccessible, or nearly so, owing to the tottering condition of the walls. I could discover, however, that the inside walls were covered, and the wood that supported and connected the ceilings was in good preservation. In the center of this square is the Dome, a structure of beautiful proportions, though partially in ruins. It rests upon a finished foundation, the interior of which contains three conic structures, one within the other, a space of six feet intervening, each cone communicating with the

others by doorways, the inner one forming the shaft. At the height of about ten feet the cones are united by means of transoms of zaporte. Around these cones are evidences of spiral stairs, leading to the summit."

The pyramids of Asia are either of brick,[1442] or else of earth, covered with a layer of stone or brick, the whole overlaid with a plaster or stucco, which, according to Hardy, is composed of "lime, cocoanut water, and the juice of the paragaha."[1442]

The pyramid upon which stood the temple of Mexico was composed of well-hammered earth, stones, and clay, covered with a layer of large square pieces of "tetzontli" (a species of stone or lava), all of equal size, hewn smooth, and joined with a fine cement, which scarcely left a mark to be seen; it was, besides, covered with a polished coating of lime or gypsum.[250]

Nearly all the pyramids of which the material is described were similarly constructed,[1293] among them one near San Andres Chachicomula,[1224] and one near Tehuantepec,[1332] but some were partly built of the sun-dried brick of the country. One of the mounds of Cholula was known by the name *Ixtenextl*,[500] or "Lime-faced"; evidently derived from *ixtli*, "face," and *tenextli*, "lime." This "lime" was a native carbonate which was not burned, and which still gives a strong effervescence when treated with acids.[501] The stucco with which nearly or quite all the pyramids were originally covered is said to have been composed solely of this native carbonate of lime, mixed with water in which the bark of a certain tree had been steeped. (See Brasseur de Bourbourg's "Relation des Choses de Yucatan, de Diego de Landa," p. 335.)[761] This is nearly the same composition as that used in Asia.

Another similarity is found in the fact that the stones of the ancient Buddhist temples of Java "overlap each other within, so as to present to the eye the appearance of the inverted steps of a stair."[1139] This peculiarity is found in nearly all the ruins of Mexico, Central America, and Yucatan. The nations of America were not acquainted with the principle of the arch, and the species of false arch above described is the nearest approach to it that they ever made.

We are informed that in Asia the inner surface of the walls of Buddhist temples is whitewashed, or covered with a kind of plaster. This is then generally decorated with paintings rep-

resenting episodes taken from the life of the Buddhas, or images of gods of dreadful countenance.[2234] The lamas are the only artists who contribute to the ornament and decoration of the temples. The paintings are quite distinct from the taste and principles of art as understood in Europe, the fantastical and the grotesque predominating inside and out, both in carvings and statuary.[1565] At Palenque, as well as elsewhere in the neighbouring region of America, the walls and roofs of the temples were covered with stucco,[1234] and the excellence of this material, which was also employed for making bas-reliefs, is said to be difficult to describe, for neither sand nor powdered marble can be distinguished in its composition, and, in addition to its hardness and its fineness, it is of a beautiful white colour.[1236] The paintings, bas-reliefs, and statues well come under the description of "fantastical and grotesque."

Le Plongeon states that the ornament hanging from the breast of the American figure, shown in Fig. 2, page 128, is a badge of his rank; that the same is seen at the breast of many other personages in the American bas-reliefs and mural paintings, and that a similar mark of authority is yet in usage in Burmah.[2049] The name *Chaacmol*, mentioned by him, is as good a preservation of the epithet *Sâkya Muni* (*l* and *n* often being interchanged in American languages) as could be expected to have come down through the vicissitudes of fourteen centuries.

Above one of the ruins at Mictlan there was a projecting cornice, ornamented with capricious sculptures, which formed a sort of diadem placed upon the summit of the edifice. This crown, which still existed in the times of Burgoa, who gives an incomplete description of it, seems to resemble, as far as we can judge, those of certain temples of Hindostan.[655] It may also be noticed that the frieze which surrounds one of the stories of the pyramid of Xochicalco presents a series of small human figures, seated in the Eastern manner, with the right hand crossed on the breast and the left resting on a curved sword, whose hilt reminds us of ancient swords; a thing the more worthy of attention since no tribe descended from the Toltecs or Aztecs has made use of this kind of arms.[384]

Stephens, in his "Incidents of Travel in Central America," etc.,[2379] Humboldt, in his "Vues des Cordilleres," plate 15, figure 4,[1590] and the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, in "Monuments

Anciens du Mexique," figure 2, plate 13,[575] give an engraving of a bas-relief in stucco, on the west side of the palace at Palenque. The resemblance of the head-dress to an elephant's head and trunk is somewhat striking.[371] (See Fig. 25.)

Fig. 25.—The elephant's-head head-dress.

At Uxmal, in Yucatan, an ornament of the walls, in the shape of a curved projection, has been "supposed by more than one traveler to be modeled after the trunk of an elephant."[364] The trunk is yet visible on the east side, though the whole figure is much broken on the west side.[1973] The elephant trunk reappears in the interior steps at Kabah, Yucatan,[368] and again in the wall at Zayi, Yucatan.[369] The resemblance is hardly so close as to make it absolutely certain that the ornaments were intended as representations of an elephant's trunk, although many seem to think that there can be no question on the subject. Waldeck says that the head-dress first mentioned "is evidently an elephant's head," and that the same figure is also found in other reliefs and among the hieroglyphical characters.[767] He also mentions another building as possessing "a small chancel containing two birds perched upon elegant scroll-work, in adoration before an elephant's head";[766] and Le Plongeon states that the mastodon's head forms a prominent feature in all the ornaments of the edifices of Yucatan.[2050] Lillie also claims that "the elephant is everywhere"[1743] in the drawings of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg (I admit, however, that I am unable to find it), and

he gives an engraving, of which Fig. 26 is a copy, as representing a sculpture at Palenque.[1745] This is a perfect elephant's head, and, if the drawing is correct, may be considered as settling the question of the existence of this ornament in the temples of America. He does not give his authority, however, and there seems a possibility that the original sculpture may not settle the point so decisively. The question is one of interest, since any knowledge on the part of the Mexicans of even one species of animal peculiar to the old continent, and not found in America, would, if distinctly proved, furnish a convincing argument of a communication having taken place in former ages between the people of the two hemispheres.[408] It is of the greater interest, as the elephant is in Asia the usual symbol of Buddha,[1738] and a Guatemalan tradition asserts that Votan, who was probably one of our party of Buddhist priests, created,[831] or brought with him,[622] the tapir—the nearest American representative of the elephant—which was therefore considered in Guatemala, as the elephant is in Siam and other Buddhist countries, as a sacred animal.

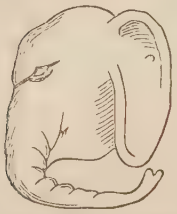

FIG. 26.—Lillie's drawing of an elephant's head, said to be sculptured at Palenque.

If the sculptures of Yucatan are really intended for elephants' trunks, a possible explanation of their existence may, however, be found in the theory that some species of elephant or mastodon existed in America until a comparatively recent date, and has become extinct in what may be called modern times. Remains of the mastodon are occasionally disinterred in the Mexican Valley[2069] (see Latrobe's "Rambler in Mexico," p. 145), and Professor Newberry, some years ago, made the following statements on the subject:[1968]

"We know that both these great monsters—the elephant and mastodon—continued to inhabit the interior of our continent long after the glaciers had retreated beyond the upper lakes, and when the minutest details of surface topography were the same as now. This is proved by the fact that we not infrequently find them embedded in peat, in marshes which are still marshes, where they have been mired and suffocated. It is even claimed that here, as on the European Continent, man was a contemporary of the mammoth, and that here, as there, he contributed largely

to its final extinction. On this point, however, more and better evidence than any yet obtained is necessary, before we can consider the contemporaneity of man and the elephant in America as proven. The wanting proof may be obtained to-morrow, but to-day we are without it."

Fig. 27.—Elephant-pipe, found in a field in Iowa.

Since the above was written, the lacking evidence seems to have been obtained. There are in the possession of the Academy

Fig. 28.—Elephant-pipe, found in a mound.

of Natural Sciences of Davenport, Iowa, two carved stone pipes, of which representations are given in Figs. 27 and 28.

The first was found in Louisa County, Iowa, about the year 1870, by Mr. Peter Mare (now living in Kansas), while planting corn on his farm.[1182] The discovery of the second is thus described by the Rev. Ad. Blumer, in a letter dated Geneseo, Illinois, March 27, 1880 :[1184]

"Having formerly resided in Louisa County, Iowa, . . . I visited that place, during the first week of the present month, in company with Rev. J. Gass. . . . We visited several groups of mounds, . . . and finally determined to open those of a group situated two miles east of Grand View, and three miles south of the boundary of Muscatine County. . . . Our work was begun on the farm of Mr. P. Haas, S. W. ¼, N. E. ¼, Sec. 25, Twp. 75, N., R. 3. . . . The first mound we opened, and the only one at the exploration of which I was present, proved to be a sacrificial or cremation mound. . . . An opening of five by ten feet was made. The surface was a layer of hard clay, about one and a half foot thick. Beneath this layer, which exhibited here and there the effects of fire, we found a layer of red burned clay, about as hard as a rather soft-burned brick. This layer was of an oval form, five feet in the shortest diameter, one foot thick in the center, and gradually diminishing to three inches at the circumference. Under this was a bed of ashes thirteen inches deep in the middle, and also gradually diminishing to the edges, where it terminated, with the burned clay above. . . . In the midst of this bed of ashes, a few inches above the bottom, were found . . . a carved stone pipe, entire, and representing an elephant, which was first discovered by myself."

The illustrations given upon the last page were copied by a photo-engraving process from photographs of the pipes in question. They seem to be unmistakable representations of an elephant or some closely allied quadruped, and their makers must have been acquainted with the animal.

The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences also have a tablet, found in a mound near their city, containing some thirty rude pictures of animals, most of which can be recognized, and among them there are two that seem intended for elephants.[1181] It may be worthy of notice that in these drawings, in the pipes, and in the sculptures of Yucatan, the animal's head is uniformly represented without any trace of tusks. In that otherwise truthful representation of the mastodon, the elephant-mound of Wis-

consin (see Fig. 29), the artist has also totally omitted the tusks, and shortened the trunk to very moderate dimensions. Surely

Fig. 29.—The "Elephant-Mound" of Wisconsin.

not for want of space, for the whole animal has a length of over one hundred feet, and a proportionate height. There, therefore, seems some reason for believing that an animal much resembling the elephant, but destitute of tusks, existed in America up to a comparatively recent date.

Schoolcraft mentions a Chippewa tradition which was narrated by Maidosegee, an aged chief of that tribe, regarding the former existence of an animal from whose skin the wind had blown the hair.[2240] When first found he was very small, but he began to shake himself, and at every shake he grew. His body became heavy and massy; his legs thick and long, with big, clumsy ends, or feet. He still shook himself, and rose and swelled; a long snout grew from his head, and two great, shining teeth out of his mouth. His skin remained as it was, naked, and only a tuft of hair grew on his tail. He was enormous. "I should fill the earth," said he, "were I to exert my utmost power, and all there is on the earth would not satisfy me to eat."

This may possibly be a genuine tradition of the comparatively recent existence in America of some elephantine quadruped.

Fig. 30 is a copy of the frontispiece of the second volume of Sir Thomas Raffles's "History of Java,"[2125] and represents the elephant god Bitára Gána, or Ganésa, worshiped in that island. Fig. 31 is a picture of one of the gods of the Mexicans, said to be Teoyaomiqui, copied from the plate given on page 513 of the fourth volume of Bancroft's "Native Races of the Pacific

States." [385] A comparison of the two will show so many resemblances that the conclusion hardly seems far-fetched that the lat-

Fig. 30.—Bitára Gána, or Ganésa.

ter is merely a modification of the former, brought about by gradual changes, which have accumulated through many centuries. In both we see skulls and encircling serpents. The po-

Fig. 31.—An Aztec god—said to be Teoyaomiqui.

sition of the four hands and feet is nearly the same in both, with an additional pair of hands appearing near the shoulders; and the distorted head of the Mexican idol may possibly have been made by workmen who, knowing nothing of the existence of the elephant, or any other animal with a long proboscis, therefore, by gradual changes, shortened up the trunk and split it, as shown in the protruding tongue of the engraving, and changed the tusks into the two projections at each side of the tongue. A god with four or six hands, as here shown, is an anomaly in Mexican and Central American mythology,[2447] and its counterpart can be found only in Asia.

There was a tradition current in Mexico of the miraculous conception of Huitzilopochtli, which closely resembles the Asiatic stories of the conception of Buddha, and which Clavigero relates as follows: [319] "In the ancient city of Tulla lived a most devout woman, Coatlicue by name. Walking one day in the temple, as her custom was, she saw a little ball of feathers floating down from heaven, which, taking without thought, she put into her bosom. The walk being ended, however, she could not find the ball, and wondered much, all the more that soon after this she found herself pregnant."

The Mexican story of Cantico, or Cuaxolotl, who, having sacrificed after having eaten fried fish, was changed into a dog, as a punishment for not having kept fast until after sacrifice,[1406] also closely resembles an East Indian tale.

Tezcatlipoca, one of the principal deities worshiped in Mexico,[1852] was represented as holding in his hand a great circular mirror of gold, bordered, like a fan, with precious feathers, green, and azure, and yellow; the eyes of the god were ever fixed on this, for therein he saw reflected all that was done in the world.[303] A similar story is told in Thibet, of Shinje, "the Lord of the Dead," "the King of the Law," who is said to possess a wonderful mirror which shows him all the good and bad actions of men.[2225] In Japan, also, the same tale is told by the Buddhists regarding a great judge, before whom the souls of the dead are tried, before whom stands a large mirror in which the actions of all men are imaged forth.[968]

Dr. Le Plongeon says that the tribes of Yucatan, and several of those that dwell in Hindostan, have in common the custom of printing the impress of the human hand, dipped

in a red-coloured liquid, on the walls of certain sacred edifices.[2051]

In Chapter IX have been given the remarks of von Humboldt upon the analogy which the Mexican mythology presents, in its fable regarding the system of the universe, of its periodic destructions and regenerations, to the account contained in the sacred books of the Hindoos of the four ages, and of the *pralayas*, or cataclysms, which, at different epochs, have caused the destruction of the human species. It will, therefore, be unnecessary to repeat these legends here, although it may be stated that the traditions of the two countries so closely resemble each other that both speak of four ages, each terminating by a general catastrophe, and each catastrophe exactly the same in both. At least that is the doctrine of one of the Shastras. The race, it teaches, has been destroyed four times: first, by water; secondly, by winds; thirdly, the earth swallowed them; and, lastly, fire consumed them. (Sepp, "Heidenthum und Christenthum," i, p. 191.)[809]

In Mexico,[2203] as in China, the leading one of the four points of the compass was the south; Gemelli and Sahagun both following exactly the same order in the enumeration of the quarters of the world: first, the south, then the east, and finally the north and the west;[933] and one point, as to which there seems much reason for believing that the American custom was influenced by communication with some of the nations of Asia, is the employment, in both regions of the world, of definite colours to symbolize the points of space.[931]

Schlagintweit says that in Thibet the walls of the temples look toward the four quarters of heaven, and each side should be painted with a particular colour: the north side with green, the south side with yellow, the east side with white, and the west side with red; but this rule was not strictly adhered to, as many temples were seen with all sides of the same colour, or simply whitewashed.[2233] If the Mexican traditions may be believed, the sacred palace of that mysterious Toltec priest-king, Quetzalcoatl, had four principal halls, facing the four cardinal points. . . . That on the east was called the Hall of Gold, because its walls were ornamented with plates of that metal, delicately chased and finished; the apartment lying toward the west was named the Hall of Emeralds and Turquoises, and its walls were pro-

fusely adorned with all kinds of precious stones ; the hall facing the south was decorated with plates of silver, and with brilliant coloured sea-shells, which were fitted together with great skill. The walls of the fourth hall, which was on the north, were red jasper, covered with carving, and ornamented with shells. Another of these palaces or temples, for it is not clear which they were, had also four principal halls decorated entirely with feather-work tapestry. In the eastern division the feathers were yellow; in the western they were blue, taken from a bird called Xiuh-tototl ; in the southern hall the feathers were white; and in that on the north they were red.[162]

The colours used to symbolize the points of the compass varied among different races. In Java the divisions of the horizon and the corresponding colours were named in the following order : first, white and the east ; second, red and the south ; third, yellow and the west ; fourth, black and the north; and fifth, mixed colours and the focus or center.[1134] Among the Mayas of Yucatan the east was distinguished by yellow, the south by red, the west by black, and the north by white.[504] In Mexico, according to the declaration of Gemelli, the hieroglyph of the south is a hare upon a blue field ; that of the east, a reed upon a red field ; that of the north, a lance upon a yellow field ; and that of the west, a house upon a green field.[932] The order of the first three colours is the same as that of the colours mentioned by Hwui Shăn—blue, red, and yellow. It is true that a difference appears in the colour appropriated to the west, but it is not at all improbable that Gemelli was mistaken as to that point, as the Mexicans designated blue and green by the same term, and had no way of distinguishing between the two colours ; it, therefore, seems not improbable that the hieroglyph of the west was painted upon a field which the Mexicans intended for white, but which, from some cause, was of so dingy a colour that Gemelli mistook it for light green. The colour black, of which we are not able, otherwise than as a matter of conjecture, to establish the employment among the Mexicans as symbolizing any point of space, plays as important a part as any of the other colours in the account of Fu-sang, and appears to correspond to the central region. Here there are traces of archaism, easy to explain among a people whose civilization goes back to a much earlier date than that of other American races.[934]

Another practice of the Mexicans, to which attention should be called, was that of interring a small green stone with the dead.[811] This was also done in Yucatan,[2582] and the custom is in striking accord with the Chinese belief that smooth and clean jade-stone has the power to harmonize the hundred spirits of Nature, and that it should be placed in the tomb to illuminate the path of the spirits.[1266]

It has been a common Asiatic practice to "prepare the way," and "make the path straight," before any great ruler when he ventured abroad. Thus a mandate was issued by the king, the father of Buddha, throughout his dominions, that, wherever the prince should go, the roads and streets should be swept and watered, perfumes should be burned, and tapestries, flags, and canopies hung up.[1351] A similar custom existed in Mexico; and it is said that when the prince Cacumatzin, lord of Tezcuco, and a nephew of Montezuma, came to visit Cortez, as soon as he alighted from the litter in which he was borne, some of his servants ran before him to sweep the ground upon which he was about to tread.[2347]

Mention has already been made of the repeated statements of the Spanish conquerors, that Montezuma never used either the same garments or the same dishes twice.[734] The same thing is said of the Dairi of Japan. "He and his wives wear new garments every day. Everything necessary for their meals, and everything for their personal use, is renewed every day."[1686]

In India the common native dress consists of a large piece of cloth, which is rolled around the waist, one end being passed between the legs, and then drawn up and fastened to the girdle. This method of covering is very ancient, for we find it represented in numerous ancient figures.[2236] This was precisely the dress adopted by the Aztecs. An early English translation of Herrera describes it as follows:

"The prime men wore a Rowler eight fingers broad round about instead of Breeches, and going several times around the waste, so that one end of it hung before and the other behind."[2382]

Gabriel de Chaves, in a report preserved in the publications of M. Ternaux-Compans, gives the following description of the clothing of the natives: "All classes cover their nakedness with a long band of cloth, similar to an *almaizar*, which they wind

several times about the body and then pass between the legs, the extremities falling in front down to the knees." [2440]

This article of clothing was known as a *maxtli*, of which Bancroft says that it was about twenty-four feet long, and nine inches wide, and was generally more or less ornamented at the end with coloured fringes and tassels, the latter sometimes nine inches long. The manner of wearing it was to pass the middle between the legs and to wind it about the hips, leaving the ends hanging one in front, and the other at the back, as is done at this day by the Malays and other East Indian natives.[207]

While speaking of the dress, it may also be noticed that the Mexicans wore an armour of quilted cotton, which, while it answered its purpose of protecting the wearer from arrows, was useless against the musketry of the Spaniards. A similar quilted dress was worn by the Tartars as a defensive armour.[997]

It is well known that the Chinese used suspension-bridges for many centuries before they were known in Europe. The Mexicans also, as well as the Peruvians, used bridges of this kind, which are thus described by Clavigero: "They are woven of certain ropes or natural ligaments of a tree more pliant than the willow, but larger and stronger, called in America the *Bejucos*. The extremities of these are attached to the trees on opposite sides of the stream, and the network is suspended in the air between them like a swing. Some bridges had their ropes so tightly drawn that they did not undulate, and they all had their side supports made of these same ropes. Over some rivers, bridges of this nature are still found." [1079]

The books of the Mexicans and Mayas also resembled those of some of the nations of Asia; being written "on a large leaf, doubled in folds, and inclosed between two boards, which they made very fine [decorated], and they wrote on both sides in columns according to the folds." [280] The paper was folded back and forth in a particular manner, almost like the paper or other material of our fans. In this respect the Mexican paintings offer a close analogy to the Siamese manuscripts, which have been preserved in the Imperial Library of Paris, which are also folded "*en zigzag*." [1589]

One of the most remarkable peculiarities in which the Mexican customs resembled those of some of the Buddhist nations of Asia was connected with the ceremony of marriage. In Mexico, the

priest, after the arrival of the bride at the house of the bridegroom, tied the gown of the one to the mantle of the other; and in this ceremony the matrimonial contract chiefly consisted.[1849]

The newly married couple sit upon a mat together during the first four days after their marriage, not leaving it until midnight, when they go together to burn incense before the domestic gods. . . . For the young married couple these four days are a time of penitence, during which they clothe themselves with the ornaments of the gods for which they have the most devotion. They pass the nights separated from each other, each upon a separate bed prepared by the priests. These beds consist of mats covered with superstitious symbols, having at the side some ears of maize, and some maguey-thorns, with which to draw blood in honour of the divinity. It is not until the fourth day that they are permitted to consummate their marriage, any anticipation being considered as unlucky for the future.[707]

The marriage ceremonies of the Hindoos are remarkably similar to those of the Mexicans in some leading particulars ("Asiat. Res.," vii, p. 309; Ward's "View of the Hindus," i, p. 173), and which, to avoid a tedious description, we shall but recapitulate. The bridegroom goes in procession to the house of the bride's father, and is there welcomed as a guest. The bride is then given to him in the usual form of any solemn donation, and their hands are bound together with grass; the bridegroom then clothes the bride with an upper and lower garment; *then the skirts of their mantles are tied together*, the bridegroom makes oblations to the fire, and the bride drops rice upon it, and after several inconsiderable ceremonies the company is dismissed; the marriage being now complete and irrevocable. In the evening of the same day, the bridegroom points out to her the pole star, as an emblem or figure of constancy; *during the three subsequent days the married couple must live chastely and austerely*, and after these three days, which is *the fourth from the celebration of the marriage ceremony*, the bridegroom conducts the bride to his own house. The custom of tying the garments of the bride and bridegroom together was also practiced in the marriage of the ancient Persians. (Hyde, "De Religio Vet. Pers.," p. 405.)[1849]

In some parts of India marriage is not consummated until the husband and the wife, sleeping apart, have for seven days eaten together seven times a day.[1734]

In the Mexican empire, as in most Asiatic countries, polygamy was tolerated, the kings and princes taking a great number of wives; but in general they had only one who was regarded as their legitimate spouse, and of whom the marriage was celebrated according to the customary rites.[708] In both Yucatan and India it was customary to carry young children astride on the hip;[2051] and in Mexico, as in China, it was the practice to place in the hands of a child, at a festive gathering, held a few days after its birth, toy instruments of war, of craft, or of household labour,[325] symbolical of those with which it was expected that its after-life would be engaged.

Among the minor coincidences between Mexican and Asiatic life, it may be mentioned that the thin oval cakes of meal which formed the principal food of the Aztecs, as well as of the Mexicans of the present day, closely resemble the *chapati* of India,[1319] and that a Mexican game called *patolli*, which is described in the Spanish chronicles as played with coloured stones moved on the squares of a cross-shaped figure, according to the throws of beans marked on one side, corresponds closely with the Hindoo backgammon called *pachisi*. (See Tylor, in "Jour. Anthrop. Inst.," vol. viii, p. 116.)[1318]

In presenting these coincidences between the religious practices, the arts and the customs of the Mexicans and the natives of Yucatan in America, and those of the Asiatic Buddhists, many countries in Asia have been mentioned. This has seemed legitimate, as the five Buddhist priests must have been acquainted with many Asiatic countries before they reached America. Moreover, a large part of the civilization of Asia is Buddhistic in its origin, and the same practices, customs, and arts were introduced by the Buddhist priests throughout nearly all Asia. Many practices mentioned by travelers as existing in a certain country may also exist in others, without having been mentioned by any explorer; and arts and customs once introduced into many lands may now survive in only one.

It may be said that not only did the Mexican civilization so closely resemble that of Asia as to make it almost incredible that the two can have grown up entirely independent of each other, but that even the arts and useful customs known to the Europeans, and not known to the Mexicans, were either equally unknown to the Asiatics or were not practiced by them.

Milk, and food made from it, were, for instance, formerly unknown to the Americans as articles of diet.[1581] If the Mexican civilization had been founded upon any introduction of European ideas, there can be no doubt that the use of these articles would have been known. Humboldt pointed out, however, that several nations of Eastern Asia equally ignored their use.[1581] Milk, butter, and curds are all insupportably odious to a Chinese,[1570] and the Buddhists of Java, who are so little scrupulous in diet as to eat not only the flesh of the cow, but even that of dogs and other animals, never use milk as an article of food.[2129]

Before closing this chapter, it may not be out of place to again call attention to the fact that many independent observers have been led, by some one or more of the coincidences that have been noted, to the belief that they could be most easily accounted for on the supposition that the practices or arts in question were borrowed by the Mexicans from Asia. The authors of the article upon Mexico in the Encyclopædia Britannica (Tylor and Keane) say that these details of Mexican civilization do not seem ancient enough to have to do with a remote Asiatic origin of the nations of America, but rather to be the results of comparatively modern intercourse between Asia and America, probably since the Christian era.[1318] In other words, these gentlemen, paying no attention to the story of Hwui Shăn, have been led, by the study of Mexican civilization, to the belief that there was a visit of some kind from Asia to America, at just about the time that Hwui Shăn says the party of Buddhist priests visited Fu-sang.

More than a century ago there sprang up a school of critics who disputed the unanimous testimony of the ecclesiastics, the soldiers, and the historians who first witnessed the remarkable civilization of Mexico. No such arts, customs, or religious practices were found elsewhere in America; the Americans were in reality one homogeneous people, and therefore those who bore witness of the peculiar civilization of Mexico were either themselves deceived or else deliberately attempted to deceive others, and their stories were either without foundation, or else were gross exaggerations or perversions of the truth.

This was the course of reasoning adopted by these critics. The facts were all against them, it is true—so much the worse for the facts. Clavigero, meeting this species of criticism, when he

commenced the publication of his "Ancient History of Mexico," replied to it as follows:

"Those who foolishly claim to know all about the ancient Mexicans by their descendants, or else by the nations of Canada or of Louisiana, will consider as fables, invented by the Spaniards, what we have to say of their knowledge, their laws, and their arts. But that we may not violate the laws of history, nor the fidelity due to the public, we shall candidly set forth all that we have found to be true, without fear of censure."[1071]

Of late there has been a revival of the same species of criticism as that of which Clavigero complained, and there are not wanting those who are ready to deny the unanimous testimony of innumerable independent witnesses, in order that their own inferences may take the place of the proven facts. Mr. Bancroft's "Native Races of the Pacific States" has been attacked by several of this ilk, on the ground that he, like other historians, has been guided by the statements of eye-witnesses, rather than by the customs of "the nations of Canada."

The grain of truth contained in the views of these critics renders their argument all the more dangerous. The natives of Mexico were Indians, of the same race as other American Indians. Many of their customs were undoubtedly founded upon practices existing before their lives had been swayed by any foreign influence. Upon these, the discoveries of Morgan and his followers, in regard to the organization and customs of other Indian tribes, will undoubtedly throw much light; and many things, which the early Spanish historians understood but imperfectly, may in this way be now more fully explained. There is only one theory, however, which will account for all the facts. That is that, at some time in the past, the nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America were powerfully affected by the introduction of Asiatic arts, customs, and religious belief; that, when this region was rediscovered by the Europeans, many evidences of this influence still existed in these countries, and that the state of civilization found by the Spaniards was the result of this adoption of Asiatic customs and beliefs, which were mixed with or engrafted upon such civilization as the natives themselves had previously been able to attain.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE HISTORY OF JAPAN.

Records reaching back nominally to 660 B. C.—Gaps in the history—Great age of sovereigns—A giant—Absence of exact dates—The introduction of writing—Manufacture of paper—Chinese records of embassies—Mention of a Japanese sovereign whose name does not appear in the Japanese annals—Translation of extracts from the Japanese history—Intercourse with Corea and China—Embassies—Wars—Introduction of Buddhism—Titles of nobility—Copper, silver, and gold—Intercourse of Corea with Japan and China—The Chinese account of Japan—The route from China to Japan—The distance—Cattle and horses not raised—Tattooing—Clothing—Cities—Polygamy—Laws—Burial of the dead—The "Chi-shuai"—An envoy—A later embassy—A Japanese princess—The kingdom of Kiu-nu; that of Chu-ju—The Eastern Fish-People—A Chinese expedition to seek for P'ung-lai—Tan-cheu—Route to Japan—The divisions of Japan—Titles of the officers—Embassies—Tattooing—Absence of writing—Mourning-garments—Buddhism—Route to Japan—Discovery of gold, silver, iron ore, and copper—The Country of Women—Reasons why Fu-sang can not have been situated in Japan—Consideration of other theories—Proof that Hwui Shăn had visited some unknown land—Had the Chinese any earlier knowledge of America?—The Shan Hai King.

As it has been thought by some that the country visited by Hwui Shăn was situated in some part of Japan, it will be pertinent to examine the history of that kingdom, and the accounts regarding it possessed by the Chinese in early ages, to see whether any such coincidences can be found in the manners and customs of the people, and in the plants and animals of the country, with those of the land of Fu-sang, as to make this theory tenable.

The Japanese possess a concise history of their country, which gives a short account of the principal events occuring in the land, and which runs back, nominally, as far as the year 660 B. C. There are numerous gaps in the record for the first thousand years, however, and as late as A. D. 435 there is a hiatus from that

date until the year 453. It is evident that until this time, or a little later, the record is of little value, and is merely a compilation at some later date of the traditions then current in the country as to its early history. From the earliest date that is named (660 B. C.), up to the year 399 A. D., we are presented with a list of sovereigns, almost all centenarians, some of whom are said to have attained the age of one hundred and forty years, and one of whom is stated to have been ten feet tall; it is also noticeable that neither the month, nor the day of the month, on which any event occurred is mentioned prior to the year 643 A.D.,[1684] but that after that time they are frequently named.

The date of the introduction of the art of writing, and that of the first manufacture of paper in the country (which will be referred to farther on), also indicate that their history was not reduced to writing prior to the third century A. D., and more probably not until about the sixth century.

It is the long life attributed to their early sovereigns, however, which more than any other cause tends to throw suspicion upon their historical records. Such a chronology immediately inspires more than doubt, and the idea at once presents itself that the memory of a good many of the ancient sovereigns has been lost, and that the gaps which would be so caused in Japanese history are filled up by extending the reigns of which the remembrance has been preserved. Klaproth evidently had this suspicion when he wrote, "From the year 660 B. C. to 400 A. D., the history of Japan mentions only seventeen emperors, a number too small for so great a length of time." But that which for Klaproth was merely a probable hypothesis has been placed by M. d'Hervey beyond all reasonable doubt. Ma Twan-lin, in his writings, mentions all the embassies sent by Japan to China, naming the Japanese emperors from whom they bore homage or tribute, and also stating the dates. Among others, he mentions that in the year 107 A. D. envoys came to China, from the king of Japan, named Shui Shing. The Japanese chronology indicates that at this date a prince was reigning aged one hundred and seventeen years, named Kei Ko (or, in Chinese, King Hang), who lived to the age of one hundred and forty years, and it does not mention the king Shui Shing of whom Ma Twan-lin reveals the existence and preserves the name.

It is therefore evident that the early portion of the record can

not be relied upon, any further than that it is probably a faithful preservation of the recollections and traditions of the country as they existed about the sixth century A. D. The account of events that happened as late as the date of Hwui Shăn's visit to China (499 A. D.) seems, however, to be deserving of entire credit, as there was then some little knowledge in the country of writing with Chinese characters, and the official history of the kingdom was reduced to writing either about this time or within a century after.

The following extracts are presented from the translation of these records, which was made by Siebold, as having a bearing, more or less direct, upon Hwui Shăn's story :

B. C. 87. Many immigrants arrived from foreign countries.[2251]

B. C. 81. By command of the Mikado, ships were built in [2252] different districts.

B. C. 33. Japan received the first visit from *Mimana*, a land in the southern part of the Corean peninsula.[2253]

B. C. 27. A son of the king of *Sin-ra* * came to Japan and brought many valuable things. † [2254]

A. D. 57. A deputation went from Japan to Han (China).‡ An account of this visit is contained in the Chinese history of the later Han Dynasty.[2255]

A. D. 59. *Kijofiko*, a descendant of the prince who came from *Sin-ra* in the year 27 B. C., presented to the court of the Mikado the curiosities which had been brought into the country by the prince. They were esteemed as objects of great value, and carefully preserved in the treasury.[2256]

A. D. 61. *Tatsima Mori* left Japan, by order of the Mikado, in order to bring back the "fragrant fruit." [2257]

A. D. 71. *Tatsima Mori* returned to Japan from *Toko jono kuni* (the Land of Eternity), bringing with him the "fragrant fruit" (i. e., the pomegranate).[2258]

* The ancient kingdom of Sin-ra (or "Sin-lo," as the Chinese pronounce the name) occupied the province of Corea, now called K'ing Chang,[1659] which is situated in the eastern part of that country.[1672]

† These presents are said to have consisted of mirrors, Oriental jade, sabers, cutlasses, and other valuable articles.[1673]

‡ This embassy reached China in the last year of the reign of the emperor Kwang Wu Hwang Ti.[1674]

A. D. 193. In this year *Kung Man-wang*, a descendant of the Chinese emperor *Shi Hwang Ti*, came to Japan.[2260]

A. D. 201. The fifteenth Mikado was *Zin-gu Kwo-gu*, known in her life-time as *Oki naga tarasifimeno mikoto*, great-granddaughter of the Mikado *Kai Kwa*, daughter of the prince *Okinaga Sukune*. In the third month she conquered the race of *Kuma-oso*, in *Kiusiu*, with her troops, and annihilated the robber *Kuma-wasi* with his followers, and peace and order were restored in *Kiusiu*. In the tenth month she with her large army undertook a plundering expedition against *Sin-ra*, whose king immediately surrendered to her. *Kao-li* * and *Pe-tsi* † also came and submitted themselves to her, so that the three *Kara* state all became subject to the Japanese empire. In the twelfth month, after returning to Japan, she bore a son in *Tsukusi* who afterward succeeded her upon the throne of the Mikado.[2261]

A. D. 239. An embassador was sent to the *Wei* dynasty [2262] (of China).‡

A. D. 240. The *Wei* dynasty sent an embassy in return.[2263]

A. D. 246. Embassadors were sent to *Toksiu*.[2264]

A. D. 249. A Japanese expedition went to *Toksiu*, and from that country attacked *Sin-ra*.[2265]

A. D. 250. By command of the government, stations were introduced throughout the kingdom for the change of post-horses.[2266]

A. D. 262. A Japanese expedition attacked *Sin-ra*.[2267]

A. D. 266. A Japanese embassy visited *Tsin* (China).[2268]

A. D. 272. The country of *Pe-tsi* neglected to pay tribute to Ja-

* Kao-li (pronounced "Ko-rai" by the Japanese) was a province of Corea,[1653] from which the whole country has since taken the name by which it is known to Europeans.[1677]

† The ancient kingdom of Pe-tsi was situated in the province of Corea, now called Ts'iuan.[1658]

‡ The "History of China" speaks of this embassy as follows: "The second of the years *king t'su* (238 A. D.), under the emperor Ming Ti, of the Wei dynasty, *Pi Mi Hu*, queen of the country of Wo (Japan), sent to the capital one of her noblemen, who bore tribute. The emperor gave him a golden seal in an envelope of purple silk.[1679]

pan. In retaliation *Kitsuno Sukune* was sent with an expedition against it. The inhabitants of the country slew their king. The Japanese placed *Akwa* upon the throne and returned home.[2269]

A. D. 276. *San Kan* and *Mimana* brought tribute.[2270]

A. D. 284. The king of *Pe-tsi* sent his son *Atogi* with horses to Japan. *Atogi* laid in Japan the first foundation of a knowledge of Chinese writing.[2271]

A. D. 285. The Chinese philosopher *Wang Shin* came from *Pe-tsi* to the Japanese court and gave the first instruction in Chinese literature.[2272]

A. D. 289. Immigration of two Chinese families.[2273]

A. D. 324. An iron shield and target were sent to Japan from *Kao-li*, and an officer of the shield-bearers pierced them with an arrow-shot.[2274]

A. D. 368. The people of Jesso revolted. *Damitsi* undertook an expedition against them, suffered defeat, and returned.[2275]

A. D. 414. A Chinese physician was called from *Sin-ra* in order to cure the Mikado of a disease.[2276]

A. D. 462. Strangers from the land of *Wu* brought presents to the court.* [2277]

A. D. 464. A deputation was sent to the land of *Wu*.[2278]

A. D. 465. A Japanese expedition made war upon *Sin-ra*, and suffered a defeat.[2279]

A. D. 467. *Kui Sin*, a native of the land of *Wu*, came from *Pe-tsi* to Japan.[2280]

A. D. 468. *Musano-awo* and a learned man of *Finokuma* went as an embassy to the land of *Wu*.[2281]

A. D. 475. *Kao-li* conquered *Pe-tsi*.[2282]

A. D. 477. *Pe-tsi*, under King *Monsu*, recovered its independence.[2283]

A. D. 493. *Fitaka no kisi* (falconer), of *Naniva*, returned from a mission to *Kao-li*, with two architects.[2284]

A. D. 543. *Pe-tsi* sent a valuable apparatus, which pointed out the south [2285] (i. e., a magnetic compass).

A. D. 546. The embassadors from *Pe-tsi* returned home with a present of seventy horses and ten ships.[2286]

* China was at this time divided into three kingdoms, called *Wei*, *Shu*, and *Wu*.

A. D. 552. *Pe-tsi* sent a statue of Buddha to the Japanese court, and also Buddhistic utensils and books; but as a contagious disorder broke out among the people at this time, the statue was, by order of the higher authorities, sunk in the river, and the temple built for it was burned.* [2287] (Although these last facts are entered under the year 552, they did not take place until 585, thirty-three years later. See the record for this last-named date.)

A. D. 553. Two colossal statues of Buddha were made by high authority.[2288]

A. D. 562. *Ohodomono Sadefiko* undertook an expedition against *Kao-li*, with several legions of men, conquered it, and returned to Japan with rich booty, among which were many books in the departments of Chinese Buddhistic and medicinal literature, and also many images of Buddha, and musical instruments.[2289]

A. D. 577. The king of *Pe-tsi* sent books and writings, two Buddhist priests, a nun, and a sculptor.[2290]

A. D. 579. *Sin-ra* sent tribute; among the rest an image of Buddha.[2291]

A. D. 584. Two Japanese, *Ka fukano wonnoko* and *Saë kino murazi*, brought images of Buddha from *Pe-tsi*. *Sogano Mumako* built a temple in which they were placed. The religion of Buddha constantly spread more and more throughout the country.[2292]

A. D. 585. A contagious disease broke out, which carried off a great part of the people. *Oho murazi Monono beno juke morija* gave the command to lay the temple of Buddha in ashes, and to throw Buddha's

* The following account is given in another place:[1683] This embassy presented to the emperor an image of Buddha, tents, parasols, and the classical books of the religion of Buddha. These presents were very agreeable to the Dairi. The minister *Inamé* attempted to persuade him to adore this god; but *Mono no-be no-ogosi* dissuaded him, saying, "Our kingdom is of divine origin, and the Dairi already has many gods to adore. If we worship those of foreign countries, our own gods will be angry." Intimidated by this argument, the Dairi presented the image to *Inamé*, who with joy pulled down his house, and constructed upon its site the temple of *Hiang-yuan-szu*. Here he placed the idol, and constantly paid his worship to it. It is from this time that the introduction of the religion of Sakya (Buddha) into Japan dates.

images into the canal *Fori-je*, of *Naniva*. Three months later *Sogano Mumako* asked for permission to profess the Buddhist faith, and the Mikado refused to give his consent.[2293]

A. D. 588. The minister *Mumako* built the Buddhist temple *Fŏ-kiô-sì*, i. e., the Temple of the Reception of the Law.[2294]

A. D. 590. Several nuns, at the head of whom was *Sen Sin*, "the Virtuous, the Believing," came from *Pe-tsi* to Japan.[2295]

A. D. 593. Prince *Mumajadono miko* founded the Buddhist temple called the "Temple of the Four Heavenly Kings."[2296]

A. D. 594. An order was issued to extend the Buddhist doctrine and to build Buddhist temples.[2297]

A. D. 603. The twelve ranks or titles of nobility, with distinguishing caps, were introduced.[2299]

A. D. 604. Prince *Mumajadono miko* composed the seventeen Buddhist precepts, and introduced innovations in the court ceremonies.[2300]

A. D. 606. The colossal copper image of Buddha was set up in the Temple of the Reception of the Law.[2301]

A. D. 612. Music was taught for the first time.[2302]

A. D. 624. The Buddhist clergy were organized, and placed under the supervision of a high-priest.[2303]

A. D. 625. *Kao-li* sent the Buddhist priest *Jei Kwan* to Japan.[2304]

A. D. 708. The first silver was received from the province of *Musasi*. The copper mint *Wa-do-kai-tsin* was established.[2305]

A. D. 709. A law was established against the private coinage of silver money.[2306]

A. D. 749. The province of *Mutsu* delivered the first gold to the emperor.[2307]

A. D. 750. The prince of the province of *Suruga* brought gold, which he had found, to the court of the Mikado.[2308]

A. D. 760. New copper, gold, and silver mints were established and set in operation.[2309]

A. D. 792. The learning of the Chinese language according to the *Han* dialect was commanded.[2310]

A. D. 861. The calendar which had been in use in China since 821 was introduced into Japan.[2311]

A. D. 1034. The study of the Chinese literature became a means of obtaining a livelihood.[2312]

Fortunately, we are not compelled to rely upon this record alone for our knowledge of the early condition of Japan. Corea and Japan have had constant relations with each other from a date prior to the commencement of the Christian era, as have also Corea and China. The Chinese must have, therefore, had some knowledge of Japan, even at the time, in the year 57 A. D., when the first recorded embassy from that country visited the Chinese emperor. After that date, visits back and forth between the two countries were of frequent occurrence.

In accordance with their usual custom, the Chinese historians reduced to writing such information regarding the country as they were able to obtain, and as they thought of interest. These accounts were collected and condensed by Ma Twan-lin, and extracts from the translation of his work made by M. the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys are given below. It may be premised that the Chinese author arranged his authorities in chronological order, and the first statements are therefore drawn from the oldest authorities.

The country of *Wo*, Japan, is southeast of the country of the Han, and of the government of *Tai-fang*.[1545] It is formed of a collection of islands situated in the midst of the Great Sea. The distance of the journey to it from the districts of *Lo-lang* or *Tai-fang* is about twelve thousand *li*.* It contains more than a hundred kingdoms. At the time when the emperor Wu-ti, of the Han dynasty, conquered *Chao-sien* (Corea), more than thirty of these kingdoms maintained steadfast relations with the Chinese empire by embassies, or by messages.

Each kingdom has its hereditary king. The great king of

* This distance seems to have been given by the Coreans, and adopted by the Chinese. M. de Rosny thinks, however, that he has found the original document from which Ma Twan-lin drew his geographical descriptions, and calls attention to a variation in the reading which gives the distance of one of the divisions of the journey (that from *Kiu-ye-han* to *Tsu-sima*) as *one* thousand *li* instead of *seven* thousand. This correction removes most of the confusion regarding the length of the *li*, which has arisen from the fact that the journey to Japan was described as being twelve thousand *li* in length. See d'Hervey's "Ethnography."—E. P. V.

Wo resides in the kingdom of *Ye-yen-tai* (now pronounced *Ye-mo-to*, i. e., Yamato), which kingdom is found twelve thousand *li* from the frontiers of the government of *Lo-lang* and more than seven thousand *li* from the kingdom of *Kiu-ye-han* (a small kingdom situated at the southeastern extremity of Corea), which is toward the northwest. Its territory is almost to the east of *Kuei-ki* and *Tong-ye*. It is near *Chu-yai* and *Tan-eul*, and the customs and laws of these different regions are very similar to each other.

The soil is suitable for the cultivation of rice and hemp, and of mulberries, which are used to feed silk-worms. The people know how to spin and weave; they make the silk cloth called *kien-pu*. They have white pearls and green jade. Their mountains furnish cinnabar. The climate is temperate. In winter, as in summer, they reap crops. Neither cattle, horses, panthers, sheep, nor fowls are seen.

The arms of the Japanese are the lance, the shield, the wooden bow, and bamboo arrows, the heads of which are sometimes made of bone. All the men have the face marked with black spots, and the body tattooed. According as the tattooing is upon the right or left side, large or small, it indicates the nobility or the humbler position of the person. The men clothe themselves by placing cloth about their bodies and holding it together by means of knots. The women at first let their hair fall about them, and then coil it up and fasten it in place. Their robe is like a simple covering, or piece of cloth, with a hole through which the head is passed. They smear their bodies with a red powder, just as the Chinese women do with paint.

The Japanese have cities surrounded by an inclosure of palisades and great houses. The father, the mother, the elder brothers and the younger brothers live separately, but the boys and girls show themselves freely in public. They eat with their fingers, but they use vases similar to those which in China are called *pien-teu* (a species of vases made of bamboo). It is a general custom with them to go barefoot. They do not consider it impolite to sit without attention to their position, leaning upon their elbows with their legs extended, or even holding their knees with their hands. They love to drink wine. They often live to a great old age, many of them being more than one hundred years old. In their country there are many girls

(i. e., more girls are born than boys; a fact said to be true at the present day). The great personages have generally four or five wives. Others possess two or three. The women are neither debauched nor jealous. The men are not inclined either to robbery or brigandage. They have few legal forms. If any one violates the law, his wife and children are reduced to servitude. If the crime is very grave, his entire race is exterminated. The bodies of the dead are preserved for ten days or more, the people of the house lamenting, and abstaining from eating and drinking; then their friends come singing and dancing to drive away their sorrow. The bones of the dead are burned, to be used in sorcery, good or evil omens being drawn from them.

The sailors take with them a man, who is forbidden to comb or wash himself, to eat food, or to approach any woman. This man is called *Chi-shuai*. If the voyage is fortunate, he is rewarded with rich presents; but if unfortunate, if they have met with accidents, or suffered from disease, it is thought that the *Chi-shuai* has not been attentive to his duties, and they all join in putting him to death.

In the year A. D. 57 the kingdom of Japan sent an embassador, bearing its homage, and its felicitations, and carrying presents. This embassador gave himself the title of *Ta-fu*. His master resided in the southern portion of Japan. The emperor Kwang-wu gave him an official seal with its silk envelope.

In the year 107 A. D. the envoys of the king of Japan, named Shui Shing, came offering slaves to the number of a hundred and sixty, and soliciting an audience of the emperor.

At about the time when Hiao Ling-ti inherited the throne of his father (168 A. D.) great troubles burst upon Japan. Civil war coloured the waves with blood, and for a number of years the country remained in a state of anarchy. There was then a princess named *Pi-mi-hu* (the same whom the Japanese call *Zin-gu Kwo-gu*, or the empress *Zin-gu*). When she became of age she would not marry, but devoted herself to the worship of demons and spirits, and astonished the people with her sorceries; and hence they all recognized her as their queen. She had a thousand servants. She allowed herself to be seen but seldom, and had an attendant who carried food to her, and who conveyed her orders. She lived in a palace fortified with towers several stories

in height, and surrounded by palisades, and always guarded by soldiers. Her laws were severe.

From the kingdom of this queen, in an easterly direction, and across the sea at a distance of more than one thousand *li*, the kingdom of *Kiu-nu* was to be found; of which the inhabitants, although they were all of the same race as the Japanese, were nevertheless not submissive to the authority of the queen.

From the kingdom of this queen, toward the south, at a distance of more than four thousand *li*, is the kingdom of *Chu-ju*, of which the people are of the height of three or four Chinese feet. To the southeast of *Chu-ju*, by sailing a year, the Kingdom of *Lo*, or the Naked People, is found, and the Black-Teeth Kingdom, countries with which periodical relations have been maintained. No one has ever been farther.

Beyond the sea of *Kwei-ki* (the sea from the mouth of the Hoang-ho or the Yang-tse-kiang to the strait of Formosa, now called *Tong-hai*, or the Eastern Sea) are the *Tong-ti-jin** (the Eastern Fish-People). They form more than two thousand kingdoms.

Y-cheu and *Tan-cheu* are also to be found. Tradition reports that formerly *Ts'in Shi Hwang Ti* sent a priest, of the name of *Sin-fu*, with some thousands of young people, boys and girls, to explore the sea and seek for *P'ung-lai*, the home of the immortals. Not being able to discover this marvelous place, and fearing the punishment which *Ts'in Shi Hwang Ti* might inflict upon him, *Sin-fu* did not dare to return. He remained in the islands which bear his name. In the course of generations they were peopled with several scores of thousands of families, and from time to time the people of this country have come to *Kuei-ki* for the purposes of commerce.

It is also stated that inhabitants of *Kuei-ki* and of *Tong-ye*, sailing upon the sea, have been driven by the winds until they reached *Tan-cheu;* but the distance is so great that (as a rule) it is impossible to go or return.

* Williams, p. 884, defines the Tong-ti-jin as the Chusan Islanders. D'Hervey adds this note: "Ma Twan-lin does not say anything more about these people; but if we remember that beyond this Eastern Sea there is the Pacific Ocean, we may suppose that this term is used to designate the numerous islanders, as to which the Chinese lacked precise information, although they were not ignorant of their existence in the midst of the Great Sea."

(Here follow the accounts of a country situated at a great distance southwest of Japan inhabited by naked black people, as given in the description of CHU-JU. Also the accounts of WEN-SHIN—or the land of "Marked Bodies"—and Great HAN.)

We read in the "Chronicles of the Wei Dynasty": "To reach Japan, starting from the government of *Tai-fang*, the coast should be followed. The country of the *Han* is passed and left behind, at first to the south, and then to the west, and in this way the northern coast is reached, where the country of *Kiu-ye-han* is situated. After having gone seven thousand *li*, the country of *Tui-hai* is reached.* . . . Then, turning to the south, a sea of more than one thousand *li*, called the *Han-hai*, is crossed (the name *Han-hai* is also, according to M. de Rosny, given to an island situated near the southern coast of Corea), and a great country is reached, about three hundred *li* square. . . . Crossing a sea of more than one thousand *li*, the country of *Mo-lu* is reached. . . . Then, going by land about five hundred *li* to the southeast, the country of *Yn-tu* is reached. . . . One hundred *li* to the southeast is the kingdom of *Nu*. One hundred *li* to the east is the kingdom of *Pu-mi*. . . . By sailing along the southern coast for twenty days, the kingdom of *Teu-ma* is reached. . . . Finally, by sailing toward the south for ten days, or else by a land voyage of a month, the kingdom of *Ye-ma-y* is reached, which is that in which the queen resides. From the kingdom of this queen, toward the north, the population and the distances are known with approximate accuracy, but those of the distant kingdoms situated in other directions are not accurately known. The kingdoms which are known are those of *Sse-yen*, *Ki-pe-chi*, *Y-ye*, *Kiun-chi*, *Mi-nu*, *Hao-ku-tu*, *Pu-hu*, *Tsie-nu*, *Tui-su*, *Su-nu*, *Hu-y*, *Hoa-nu-su-nu*, *Kwei*, *Wei-u*, *Kwei-nu*, *Ye-ma*, *Kong-chin*, *Pa-li*, *Chi-wei*, *U-nu*, and *Nu*, which is the boundary of the sovereignty of the queen. To the south of this last kingdom is that of *Kiu-nu*. It is governed by a king. His functionaries are called *Keu-ku-chi-pi-keu*. From

* The name means "a country which faces the sea." According to M. de Rosny, it is the island of *Tsu-sima*. See a former note for an account of a variation in the reading, discovered by M. de Rosny, in what he thinks to be the original document from which Ma Twan-lin drew his account, which reduces the distance from *Kiu-ye-han* to *Tsu-sima* to *one* thousand *li* instead of *seven* thousand.

the capital of this kingdom to the kingdom of the queen the distance is at least twelve thousand *li*."

The titles of the mandarins or officers of most of the countries above named are then given. None of them at all resemble the titles found in Fu-sang. Next in order come accounts of the visits of embassies from Japan to China, in the years 238, 242, 246, 265, some time between the years 397 and 418, in 421, 425, 444, 452, 463, 478, and at later dates.

"A great number of the men and women have the back tattooed in black, the face marked in the same way, and the entire body often tattooed. They plunge into the water to fish. They have no writing, but merely cut certain marks upon wood, and make knots in cords; but, in order to study the Buddhist religion, books were brought from the kingdom of *Pe-tsi*, and they thus became acquainted with written characters. . . . The dead are inclosed in a double coffin. The relatives and friends come singing and dancing to visit the body. The wife, the children, and the brothers wear mourning-garments of white cloth. . . . Some time between the years 581 and 588 A. D. a Japanese embassy was sent to China by the direct maritime route, in order to obtain the Buddhist books called 'The Books of the Flowers of the Law.' . . . In 653 A. D. *Lu-sse-tao* went to China to study the Buddhist religion. He studied three years under the bonze *Hiuen-chong*, and the books called *Lu-lun* were given him. . . . In 701 a bonze called *So-tien* was sent officially to China, to obtain the Buddhist books of which *Lu-sse-tao* had previously learned, and his mission was successful. . . . About the middle of the eighth century an embassy was sent to China, which included several priests, whose mission it was to procure a complete collection of Buddhist books, and to learn the deepest mysteries of the doctrine of Fo."

The historians of the empire have written: "To go to the kingdom of Japan, setting forth from *Tai-fang*, the kingdom of *Chao-sien* (Corea) is passed; and sailing first toward the south and then to the west, three seas are crossed, and seven countries are visited; and after having traveled a total distance of twelve thousand *li*, the capital is reached."

The historians say again: "In order to reach it (the capital of Japan) from *Lo-lang*, or *Tai-fang*, the distance from either is

twelve thousand *li*. Japan is situated to the east of *Kwei-ki*, and it is not very far from *Tan-eul*. The route is therefore extremely long *via Leao-tong*, but it is quite short by the direct route, from the coast of *Min* or of *Che*."

In addition to the foregoing extracts from the "Ethnography" of Ma Twan-lin, the following statements, derived from a number of different sources, will assist in throwing light upon the state of affairs in Japan during the fifth century of the Christian era:

Gold was first discovered and melted in Japan in the year 749 A. D., during the reign of the emperor Shômu;[1313] it came from the department of Oda, in the province of Oshiu, and in the following year more was found in the province of Suruga.

Silver ore was discovered accidentally in the year 667 A. D., in the island of Tsu-sima; this ore produced the first Japanese silver metal, in the year 674.

Loadstone was discovered in the year 713, in the province of Ômi. The exact date of the first manufacture of iron is unknown. . . . Japanese legends assert that the first sword was forged in the reign of the emperor Seijin (97–30 B. C.); but this statement is, of course, open to considerable doubt. Copper was, it is said, smelted in Japan for the first time in the year 698, at Inaba, in the province of Suwô; and in the year 708 the first Japanese copper coin was cast in the province of Musahi.

We read in the history of Japan called *Ni-pon Ki:* "The third year of the reign of *Ten-bu-ten-o*, white silver was offered to him, the seventh day of the third month, by the prince of *Tsu-sima*. It is the first time that the mines of this metal had been worked in the empire."[1685] Klaproth adds to this translation the statement that it is from this time that the use of silver in Japan dates.

In a Japanese work entitled "Ko Dou Dzu Roku," or "A Memoir on Smelting Copper," it is said that for about a thousand years the copper from every district was chiefly of the third quality, as the Japanese had not learned how to extract the silver; so that they might be called deficient in manipulation. This is known from the fact that if broken copper utensils, made in the reign of Tenshei, and before him, be smelted, silver can always be extracted from them. The silver used in those days was all obtained from mines. At the end of Tenshei's reign certain for-

eign merchants came to Sakai, in the country of Shen, and taught the mode of extracting silver to Sumitomo Zhiyusai; this was in the year 1591.[1015]

In 1708 an influential minister of Japan brought the subject of the currency before the government, in an able memorial, of a portion of which the following is a translation: "A thousand years ago, gold, silver, and copper were unknown in Japan, yet there was no want of necessaries. The earth was fertile, and this is undoubtedly the most desirable species of wealth. After the discovery of these metals, the use of them spread but slowly, and so late as the time of Gongin they were still very rare. That prince was the first who caused the mines to be diligently wrought. . . . In ancient times, as I have said, when the people were unacquainted with gold, silver, and copper, they knew no want, and were good and virtuous. Since those metals were discovered, the heart of man has become daily more and more depraved." [1004]

From a statement made by Fischer,[1025] it appears that even at a comparatively recent date the Japanese did not understand the art of separating gold-dust from the sands of the rivers which contained it.

The art of writing did not exist in Japan before the reign of the Mikado *O-zin* (270 to 312 A. D.).[2158] It is stated that it was in the year 284 [1554] that a prince of Corea brought the first knowledge of the art, and that immediately after, the tutor to that prince, a Chinese, named *Wang Shin*, having been invited, the Japanese courtiers applied themselves to the study of the Chinese language and literature. According to the Japanese historians, *Wang Shin* was the first teacher of the Chinese language in Japan. He brought the *Lun yu* (one of the books of Confucius) and other books, which he presented to the emperor, whose son he taught to read and write. Then were also introduced the arts of spinning, weaving, and sewing. He came from the kingdom of *Wu*, in Southern China. Since his time the ideographic characters of the Chinese have remained in use in Japan; . . . but as the construction of the Japanese language differs materially from that of the Chinese, the syllabaries, called *kata-kana* and *fira-kana*, were invented during the first half of the eighth century.[1680]

In China, silk or cloth was used for writing before paper was

made. This was invented by Ts'ai King-chung, *alias* Ts'ai Lun, about A. D. 100, who made it of the bark of the Broussonetia, old rags, and fishing-nets, all cut and rasped together.[2524]

In Japan, however, the introduction of writing-paper dated from the reign of the Mikado *Sui-ko* (593 to 628), with which an embassy bearing presents had been sent from the kingdom of *Kao-li* (in Corea); but this paper lacked solidity and was bored by insects. The hereditary prince therefore tried the black mulberry (Broussonetia), which has since continued to be the chief material used in the manufacture of Japanese paper.[2160]

The tree from which paper is made[1035] is the *Broussonetia papyrifera*,[1484] commonly known as the paper-mulberry. The Chinese call it 楮, CH'U, or, more specifically, 楮 桑, CH'U SANG. A coarse kind of cloth is also made of it by the Coreans, but the paper itself is much used for garments.[2529]

Among the titles applied to the rulers and noblemen of Japan are "Mikado" and "Siôgoun." The potentate bearing the first of these two titles is also designated by a great number of others: among them being *Kubo*, *Kubo sama* (i. e., "Lord Kubo"), *Kinri Wori* or *Wori sama*, *Dairi*, *Sora Mikado*, and *Kinri*. The Siôgoun is also called *Tenka* or *Tenka sama*,[1022] and the title *Kubo* is also sometimes applied to him.[1030] *Tykoon*, *Koogih*, *Daimio*, and *Hata moto* are terms applied to various grades of Japanese officials,[1942] as are also *Koku-shi*, *Sai-mio*, and *Kie-nin*.[1031]

As the fact that a certain region of Japan was known as "the Country of Women" has been considered to add some weight to the theory that the country visited by Hwui Shăn was situated in Japan, it may be of interest to learn to what portion of the kingdom this name was applied, and the reason of the designation.

At about the end of the first century of the Christian era, the Japanese Dairi sent his officer, called "the Prince of the Warriors of Japan," to crush out an insurrection of the Eastern Barbarians. While at sea, he was assailed by a great tempest, and one of his wives, believing the god of the sea to be angry with him, threw herself into the sea to appease him, and the tempest ceased. Afterward the prince, when he came to the top of the mountain called *Usu fi toghe*, from which there is a beautiful view to the south and east, recalled the death of his

wife, and cried with a deep sigh "Akatsuma" (i. e., "my wife," "*ma femme*"), and hence the eastern provinces of the empire received the name of "Atsuma," or "the Country of Women." [1676]

With the foregoing information as to the early history of Japan, we are now prepared to consider the question whether this could by any possibility have been the country which Hwui Shăn visited, and of which he attempted to give a description. The following facts seem to make this theory wholly incredible:

1. Japan was not an unknown country, or land of mystery, as to which marvelous tales would be likely to be told. It had had relations with Corea before the beginning of the Christian era, and had sent an embassy to China in 57 A. D., fully four centuries before the party of Buddhist priests mentioned by Hwui Shăn started on their travels. Since that time the visits back and forth had been numerous, and the Chinese of the fifth century were well acquainted with the country, its history, and its customs.

2. Fu-sang was said to be situated twenty thousand *li* easterly from the country of Great Han (or rather, as is shown by other statements, *southeasterly*). This was five thousand *li* or more east of the country of "Marked Bodies," which in turn was seven thousand *li* or more northeasterly from Japan. How can it be believed that a traveler, starting from Japan, going seven thousand *li* to the northeast, then five thousand *li* to the east, and then twenty thousand *li* to the east or southeast, would at the end of his journey find himself in Japan, in the neighbourhood of the district from which he had set out? If Great Han was twelve thousand *li* from Japan, how could Japan be twenty thousand *li* from Great Han? It should also be remembered that Ma Twan-lin expressly declares that Japan is situated directly to the east of China, and that Fu-sang is situated directly east of Japan, and at a distance of thirty thousand *li* from China. (This is in a direct line, while the total distance of forty-four thousand *li*, which was traveled in going from one country to the other, shows that the route was indirect.)

3. The most reliable histories of Japan emphatically deny that their country was ever called Fu-sang, or that any such region as that described by Hwui Shăn was ever to be found in it.

4. A country which lay both to the east of Great Han (a country twelve thousand *li* northeasterly from Japan) and to the

east of China, must have been of great extent, or else situated at a great distance, or both, and hence could not have been a province of any of the islands constituting the kingdom of Japan.

5. The country visited by Hwui Shăn derived its name from a wonderful plant or tree growing there. Neither Japan nor any of its districts derived its name from any plant or tree, and nothing at all answering to the fu-sang tree is found in that country. The only tree which answers the description in any respect is the CH'U SANG, or paper-mulberry, and, although the people now make paper from its bark, this art was not known until at least a century after the days of our Buddhist priests. Furthermore, its first sprouts do not in the most remote degree resemble those of the bamboo, and the people never eat them. Its fruit is not a red pear, and no fruit of the kind is found in the country.

6. The Japanese were not destitute of citadels and walled cities, or of military weapons or armour, and they were almost constantly engaged in military enterprises.

7. Although they had some knowledge of the Chinese characters, they had no system of writing of their own until some centuries later.

8. The titles of the ruler and of his nobility do not in any way resemble those of the kingdom of Fu-sang.

9. Although they probably knew something of the value of gold and silver, they mined none themselves and they had no copper. They probably had iron, or at least knew something about it, and about sabers and shields made from it, several centuries before.

10. It was their custom to wear mourning-garments.

11. Although there was a region of Japan which was sometimes called the Country of Women, this region was well known, and did not contain any such inhabitants or plants as those described by Hwui Shăn.

12. The strongest argument against the location of Fu-sang in America—that it is said that horse-carts, cattle-carts, and deer-carts are found in the country—may be urged with equal force against the identification of that country with Japan. Ma Twan-lin states distinctly that neither cattle nor horses were raised in the country, and, up to the present day, carts or wagons

are not used, and it is doubtful whether there is a road in the country upon which they could be used.

13. Nothing at all corresponding to the southern and northern place of confinement; to the great assembly of the people to judge a guilty nobleman; to the infliction of the death-penalty by smothering in ashes; to the change of the colour of the king's garments from year to year; to the use of immense horns; to the practice of raising deer, or to the peculiar method of courtship mentioned by Hwui Shăn—has ever been stated to exist in Japan.

14. Perhaps the most convincing proof, however, that Japan and Fu-sang could not possibly have been the same country, is found in the fact that the Buddhist religion was introduced into Fu-sang in 458 A. D., while the testimony is uniform and overwhelming that it was not until the year 552 that the first knowledge of the Buddhist religion reached Japan.

If the argument is made that Fu-sang was situated in some remote region of Japan, not then under the sovereignty of the ruler of that country, and which had not previously been visited by the Chinese, or by the natives of the known portion of Japan, the facts that the people of Fu-sang were acquainted with the art of making paper, with the use of copper, and with the doctrines of the Buddhist religion, will be sufficient to overthrow the argument; for it can hardly be believed that any wild tribe in a remote corner of the country can have been further advanced in civilization than the people of the great empire of Japan, who for many centuries had visited, and been visited by, the people of the Asiatic Continent.

As the hypothesis that Fu-sang was a portion of Japan seems to be wholly untenable, we are therefore thrown back upon the theories that Fu-sang was situated in America, or else that Hwui Shăn invented the whole story. This last hypothesis is incredible to one who will read his account with any care. The motives which led to his journey, the credence which he succeeded in obtaining from all to whom he told his story, the so-called "silk" and the strange mirror that he brought back with him, the lack of the marvelous or impossible in his tale, the numerous little points in which his account is just such as would have been given by an eye-witness, and which no impostor has ever been able to successfully imitate, all place it beyond question that he had been some-

where, and that he attempted to give a truthful account of the land that he had found.

This country must have been either in Japan or America. It is evident that it was not in Japan. No explanation of his story is therefore left us except that he had actually visited America.

Before concluding this work, the inquiry may be made whether the Chinese had any earlier or other knowledge of America than that given them by Hwui Shăn. It seems unquestionable that they had some earlier knowledge of a land which they called Fu-sang : but I hope to be able to show that this was a different country ; that it took its name from the plantain or banana tree (called *pisang* by the Malays), and that it was situated in the Philippine Islands, or in some of the islands in their neighbourhood, southeast of China. As, with the exception of the extracts translated by M. the Marquis d'Hervey de Saint-Denys, the principal account of this land of Fu-sang is found in the Shan Hai King, or Chinese "Classic of Mountains and Seas," I have attempted to translate all that part of the work which relates to the regions east of China. I am well aware of the fact that some errors will probably be found in the translation, by those who are more conversant than myself with the Chinese language. Nevertheless, as no one else has undertaken to translate it, and as it seemed important that some light should be thrown upon the knowledge possessed by the Chinese regarding the countries lying east of them, I have ventured to do the best that I could with it, believing that I could at least give a correct general idea of the work, and that those who are able to rectify my errors will most deeply appreciate the disadvantages under which I have laboured, and will be disposed to view with leniency such mistakes as I may make.

This translation will be found in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CHINESE "CLASSIC OF MOUNTAINS AND SEAS."

Preface—Suh-chu Mountain—The Mountain of Creeping Plants—Aspen Mountain—Hairy birds—The Foreign Range—Kan fish—Ku-mao, Kao-shi, Lofty, Wolf, Lone, Bald, and Bamboo Mountains—K'ung-sang, Ts'ao-chi, Yih-kao, and Bean Mountains—An excessively high peak—Tu-fu, Kăng, Lu-k'i—Ku-she, Green Jade-stone, Wei-shi, Ku-fung, Fu-li, and Yin Mountains—Shi-hu, K'i, Chu-keu, Middle Fu, Hu-shie, Mang-tsz', K'i-chung, Mei-yü, and Wu-kao Mountains—The Fu-Tree (or Fu-sang)—North Hao, Mao, Eastern Shi, Nü-ching, K'in, Tsz'-tung, Yen, and T'ai Mountains—The Cha Hill—The Great Men's Country—She-pi's body—The Country of Refined Gentlemen—Hung-hung—The Valley of the Manifestation of the Dawn—The Green Hills Country—The journey of Shu-hai—The Black-Teeth Country—The Warm Springs Ravine—Fu-sang—The Place where the Ten Suns bathe—An account of the Ten Suns—Yu-shi's concubine—The Black-Hip Country—The Hairy People's Country—A boat upon the sea-shore—The Distressed People's Country—K'eu-wang—A great valley—Shao-hao—Pi-mu-ti Hill—Place where the Sun and Moon rise—The Great Men's Country—Giants and dwarfs—The Great People's Market—The Little People—Küeh Mountain—The Country of Plants—Hoh-hü Mountain—The Mountain of the Eastern Pass—The Mountain of the Bright Star—The White People's Country—The Green Hills Country—The Nation of Courteous Vassals—The Black-Teeth Country—Summer Island—The Kai-yü Country—Cheh-tan and the Place of the Rising of the Sun—Yü-kwoh—Quaking Mountain—The Black-Hip Country—The Needy Tribe—King Hai—Nü-cheu—Yeh-yao-kiün-ti Mountain—The Fu-tree—Warm Springs Valley—I-t'ien-su-man Mountain—The Ying Dragon—The Mountain of the Flowing Waves.

The Classic of Mountains and Seas.

PREFACE.

The edition of the (book written by Confucius entitled) "Spring and Autumn," which was edited by Lü-shi, says that (the domain of the emperor) Yü (who reigned about 2205 B. C.) reached on the east to the "Country of the Fu-tree," the nine "Places where the Sun Rises," the "Green Shepherds' Plains," the

"Land of Numerous Trees," the "Mountain which Touches Heaven," the "Valley of Birds," the "Region of the Green Mounds," and the "Black-Teeth Country."

The Classic of Mountains and Seas.

FOURTH BOOK.

The Classic of the Eastern Mountains.

1. The beginning of the "Classic of the Eastern Mountains" says that Suh-chu Mountain * on its northern side adjoins Kan-mei Mountain (or Sunless Mountain). † Shih River (or "drinkable water") is found here, a stream that flows northeasterly into the sea. In it there are many water animals called yung-yung. These look like brindled cattle [i. e., they resemble cattle that are striped like tigers]. Their voices sound like the grunting of swine.

2. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Lei Mountain (or the Mountain of Creeping Plants) is to be found. Upon this there are gems and below it there is gold. Hu River is found here, a stream that flows easterly into Shih River. In this there are many hwoh-shi. [These are tadpoles; the book entitled the Rh'-ya calls them hwoh-tung.]

3. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Keu-chwang Mountain (or Aspen Mountain) is to be found. Upon this there are many gems and much gold, and below it many green jade-stones. Wild animals are found there which look like dogs with six legs. These are called ts'ung-ts'ung, the name being given them in imitation of their cry. Birds are also found there which look like domestic fowls, but which have hair like a rat. These are called tsz' rats. When they are seen, the country is subject

* The character translated "mountain," in this and other cases, may mean "island" instead of "mountain." All islands are described as "hills" or "mountains," under the terms shan and tau. (See F. Porter Smith's "Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 56.)

† The words included in parentheses ( ) are possible variations in the translation, or additions necessary to complete the sense. Those included in brackets [ ] are notes by the Chinese commentator, in the original work. The paragraphs are not numbered in the original, numbers being used in the translation for convenience of reference. Many of the following notes have little or no bearing on the work; but it was thought best to give everything that the translator could find which could be of any possible aid.

to great drought. The CHI River is found here, a stream flowing northerly into HU River. In this there are many lancet-fish. These are of a dark colour, spotted (or striped) with blue, and have a bill like a lancet. [These were originally found in the Eastern Sea,* and they are now found in the KIANG-TUNG † River also.] Those who eat them are not subject to epidemic diseases.

4. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, PUH-T'SAN Mountain is found. It has no grass or trees, and no water.

5. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, FAN-T'IAO Mountain (or the Foreign Range) is to be found. It has no grass or trees, but has much sand. The KIEN ‡ (Diminishing) River is found here, a stream flowing northerly into the sea. In this there are many KAN fish. (The KAN fish is described as a fish three feet long, that is found in the YANG-TSZ' River, having a large mouth and yellowish gills, and a greenish back.) [One authority names these "the yellow-jawed fish."]

6. And it says that, four hundred *li* to the south, KU-MAO Mountain (or the Mountain of the Maiden) is found. Upon this there are many lacquer-trees, and below it many mulberry-trees, and silk-worm oaks. KU-MAO River is found here, a stream flowing northerly into the sea, in which there are many KAN fish.

7. And it says that, four hundred *li* to the south, KAO-SHI # Mountain is to be found. Upon this there are many gems and below it many sharp stones. [From these they are able to make smooth lancets to cure boils and swellings.] CHU-SHING River is found here, a stream flowing easterly into a marsh, and in it there are many gems and much gold.

8. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, YOH ‖ (Lofty) Mountain is found. Upon this there are many mulberry-trees,

* The "Eastern Sea" is the sea off the southeast coast of China. (See "Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 58.)

† KIANG-TUNG is a term applied to the right bank of the river YANG-TSZ' in its course through HU-PEH. This name is also applied to SU-CHAU. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 20.)

‡ There is a river in CHIH-LI bearing this name. (See Williams's Dict., p. 383.)

KAO-SHI was the name of a man who usurped the kingdom of Corea, during the HAN dynasty (between 202 B. C. and 25 A. D.), and named it after himself. ("Vocab. of Chinese Prop. Names," p. 17.)

‖ This is a term applied to five mountains in China, the easternmost one being the T'AI Mountain, in SHAN-TUNG, mentioned a little farther on. (See Williams's Dict., p. 1117.)

and below it many ailantus-trees. Loh * River is found here, a stream flowing easterly into a marsh, and in it there are many gems and much gold.

9. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Wolf Mountain is to be found. Upon this there is no grass and there are no trees, and below it there is much water (or there are many streams), in which there are many KAN-TSZ' fish. [These are not fully described.] They have wild animals, which look like the (quadrumana, called) KW'A-FU, but they have hair like that of swine, and their voice is like an expiration of the breath. When these are seen, then heaven sends down great rains.

10. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Lone Mountain is found. Upon this there are many gems and much gold, and below it many beautiful stones. MOH-T'U (Muddy) River is found here, a stream flowing southeasterly into a mighty flood, in which there are many T'IAO-YUNG. These look like yellow serpents with fish's fins. They go out and in. They are bright (or smooth). When these are seen, then that region is subject to great drought.

11. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, T'AI † (Bald) Mountain is found. [Then the mountain was called the Eastern YOH or T'AI-TSUNG, which is now called T'AI Mountain. It is in the northwestern part of FUNG-KAO district, and the distance from the foot of the mountain to its summit is forty-eight *li* and three hundred paces.] Upon this there are many gems, and below it there is much gold. Wild animals are found here which look like sucking pigs, but they have pearls. They are called TUNG-TUNG, their name being given them in imitation of their cry. The HWAN ‡ River is found here, a stream flowing easterly into a river (or into *the* river, i.e., the YANG-TSZ' River).# [One authority says that it flows into the sea.] In this there are many water-gems (quartz crystals).

* This is the name of a river near the city of TSI-NAN in the north of SHAN-TUNG. (Williams's Dict., p. 554.)

† This is the high peak in T'AI-NGAN FU, in SHAN-TUNG. (See Williams's Dict., p. 848.)

‡ There is a district known as the HWAN district, among the mountains in the east of KAN-SUH, on a branch of the River KING. (See Williams's Dict., p. 245.) There are several rivers in China named KING (Williams's Dict., p. 405), and the "Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names" (p. 22) states that the name is applied to the YANG-TSZ' River for a part of its length. # See Williams's Dict., p. 362.

12. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Bamboo Mountain is found, bordering on a river (or *the* river). [One authority says that it is on the shore—or that it is at the boundary-line.] There is no grass or trees, but there are many green-jasper and green-jade stones. The KIH * River (or water impeded in its course by rocks) is found here, a stream flowing southeasterly into TS'Ü-TAN River (or body of water). In this (country) there is a great abundance of dye-plants.

13. The first section of the "Classic of the Eastern Mountains" thus gives the entire distance along the twelve mountains, from SUH-CHU Mountain to Bamboo Mountain, as three thousand six hundred *li*. Their gods all have human bodies and dragons' heads. When they are offered a sacrifice of animals having hair, a dog is used. In other sacrifices the blood of a fish is used to besmear the things offered. [To use blood in besmearing the things offered in sacrifice is called "NI." KUNG-YANG'S "Chronicles" say that in offering sacrifices of creatures having flesh and blood, to the god of the land, and of grain, they besmear with blood the being that is sacrificed. The name of this species of sacrifice is pronounced "NI."]

1. THE beginning of the second section of the "Eastern Classic" says that K'UNG-SANG Mountain (or the Mountain of the Empty Mulberry-Trees) on the northern side adjoins the SHIH River. [This mountain rises from the KIN-SEH Forest (the Forest of Lutes and Lyres)—see the book called "CHEU-LI."] On the eastern side (it adjoins the states of) TSŬ † and WU ; ‡ on the southern side a number of sandy mounds, and on the western side

* A country to the south of FU-NAN, whose people usurped the kingdom of FU-NAN, was called the KIH country. (See "Vocab. Chin. Prop. Names," p. 21.)

† TSŬ is the name of an affluent of the YANG-TSZ' River, west of K'ING-CHAU FU, in HU-PEH; a branch of the river HAN, and the name of an ancient district near their basins, now the extreme south of SHEN-SI in HAN-CHUNG FU; also a branch of the River WÉI in Western SHEN-SI, which it joins near LIN-TUNG HIEN. (Williams's Dict., p. 1009.)

‡ WU was the eastern of the "Three States," A. D. 250, comprising CHEH-KIANG, and extending north and west. (Williams's Dict., p. 1060.) WU, in Confucius's time, included the north of CHEH-KIANG (HU-CHAU, YEN-CHAU, and KIA-HING-CHAU) Province, and the southern part of KIANG-SU. In the triarchy of the "Three States" it included the SAN-KIANG Provinces, or 61 prefectures. The kingdom of Wu was merged into that of the conquering state of YUEH in the same provinces. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 62.)

the MIN (or Muddy) Marsh. Here there are wild animals which look like cattle, but which are striped like tigers. Their voices resemble the sound of a person stretching and yawning. [Perhaps rather the sound of one moaning.] These are named LING-LING, and this name is an imitation of their cry. When these are seen, then heaven sends down great rains.

2. And it says that, six hundred *li* to the south, TS'AO-CHI * Mountain is found. Below this there are many paper-mulberry trees, but there is no water (or river). There are many birds and wild animals.

3. And it says that, four hundred *li* to the southwest, YIH-KAO † Mountain is found. Upon this there are many gems and much gold, and below it there is much white plaster-rock. The YIH-KAO River is found here, a stream flowing easterly to the KIH-NÜ ‡ River. In this there are many clams with pearly shells. [These are clams or mussels with pearly shells, as beautiful as gems, these pearly shells belonging to a species of mussel called SHĂN-PĂN.]

4. And thence going to the south, five hundred *li* by water, and three hundred *li* over shifting sands, # one end of the KOH (or Bean) Mountains is reached. There is no grass and there are no trees here, but there are many smooth whetstones.

5. And it says that, three hundred and eighty *li* to the south, the other end of the Bean Mountains is found. There is no grass and there are no trees here. The LI ‖ River is found here, a stream flowing easterly into the YÜ Marsh. In it there are many CHU-P'IEH fish (or water-animals). These look like lungs, but have eyes, and six feet, and they have pearls. They taste

* TS'AO was a small feudal state, conferred on a brother of WU-WANG, B. C. 1122; it had a separate existence under fifteen rulers, from B. C. 756 to 486, when it was annexed by SUNG; its capital was in the present TSAO-CHEU FU, in the southwest of SHAN-TUNG, along the Yellow River. (Williams's Dict., p. 955.)

† YIH is the name of a hill in TS'AO-HIEN in SHAN-TUNG, and of another in PEI-HIEN, in the north of KIANG-SU. (Williams's Dict., p. 1094.)

‡ The character KIH used here means "water impeded in its course by rocks," and is used as the name of one of the rivers mentioned in the preceding section. The character NÜ used here means a woman.

The term "shifting sand" is applied to quicksands, and in the "Book of Records" is applied to the Gobi Desert. (Williams's Dict., p. 730.)

‖ The LI River is one of the affluents of the TUNG-TING Lake, which drains the northwestern portion of HU-NAN. (Williams's Dict., p. 520.)

sour, but pleasant, and are eaten without producing sickness. [They do not cause diseases at any time. Lü-shi's edition of the book of Confucius, called "Spring and Autumn," says that the Li River contains fish called chu-pieh, which have six feet, and which are beautiful as the "vermilion" fish.]

6. And it says that, three hundred and eighty *li* to the south, Yü-ngo Mountain (or an excessively high peak) is found. Upon this there are many japonica-trees and jan-trees, and below it there is much prickly succory. The Tsah-yü River is found here, a stream flowing easterly into the Yellow River. Here there are wild beasts which look like rabbits, but which have a crow's bill, an owl's eyes, and a serpent's tail. When they see a man, they pretend to sleep. They are called Chiu-yü, this sound being an imitation of their cry. When these are seen, grasshoppers or locusts cause great destruction. [Grasshoppers are a species of locusts. It says that they ruin the herbage. Their name is pronounced chung.]

7. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Tu-fu Mountain is found. There is no grass and there are no trees here, but there is much water (or there are many streams).

8. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Kăng * Mountain is found. There is no grass and there are no trees here, but there is much water, and there are many green-jade stones (or there are many water-jade stones). [These are a species of water-gems—i. e., rock crystals.] There are many great serpents, and there are also wild beasts which look like foxes, but which have fish's fins. These are named chu-jü, and derive their name from their cry. When these are seen, the country has reason to fear disasters.

9. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Lu-k'i † Mountain is found. There is no vegetation, and there are no trees, but there are many stones and much sand. The Sand River is found here, a stream flowing southerly into the Ch'an ‡ River

* Kăng was the name of the capital of the empire of the Shang period, answering to the present P'ing-yang fu (Shan-si). ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 17.)

† A wild tribe that anciently occupied some parts of Hu-peh was called Lu. (Williams's Dict., p. 554.)

‡ There is a river of this name in Han-chung fu in Shan-si, a branch of the river Han. (Williams's Dict., p. 21.)

(or into a limpid river). In this there are many LI pelicans; these look like ducks, but have men's legs. They derive their name from their cry. When these are seen, then the country will see great literary achievements. [These pelicans have long legs, which somewhat resemble human shanks.]

10. And it says that, three hundred and eighty *li* to the south, KU-SHE Mountain is found. There is no grass and there are no trees there, but there is much water (or there are many streams).

11. And it says that, going to the south, three hundred *li* by water and one hundred *li* over shifting sand, the Northern KU-SHE Mountain is found. There is no grass and there are no trees there, but there are many stones.

12. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Southern KU-SHE Mountain is found. There is no grass, and there are no trees there, but there is much water (or there are many streams there).

13. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, Green-jade-stone Mountain is found. There is no grass here, but there are many trees. Many great serpents are found here, and there are also many green-jade stones and quartz crystals.

14. And it says that, five hundred *li* to the south, WÉI-SHI* Mountain is found. There is no grass, and there are no trees here, but there are many gems and much gold. YUEN† River is found here, a stream flowing easterly into Sand Marsh (or into a sandy marsh). [One authority states that the name of the mountain is pronounced KIAH-SHI instead of WÉI-SHI.]

15. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, KU-FUNG Mountain is found. There is no grass, and there are no trees here, but there are many gems and much gold. Wild beasts are found here which look like foxes, but which have wings (or fins). Their voice sounds like that of a wild goose, and they are called PI-PI. When these are seen, then heaven sends down a great drought.

16. And it says that, five hundred *li* to the south, FU-LI‡

* WÉI-YANG was the name during the middle period of the MING dynasty of the province now called YANG-CHAU FU. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 61.)

† The term "Middle YUEN" at first denoted HO-NAN, but now means all China. (Williams's Dict., p. 1133.)

‡ A large department in the northwest of YUN-NAN, through which the YANG-TSZ' River flows, is called the LI River District. (Williams's Dict., p. 524.)

Mountain is found. Upon this there are many gems and much gold, and, below it, many lancet-stones. They have wild beasts which look like foxes, but which have nine tails and nine heads, and tigers' claws. They are called LUNG-CHIH. Their voice is like that of an infant child, and they eat men.

17. And it says that, five hundred *li* to the south, YIN Mountain is found. To the south the YIN River is to be seen, and to the north the HU * Marsh (or lakes and marshes). Here they have wild beasts which look like horses, but they have sheep's eyes, four horns, and cattle tails. Their voice is like the howl of a dog, and they are called YIU-YIU. When these are seen, the country will be visited by many crafty foreigners. They have birds which look like ducks, but they have rats' tails, and can climb trees. They are called CHIE-KEU. When these are seen, the country will have much sickness.

18. The second section of the "Classic of the Eastern Mountains" thus gives the entire distance along the seventeen mountains, from K'UNG-SANG Mountain to YIN Mountain, as six thousand six hundred and forty *li*. Their gods all have wild beasts' bodies, but human faces. They bear the KOH † fish. [With a species of stags' or deers' horns they catch (or hold) the KOH fishes.] When they are offered a sacrifice of living beings having hair or feathers, a fowl is used. When the people pray to them for offspring, they retire to a screened place.

1. The beginning of the third section of the "Eastern Classic" says that SHI-HU ‡ Mountain on the north adjoins SIANG Mountain. Upon it there are many gems and much gold, and below it there are many thorny plants. Here there are wild beasts which look like elks, but which have fish eyes, and they are called WAN-HU (or YUEN-HU), deriving their name from their cry.

2. And it says that, going to the south by water for eight hundred *li*, K'I # Mountain is found (or a mountain with two

* HU-KWANG is the old designation of HU-PEH and HU-NAN. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 12, and Williams's Dict., p. 222.)

† For a description of the KOH fish, see p. 653.

‡ The term HU is applied to the Mongols, Huns, and other tribes of Central Asia, and hence it is used for "foreign" or "Turkish." (Williams's Dict., p. 221.)

There is a state of this name in the present FUNG-TSIANG FU, in the southwest of SHAN-SI, not far from the river WEI. (Williams's Dict., p. 345.)

peaks). Upon this there are many peach-trees and plum-trees. There are also wild beasts and many tigers.

3. And it says that, going to the south by water for five hundred *li*, CHU-KEU Mountain is found. There are no trees or grass here, but there are many stones, and much sand. The distance around the mountain is one hundred *li*. There are many MEI (or sleeping) fish here. [These MEI fish are of excellent flavour.]

4. And it says that, going to the south by water for seven hundred *li*, Middle FU Mountain is found. Here there are no trees or grass, but there is much sand.

5. And it says that, going to the east by water for one thousand *li*, HU-SHE * Mountain is found. Here there are no trees or grass, but there are many stones and much sand.

6. And it says that, going to the south by water for seven hundred *li*, MĂNG-TSZ' (the Eldest Child) Mountain is found. Here there are many trees; japonicas and T'ONG trees, and also many peach-trees and plum-trees. In the grass there are many mushroom-rushes (or mushrooms and rushes, or KIÜN rushes). [These are not fully described. They are called KW'UN.] They have wild beasts, and many elks or deers. The distance around the mountain is one hundred *li*. Upon it there is a flowing stream called PIH-YANG (or the River of Clear Jade-stone). In this there are many sturgeons and mud-sturgeons. [These mud-sturgeons are a species of eel. They resemble sturgeons, but have a long body like an eel. One authority says that they are a species of herring.]

7. And going to the south by water for five hundred *li*, and over shifting sand for five hundred *li*, a mountain is reached which is called K'I-CHUNG Mountain, the distance around which is two hundred *li*. There is no grass and there are no trees here, but there are great serpents, and upon the mountain there are many precious stones. It has a body of water, the distance around which is forty *li*, all bubbling up and running off.† [Now, to the

* The character HU here used is the same as that used in the first paragraph of this section in the name SHI-HU, and the character SHE is the same as that used in the name KU-SHE.

† An affluent of the YANG-TSZ' River, in the north of HU-PEH, is named YUNG, the character meaning "bubbling up and running off," and being the same that is used here. (Williams's Dict., p. 1148.)

east of the Yellow River is the FAN * River, and in the YIN (Dark) District it has the FUN † River's Spring (or source). In this place the water rushes out, overflowing, bubbling up, and running rapidly. It is deep, and it can not be restrained. This is of the same class as the water above referred to.] This is called SHĂN-TSEH (or the Deep Marsh). In it there are great tortoises. [They have beaks like the common tortoise, the tortoise being a great turtle; the shell has variegated marks, like those of the precious tortoise-shell, but it is thinner.] Here there are fish (or water-animals) which look like carp, but which have six feet and a bird's tail. These are called KOH-KOH fish, deriving this name from an imitation of their cry.

8. And it says that, going to the south by water for eight hundred *li*, MEI-YÜ Mountain [or MIN-TSZ'] Mountain is reached. Upon this there are many trees and much grass, and an abundance of gold and gems, and also much ocher. Here there are wild beasts which look like little cattle, but which have horses' tails, and which are called TSING-TSING, deriving their name from an imitation of their cry.

9. And going to the south by water for five hundred *li*, and over shifting sand for three hundred *li*, WU-KAO (or Not Lofty) Mountain is reached. Here the YIU (Young) Sea may be seen. [This is now called the "Little Sea." HWAI-NAN-TZ' ‡ says that the great island of the Eastern Region is called the "Little Sea."] To the east the FU-tree may be seen [or FU-SANG]. There is no grass and there are no trees here, and much wind is found upon the mountain. The distance around it is a hundred *li*.

10. The third section of the "Eastern Classic" thus gives the entire distance along the nine mountains, from SHI-HU Mountain to WU-KAO Mountain, as six thousand eight hundred *li*. Their gods all have human bodies and sheep's horns. When a sacrifice is offered to them, a ram is used. They use millet for food. When these gods are seen, then wind, rain, and floods cause ruin.

1. The beginning of the fourth section of the "Eastern Classic" says that the Northern HAO Mountain slopes down to the

* The FAN River is the chief river of SHAN-SI, which joins the Yellow River at LUNG-MAN. (Williams's Dict., p. 130.)

† FUN is the old name of a stream in PU-CHEU FU in the southwest of SHAN-SI, whose headwaters spout up as a fountain. (Williams's Dict., p. 132.)

‡ For note regarding HWAI-NAN-TZ', see page 47.

North Sea.* It has trees which look like aspens, but which have red flowers. The fruit is like the jujube, but it has no pit. It tastes sour, but delicious. It is eaten without causing any ill results. The SHIH River (or drinkable water) is found here, a stream that flows northeasterly into the sea. Here there are wild animals which look like wolves, but which have red heads and rats' eyes. Their voices sound like those of sucking pigs, and they are called HIEH-TSÜ. They eat men. There are birds here which look like domestic fowls, but they have white heads, rats' legs, and tigers' claws. They are called KWEI [or K'I] birds, and they eat men.

2. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the south, MAO Mountain is found. Here there are no trees and no grass. The TS'ANG-T'I River is found here, a stream flowing westerly into the CHEN River (or into an extensive body of water). In this there are many SIU fish. [These are shrimps, or the eels indicated by the character TS'IU, and possibly the character SIU was then pronounced the same as TS'IU.] These look like the carp, but have a larger head. Those who eat them have no swellings.

3. And it says that, three hundred and twenty *li* to the south, the Eastern SHI Mountain is found. Upon this there are many green gems. Here there are trees which look like aspens, but which have red veins. Their sap is like blood, and they have no fruit. These are called K'I. They can break horses by its use [i. e., by rubbing them with this sap, horses become tame and gentle]. Clear River † is found here, a stream flowing northeasterly into the sea. In this there are many delicious cowries and many cuttle-fish. These look like a goby, and have only one head with ten bodies. They smell like sedge-grass or a jungle. Those who eat them have no asthma. [It says that they cure the disease which consists of a difficulty in breathing.]

4. And it says that, three hundred *li* to the southeast, NÜ-CHING Mountain is found. Upon this there are no trees, grass, or stones. KAO (Rich, Fertilizing) River is found here, a stream flowing westerly into LIH (Cauldron) River. In this there are

* The "North Sea" is a name given by the Chinese to the Gulf of PEH-CHIH-LI, but usually assigned in foreign works to Lake Baikal, in Irkutsk. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 39.)

† This is an old name of a stream in HU-NAN. (Williams's Dict., p. 1034.)

many thin fish which look like herring, but have only one eye. Their voice sounds like vomiting [i. e., like the sound of a man retching and vomiting]. When these are seen, then heaven sends down a great drought.

5. And it says that, two hundred *li* to the southeast, the K'IN (Imperial or Majestic) Mountain is found. Here there are many gems and much gold, but no stones. The SHI River is found here, a stream flowing northerly into KAO * marsh. In this there are many eels and many beautiful cowrie-shells. Here there are wild animals which look like sucking pigs, but which have tusks. These are called TANG-K'ANG, deriving their name from their cry. When these are seen, then heaven causes the earth to produce much grain.

6. And it says that, two hundred *li* to the southeast, TSZ'-T'UNG Mountain is found. TSZ'-T'UNG River is found here, a stream flowing westerly into YÜ-JÜ Marsh. In this there are many HWAH † fish. These look like fish, but have birds' wings. They go out and in. They are bright. Their voices sound like those of the YUEN-YANG.‡ When these are seen, then heaven sends down a great drought.

7. And it says that, two hundred *li* to the northeast, YEN (Sharp-pointed) Mountain is found. Here there are many precious stones and much gold. There are also wild beasts which look like swine, but which have men's faces and yellow bodies, but red tails. These are called HOH-YÜ. Their voices sound like that of an infant child. These wild animals eat men, and eat vermin and serpents. When these are seen, then heaven sends down great rains.

* The character KAO used here is not the same as that used in the name of the KAO River, mentioned in the last paragraph, but is the same as that used in the name of the WU-KAO Mountain, in the ninth paragraph of the third section of the fourth book.

† HWAH, a reptile with four feet, found in marshes, resembling a snake, and having wings, which feeds on fish. Probably the basilisk lizard. (Williams's Dict., p. 242.)

‡ The YUEN-YANG is an aquatic bird, frequenting ponds and marshes; it is of the size and form of the wild duck, but its beak, instead of being flat, is round; its red head is sprinkled with white, its tail is black, and the rest of its plumage a fine purple; its cry is exceedingly loud and mournful, not the song of a bird, but a sort of deep, prolonged sigh, resembling the plaintive tones of a man under suffering.[1568]

8. And it says that, two hundred *li* to the east, T'AI* (Immense) Mountain is found. Upon it there are many precious stones and much gold, and there are also many wax-trees. [These wax-trees do not shed their leaves in winter.] Here there are wild animals which look like cattle, but which have a white head, one eye, and a serpent's tail. They are called FEI. When they go upon the water they dry it up, and when they go upon the grass they kill it. When these are seen, then heaven sends down a great pestilence. [It says that its body is full of a poisonous principle. The book called "K'I-KIN" says that it is a locust or cricket called K'IUNG. Its body looks harmless, but it causes the veins to wither and dry up, being more poisonous than the CHAN.† All creatures fear it, and wish to keep at a great distance from it.] The KEU River is found here, a stream flowing northerly into the LAO ‡ River. In this are many fish.

9. The fourth section of the "Eastern Classic" thus gives the entire distance along the eight mountains, from HAO Mountain to T'AI Mountain, as one thousand seven hundred and twenty *li*.

10. The above record of the "Classic of the Eastern Mountains" thus gives the distance along these forty-six mountains as eighteen thousand eight hundred and sixty *li*.

THE NINTH BOOK OF THE CLASSIC OF MOUNTAINS AND SEAS.

THE CLASSIC OF THE REGIONS BEYOND THE EASTERN SEA.

In regard to the Regions beyond the Sea, from its Southeast Corner to its Northeast Corner.

1. The CHA Hill. [Pronounced CHA or perhaps FAH.] It is said that this country produces I gems, green horses, SHI-JUH, common willows, delicious cherries, sweet flowers, and excellent fruits. It is in the Eastern Sea, between two mountains. Upon the hill there are lofty trees. One authority says that its name is

* This is not the same character as that used for the name of the T'AI Mountain formerly mentioned.

† The Chinese describe the CHAN as a bird like the secretary-falcon, with a long black neck and red bill; it eats snakes, and is supposed to be so noxious that fish die where it drinks, the grass around its nest withers, and its feathers steeped in spirits make a virulent poison. (Williams's Dict., p. 18.)

‡ The term LAO appears in the twelfth paragraph of the ninth book as the name of the "Distressed" People's Country.

CHA-KIU, and one says that the Country of a Hundred Fruits lies east of YAO's * burial-place.

2. The Great Men's Country is north of this. Because the men are great they sit and seize passing boats. One authority says that this country is north of CHA-KIU.

3. SHE-PI'S Body is north of this. [This is the name of a god.] He has a wild animal's body and a man's face. He has large ears, and for ear-ornaments has two green serpents [i. e., he has ear-ornaments like serpents strung in his ears]. One authority says that KAN-YÜ's Body lies north of the Great Men's Country.

4. The Country of Refined Gentlemen lies north of this. They have clothing, caps, sashes, and swords. They eat wild beasts, and have two great tigers, one on each side. They are very gentle, and do not quarrel. They have fragrant plants. [Perhaps "clay" should be read instead of "fragrant plants."] They have a flowering-plant which produces blossoms in the morning which die in the evening. One authority says that it is north of KAN-YÜ's Body.

5. HUNG-HUNG lies north of this. They all have two heads. [The name is pronounced the same as that of the character HUNG, which means the rainbow.] One authority says that it is north of the Country of Refined Gentlemen.

6. The god of the Valley of the Manifestation of the Dawn (CHAO-YANG) † is called TIEN-WU. He is the god of the water. He dwells north of HUNG-HUNG, between two bodies of water. When he appears as a wild animal he has eight heads with human faces, eight legs, and eight tails, and is all green and yellow. [The "Classic of the Great Eastern Waste" says he has ten tails.]

7. The Green Hills Country is situated north of this. [The people eat all kinds of grain, and have silken clothing.] Here there are foxes with four legs and eight tails. One authority says that it is situated north of the "Manifestation of the Dawn." [KIH-KIÜN'S "Bamboo Book" says that P'OH-SHU-TSZ' went on a military expedition in the Eastern Sea for fully three years, and

* YAO was a celebrated sovereign, who is said to have reigned one hundred and three years, from B. C. 2357 to B. C. 2255.

† CHAO-SIEN (the Brightness of the Dawn) is the Chinese official name of Corea. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 3.)

found a fox with nine tails, which, perhaps, was a species of the fox above described.]

8. The sovereign ordered SHU-HAI to walk from the farthest limit of the East to the farthest limit of the West, five hundred thousand and ten times ten thousand paces [SHU-HAI was a dauntless traveler] and nine thousand eight hundred paces. SHU-HAI grasped an abacus in his right hand and with his left hand he pointed to the north of the Beautiful Green Hills. One authority says that it was the emperor Yŭ * who commanded SHU-HAI; one says that the distance was five hundred thousand, ten times ten thousand, nine thousand and eight hundred paces. [The poem Ts'ANG-SHĂN-WU says that heaven and earth, from east to west, are three hundred and thirty-three thousand *li*, and from south to north, two hundred and one thousand five hundred *li*. To inspect heaven and earth, go one hundred and fifty thousand *li*.]

9. The Black-Teeth Country lies north of this. [The "History of the Eastern Barbarians" † says that forty *li* ‡ and more east of Japan there is a country called the Naked People's Country, and that southeast of this lies the Black-Teeth Country. A ship can reach it by sailing for one year. The "Account of Strange Things" says that the Western Butchers dye their teeth and are like these people.] The people are black, and eat rice. They also eat serpents, some red and some green. [One authority mentions only the green serpents.] It is very great. One authority says that it is north of (the country of) SHU-HAI, and has people with black hands, who eat rice, and who use serpents, one serpent being red. Below it is the Warm Springs (T'ANG) # Ravine. [In the ravine there is hot water.] Above Warm Springs Ravine is FU-SANG [i. e., the FU-SANG tree, or the useful mulberry-

* The Great Yŭ reigned about twenty-two hundred years before the Christian era. (See Summer's "Handbook of the Chin. Lang.," part i, p. 205.)

† By the "Eastern Barbarians" the Chinese mean either the Coreans[2532] or else the uncivilized races of Eastern Japan.[1675]

‡ Here the character "thousand" has probably been changed to "ten" between "four" and "*li*." The account that is given can not be applied to a country only forty *li* (some thirteen miles) from Japan. *Ma Twan-lin* states that the distance is four thousand *li* and that the direction is to the south. (See d'Hervey's "Ethnography," p. 410.)

There is a river named T'ANG in the southwest of CHIH-LI. (Williams's Dict., p. 860.)

tree]. The place where the ten suns bathe lies north of the Black-Teeth (Country). In the water there is a large tree having nine suns in its lower branches and one sun in its upper branches. [CHWANG-CHEU * says that formerly these ten suns rose all together, and the grass and trees were burned and withered. HWAI-NAN-TZ' says that (the emperor) YAO † then commanded (the prince) I to shoot nine of the ten suns, and the bird in the suns, until dead. The "Dissipation of Sorrows" says in reference to it that I ‡ brought the sun-bird # to an end, and that it dropped some of its feathers, and that I took them home and kept them. The CHING-MU Classic says that formerly this I shot skillfully, and brought these ten suns to an end. KIH-KIÜN'S "Bamboo Book" says that when YIN-KIAH ascended the throne and dwelt at SI-HO there were strange prodigies. Ten suns rose and shone together. This is a wonder of nature, but there is proof of it. Tradition says that there were ten suns in the sky, the number of suns being ten. This account says that nine suns dwell in the lower branches and one sun in the upper branches. The "Classic of the Great Waste" says that when one sun sets, another sun rises and lights heaven and earth, and, although there are ten suns, they rise alternately, and so revolve and shine; but at the time referred to they all rose together, and so heaven sent down supernatural calamities. Therefore I, having asked for YAO's instructions, and thoroughly understanding his heart's desire, looked up to heaven, and pulled the bow-string, and nine suns retired and concealed themselves. . . . If we examine into this in a common-sense way we find that it is not reasonable, but if we investigate the principles of destiny we find that nothing is impossible. You, who stand by and see ought to try to comprehend this mystery. Those things which relate to the mysterious and obscure are hard to understand, but nevertheless they go on their course without obstruction.] YÜ-

* CHWANG-CHEU may possibly be CHWANG-TSZ', one of the most eminent of the Chinese writers of antiquity; he flourished about B. C. 368. (Summer's "Handbook," part ii, p. 7.)

† YAO was a celebrated sovereign, said to have reigned B. C. 2357 to 2255. (Williams's Dict., p. 1076.)

‡ I, the prince of KIÜNG, was a famous rebel in the HIA dynasty, a mighty archer, who drove T'AI-K'ANG beyond the Yellow River, about B. C. 2169, and kept the power till his death. (Williams's Dict., p. 283.)

Wild geese are sometimes called "sun-birds." (See Legge's "Sacred Books of China," part i, p. 67.)

SHI'S Concubine dwells north of this. [YÜ-SHI is the same as P'ING-I, the God of Rain.] He, as a man, is black, and in each of his hands he holds a serpent. In his left ear there is a green serpent, and in his right ear a red serpent. One authority says that he dwells north of (the country of) the Ten Suns, that as a man he has a black body and a human face, and that each (hand) holds a tortoise.

10. The Black-Hip Country lies north of this. [So called because the people are all black below the waist.] These people make clothing from fish or water-animals—[i. e., they make clothing from the skins of fish—or water-animals]. They eat gulls. [Gulls are water-birds. Their name is pronounced YIU.] They use two birds, carrying them in their arms. One authority says that this lies north of YÜ-SHI'S Concubine.

11. The Hairy People's Country lies north of this, and has people upon whose bodies hair grows. [At the present time, by leaving the region of the LIN Sea, and going two thousand *li* to the southeast, the place of residence of the Hairy People is found upon the Great LOH Island.] Upon this island there are people with short, small faces, and with their bodies entirely covered with hair, like a hog or a moose. They live in caves, and have no clothing or garments. [In the reign of the Ts'in dynasty in the fourth year of the period distinguished by the appellation YUNG-KIA (or "Perpetual Excellence"—i. e., in the year 310 A.D.) an officer named TAI, having charge of the salt at WU-KIEN, found upon the sea-shore a boat containing men and women, four people in all. These all looked alike and spoke a language which was not intelligible. They were sent to the prime-minister's palace, but before they had reached it they all died on the way, except only one. The ruler gave him a wife, who bore children to him. Going to and coming from the market and wells, he advanced slowly in acquiring the language. His native place was the Hairy People's Country. The "Classic of the Great Waste" says that the Hairy Tribe eat a species of millet for food.] One authority says that this country is north of the Black-Hip Country.

12. The Distressed (LAO *) People's Country lies north of this. It has people who are black [and who for food eat the fruits of

* See the reference to the River LAO in the eighth paragraph of the fourth section of the fourth book.

trees and plants ; they have a bird with two heads]. Perhaps the name should be read "the KIAO * People," instead of the Distressed (or LAO) People. One authority says that it lies north of the Hairy People, and has people having their face, eyes, hands, and feet entirely black.

13. The K'EU-WANG of the Eastern Regions has a bird's body,† and a human face, and he rides upon two dragons. [He is the God of Wood, and has a square face, and wears plain apparel. MOH-TSZ' says that formerly, in the TS'IN dynasty, MUH-KUNG was of illustrious virtue. The Supreme Ruler caused K'EU-WANG to lengthen his life by nineteen years.]

THE CLASSIC OF MOUNTAINS AND SEAS.

FOURTEENTH BOOK.

The Classic of the Great Eastern Waste.

1. The Great Cañon beyond the Eastern Sea‡ [the poem called TS'ANG-SHÄN-WU says that in the east there is a stream flowing in a bottomless ravine. It is supposed to be this cañon. The "Dissipation of Sorrows" calls it KIANG-SHANG's Great Cañon] is SHAO-HAO's Country. [The emperor SHAO-HAO,# of the "Golden Heaven" family, gave it this designation.] SHAO-HAO's Descendant, the emperor CHWEN-SÜH ‖ [of whom no further description is given], left there his lute and lyre. [It says that his lute and lyre are in this cañon.] It has a beautiful mountain, from which there flows a delightful spring, producing a charming gulf. [The water accumulates and so forms a gulf.]

2. In the southeastern corner of the Great Eastern Waste there is a mountain called the PI-MU-TI Hill.

3. In the Great Waste beyond the Eastern Sea there is a mountain which by hyperbole is called "the Place where the Sun and Moon Rise." It has rolling valleys and mountains. This is

* The term KIAO sect is applied to the Mohammedans. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 20.)

† The account of a being or beings with a bird's body and a human face may have arisen from the fact that the Aleutian islanders [1117] dressed in the skins of birds.[1118]

‡ The "Eastern Sea" is the term applied to the sea off the southeast coast of China. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 58.)

Who reigned about 2500 B. C. (Summer's "Handbook," p. 205.)

‖ The successor of SHAO-HAO. (Williams's Dict., p. 117.)

the Great Men's Country. [In the reign of the Ts'IN dynasty, in the second year of the period distinguished by the designation YUNG-KIA ("Perpetual Excellence," i. e., in 308 A. D.), there were ducks collected in NGAO-PO, twenty *li* south of the district of SHI-NGAN. A man by the name of CHEU-FU-CHANG picked up a wooden arrow with an iron point, which was six feet * and a half long. Reckoning from the length of the arrow, the shooter must have been a rod † and five or six feet tall. The Coreans say that formerly some people from the kingdom of Japan, who encountered bad weather upon a voyage, were blown across the "Great Sea," ‡ and beyond it they discovered a country where the people were all a rod tall, and moreover, in their form and appearance, they looked like Mongols. They were tall savages of a foreign tribe. The arrow came from this country. The WAI-CHWEN says that the shortest of the Scorched Pigmy # People were only three feet high, and the tallest of these did not exceed ten rods. In HO-TU's "Album of Gems" it is said that ninety thousand *li* north of the KWUN-LUN (Range of Mountains) the LUNG-POH Country is found, where the people are thirty rods tall, and live for eighteen thousand years, but they then die. East of the KWUN-LUN (Mountains) ‖ TA-TSIN △ is found. The people are ten rods tall, and all wear plain garments. Ten times ten thousand *li* to the east the country of the T'IAO People is found. They are thirty rods and five feet tall. East of this, ten times ten thousand *li*, is the Central TSIN Country, whose people are one rod tall. The KUH-LIANG History says that the body of a tall savage, measured crosswise, covered nine Chinese acres. When riding, his head and shoulders reached above the cross-bar of the chariot. This man must therefore have been several rods tall. In the time of the Ts'IN

* The Chinese "foot" is equal to about fourteen of our inches.

† Of ten Chinese "feet."

‡ The term "Great Sea" is loosely applied to the Pacific Ocean and the China Sea. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 50.)

The character YAO, here translated "Pigmy," is applied to a nation of Pigmies said to be three feet in height, called YAO-YAO, found southwest of China; the Negritos or Papuans of New Guinea may be intended. (Williams's Dict., p. 1076.)

‖ For an account of these Mountains, see Chapter XV of this book.

△ The Roman Empire, or some portion of it. (Williams's Dict., p. 991; "Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 51.)

dynasty a giant was seen in LIN-T'AO * who was five rods tall, and his foot-prints were six feet long. If the above accounts can be considered to be true, then there is no limit to the height of these tall men.] It has the Great Men's Market, which is called "the Great Men's Mansion." [This is a mountain which is so named because of its resemblance to a large mansion. The Great Men collect near it at market-times, and hold a market upon and about it.] It has a great man crouching upon both of its sides. [Perhaps the character translated "crouching" formerly meant "sitting erect." CHWANG-TSZ' † says that he sat in HWUI-K'IAI.] It has a country of "Little People" who are called the TSING People. [The poem called TS'ANG-SHĂN-WU says that the farthest region to the northeast is inhabited by people who are only nine inches high.] Its god has a human face and a wild beast's body, and he is called LI-LING'S Body.

4. There is also a mountain named KÜEH, from which the Aspen River flows.

5. There is also a Country of Plants, where millet is used for food. [It says that millet grows in this country. The name of the country is pronounced WÉI.] They employ (or have) four (species of) birds (i. e., they have numerous varieties of birds); also tigers, panthers, brown bears, and grizzly bears.

6. In the Great Waste there is a mountain called HOH-HU. It is the place where the sun and moon rise. It has CHUNG-YUNG'S Country. TI-TSUN (or the emperor TSUN) begat CHUNG-YUNG. The people of CHUNG-YUNG eat wild beasts and the fruits of trees. [In this country there are red trees with dark wood, which have delicious flowers and fruit. See LÜ-SHI'S edition of the work of Confucius called "Spring and Autumn."] They use four birds (i. e., they have numerous species of birds), and also panthers, tigers, brown bears, and grizzly bears.

7. There is also the Mountain of the Eastern Pass, and here is the "Country of Refined Gentlemen." These people have clothing, caps, sashes, and swords. [They have tigers and panthers, which are gentle and give way.] Here is the Country of the Presiding Spirits. TI-TSUN begat YEN-LUNG, who begat the

* A former name of MIN-CHEU, in the north of SZ'-CH'UEN, where a great goat nearly as large as a donkey is produced. (Williams's Dict., p. 869.)

† A famous philosopher of the CHEU dynasty. (Williams's Dict., p. 112.)

Presiding Spirits. The Presiding Spirits have offspring, but the pure-minded male has no wife, and the pure-minded female has no husband. [It says that these people are pure in their thoughts, and are not affected by passion, and do not mate, but that they conceive children with all purity, like white doves looking steadfastly into each other's eyes, each being affected by the purity of the other.] They eat millet and wild beasts, and have numerous varieties of birds. Here is TA-O Mountain (or the Mountain of the Great Ridge).

8. In the Great Waste there is a mountain named MING-SING (or the Bright Star). It is the place where the sun and moon rise.

9. There is also the White People's Country. TI-TSUN begat TI-HUNG, who begat the White People. The White People have no surnames. They eat millet, and have numerous varieties of birds, as well as tigers, panthers, brown bears, and grizzly bears. [And they have teams of yellow wild beasts, which they drive, using them in order to reach a great age.]

10. There is also the Green Hills Country. Here there are foxes with nine tails. [When they are very little disturbed they come out (of their holes), and this is considered a good omen.] It has the JEU-PUH * (or Courteous Vassal) Country. They live in a country of luxuriant land. [It is luxuriant as if irrigated. The name is pronounced YING.†] It has the country of Black Teeth. [Their teeth are like lacquer.] TI-TSUN begat the Black Teeth. [As the teachings and example of the sage do not reach all regions, therefore in after ages his descendants differ in their pursuits and outward appearance. Every one says that those who are now living are his descendants ; but they surely can not be posterity which he himself begat.] The KIANG ‡ tribe eat millet for food, and have numerous varieties of birds. Here is also the HIA-CHEU # (Summer Island) Country. Here is also the

* JEU Country was an ancient principality on the coast of SHAN-TUNG. It is said in the annals of the Eastern HAN to have belonged to LANG-YA KIUN, the present NI-CHAU FU.

† YING was the family surname of TSIN CHI HWANG-TI, derived from SHAO-HAO, B. C. 2597. (Williams's Dict., p. 1107.)

‡ KIANG was the surname of SHIN-NUNG. (Williams's Dict., p. 362.) SHIN-NUNG was an emperor who reigned about 2700 B. C., just before the Yellow Emperor. (Summer's "Hand-book," i, p. 205.)

The term HIA is the name of the dynasty which reigned from B. C. 2205 to

Kai-yü * Country. It has a god with eight heads, with human faces, a tiger's body, and ten tails. He is called T'ien-wu. [He is the God of the Water.]

11. In the Great Waste there is a mountain called Küh-ling-yü-t'ien. It is at the farthest limit of the east with Li and Meu. [These are the names of three mountains.] At the place where the sun and moon rise [there is a god] called Cheh-tan. In the Eastern Region he is called Cheh. The "coming wind" is called Chan. [It is not fully described where the Place of the Coming Wind is situated.] He dwells at the farthest limit of the east, and produces the eight winds. [It says that this man is able to regulate the proper times for the winds to come forth and return.]

12. In an island of the Eastern Sea there is a god with a human face and a bird's body, having two yellow serpents for ear-ornaments. [These serpents are passed through his ears.] He treads upon two yellow serpents, and is called Yü-kwoh. Hwang-ti begat Yü-kwoh, and Yü-kwoh begat Yü-king. [Yü-king is the same as Yu-kiang.] Yü-king dwells in the North Sea, and Yü-kwoh dwells in the Eastern Sea. They are sea-gods. [They are each called the god of that particular sea over which they rule. One original authority reads Hao instead of Kwoh.]

13. There is also the Chao-yao (Quaking) Mountain, where the Yung (Melting) River flows. Here there is a country called the Black-Hip Country. [From the hips down they are black like lacquer.] They have millet for food, and have numerous varieties of birds. Here is also the country of the Kw'un (Needy) People, whose surname is Keu, who eat (these birds). Some say that King Hai held a bird in his two hands, and, when he had eaten its head, King Hai sent it to Yiu-i, Ho-poh, and Puh-niu [Ho-poh and Puh-niu are both names and surnames—see Kih-kiün's "Bamboo Book"]. Yiu-i slew King Hai, and captured Puh-niu. [The "Bamboo Book" says that Hai, the son of the emperor Yin, went as a visitor to the house of Yiu-i, and committed adultery there. Therefore Yiu-i's sovereign, Min-ch'an, slew him, and

1706. The term "Cultivated Hia" is still used for China, denoting the country, not its government; while Chü-Hia (all the Hias) for the same has become obsolete. (Williams's Dict., p. 184.)

* The character Kai is used in the name of Kai-p'ing hien, in Shin-king, a district town in F'ung-tien fu. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 16.)

thus made an example of him. Therefore the Emperor YIN KIEH-CHING borrowed troops of HO-POH, with which to punish YIU-I, overthrow his country, and slay his sovereign MIN-CH'AN.] Ho pitied YIU-I, and allowed him to leave the country secretly, and go to a region of wild beasts; and because he ate the wild beasts, he was called a YAO man. [YIU-I was originally a friend of HO-POH, and a good scholar; but because KIEH-CHING, who was then the emperor of the YING Country, had a good and rightful reason for borrowing troops to punish crime, HO-POH could not do otherwise than help to overthrow his country. It was because he pitied YIU-I that he allowed him to leave the country secretly. After he had left he became a YAO man.] The sovereign SHUN * begat HI, and HI begat the YAO (Quaking) People. In the sea there are two people. [These are the people to whom YIU-I went.] They are called NÜ-CHEU. [They are the same as NÜ-CHEU'S Body. There is no certainty as to the time when, or the kind of being into which, she (NÜ-CHEU'S Body) may be metamorphosed; for at one time she walks on water, and at another time she vanishes into earth. There is no place which she could not reach if she desired to reach it. We hear also that the ways of the class of FAN-LIS are similar to those of NÜ-CHEU'S Body.] NÜ-CHEU has great crabs. The breadth is ten *li*.

14. In the Great Waste there is a mountain called YEH-YAO-KIÜN-TI. Upon it is the FU-tree, having a trunk of three hundred *li*. Its leaves are like mustard. [It resembles a pillar rising to a great height, and its leaves are like mustard-greens.†] It has a valley called the Warm Springs Valley. Above the Warm Springs Valley is the FU-tree [i. e., FU-SANG lies above]. When one sun sets another sun rises. [It says that they alternate with each other.] They all contain a bird. [In them there is a two-footed bird.] Here there is a god with a human face, dogs' ears, and a wild beast's body. For ear-ornaments he has two green serpents. He is called SHE-PI'S Body. They have birds variegated with all colours. TI-TSUN condescended to be their friend. TI descended two high terraces (for worship) which were ruled by the variegated birds.‡ [It says that below the mountain were

* A monarch who reigned B. C. 2255 to 2205. (Williams's Dict., p. 784.)

† *Sinapis*. (See Williams's Dict., p. 360.)

‡ It is a custom in some Chinese monasteries to feed a bird with a few grains

Shün's two high terraces for worship, and that the variegated birds ruled over them.]

15. And in the Great Waste there is a mountain called I-t'ien-su-mǎn.* It is the place where the sun and moon were born, and here is the Hüen (a pipe, a musical instrument) People's Country. Here is also the K'ı (Dark Gray) Mountain, the Yao (Quaking) Mountain, the Tsǎng Mountain, the Man-hu (or Household) Mountain, the Shing (Fertile) Mountain, and the Tai Mountain. Here there are variegated birds.

16. In the Eastern Waste there is a mountain called Hoh-ming-tsün-tsih. This is the place where the sun and moon rise. There is also the Kih-yung Country, northeast beyond the sea. They had three blue (or green) horses, and three horses that were black with white spots, sweet flowers, yuen-yiu, ı gems, three green (or blue) horses, and three black horses with white spots like eyes on their flesh, sweet flowers, delicious cherries, and numerous varieties of grain in this place. [It says that these are produced spontaneously.]

17. There is also the country of Nu-hwo-yueh-mu, having a man called Yuen. In the northern regions they say that Yuen, who brings them the wind, is called Yen. [It is said that he has these two names.] He dwelt at the extreme eastern corner, for the sun and moon dwelt there. They did not have a uniform time for rising and setting, and he controlled them as to whether the time should be short or long. [It says that Yuen had the management of the observations of the rising and setting of the sun and moon. He did not let them run out of order, and he knew the length of the days.]

18. In the northeast corner of the Great Waste there is a mountain called Hiung-li-ti Hill. The Ying Dragon dwells at its extreme southern limit. [The Ying Dragon is a dragon having wings.] He killed Ch'ı-yiu,† together with Kw'a-fu [Ch'ı-yiu was a soldier]. He could not ascend again. [The Ying Dragon therefore dwells below the earth.] Formerly, when below, he was the occasion of dry weather [then it did not rain

of rice just before the morning meal has commenced.[1262] Some such custom may have given rise to this story.

* Su-mǎn-tah-lah tau is the island of Sumatra. ("Vocab. of Chin. Prop. Names," p. 49.)

† Ch'ı-yiu lived B. C. 2637. (Williams's Dict., p. 63.)

above], but when the YING Dragon made his appearance there was a very great rain. [The dragon that is in heaven now was produced by the vapour ascending from the YING Dragon. This is the work of the mysterious and obscure, and man is not capable of accomplishing it.]

19. In the Eastern Sea is the Mountain (or Island) of the Flowing Stream, seven thousand *li* distant in the sea. Upon this there are wild beasts which look like cattle, with green (blue or hoary) bodies, but they have no horns, and only one foot. When they come out of or go into the water, then there is wind and rain. They are bright like the sun and moon, and their voice is like thunder. They are called KW'EI. The Yellow Emperor* obtained them and made drums of their skins, beating them with drum-sticks made from the bones of wild beasts. [The Thunder-beast is the God of Thunder. He has a man's face and a dragon's body. He drums his abdomen, beating it with drum-sticks.] The sound might be heard for five hundred *li*, terrifying all beneath heaven.

* The Yellow Emperor is said to have ruled 2597 B. C. (Summer's "Handbook," i, p. 205.)

CHAPTER XXXVI.

COMMENTS UPON THE "CLASSIC OF MOUNTAINS AND SEAS."

The oldest geography of the world—Article by M. Bazin, Sr.—Its divisions—Groups of mountains—Taoists of the fourth century—The spirits governing the earth—Extravagancies of the work—First mention of the book—The Familiar Discourses of Confucius—Thought to be apocryphal or corrupted—Tseu-hia—Sse-ma-ts'ien—Sse-ma-ching—Chao-shi—Wang-chong—Tso-ssé—The "Book of Waters"—Chang-hoa—Consideration of the western and southern kingdoms—Summaries of the geography of Tu-yu—Lo-pi—Kia-ching-shi—Cheu-pang—Tsu-tse-yu—The Encyclopædia of Tu-yeu—Conclusion of M. Bazin—The imperial academy of the Han-lin—The Shan Hai King read as a romance or pastime—Particularly by young men—Opinions of commentators—Notes—Gaps or omissions—The "Bamboo Books"—Length of the work—No translation heretofore made—M. Burnouf's intention to translate it—Change of opinion among scholars as to its value—Monsters mentioned by other writers—Tacitus—Men clothed in skins—A river with eight mouths—The compass—The T'ien Wu: Lord of the Water—Seals, sea-lions, and sea-otters—The Islands of the Flowing Stream—Cuttle-fish—Birds with hairy legs—Serpents as ear-ornaments—The Shan Hai King a compilation of a number of distinct accounts—Regions mentioned twice or more—Description of Japan—The genii who once ruled the earth—The state of civilization—Tigers and bears—A poisonous insect—The Ravine of the Manifestation of the Dawn—The Hairy People—Fu-sang and the Black-Teeth Country—The Malay custom of blackening the teeth—The Philippine or Luzon Islands—The banana or plantain (*pisang*)—The "ten suns."

THE SHAN HAI KING, or Chinese "Classic of Mountains and Seas," extracts from which are translated in the last chapter, is not only claimed to be the most ancient geographical work which the Chinese possess, but is also thought by some to be the oldest geography of the world.[2155] It originally contained thirty-two books or divisions, but in the fifth century A. D. they were reduced to eighteen.[2024]

M. Bazin, Sr., in 1839, contributed an article to the "Journal Asiatique" which contained translations of some fragments of

the work, and also gave an account of its history, and of the views regarding it held by Chinese scholars.[551] This article, somewhat condensed, is copied below :

"The *Shan Hai King*, 'The Book of Mountains and Seas,' contains a fabulous description of the world which is, by some historians of the sect of the Taoists, attributed to the great Yu and to Pe-y, ministers of the emperor Shun (2255 B. C.).

"This cosmography, founded upon a system peculiar to China, and which has its origin in the religious traditions of the empire, is divided into eighteen books, which treat respectively of the mountains to the south, to the west, to the north, to the east, and of the central mountains ; of the regions beyond the sea to the south, to the west, to the north, and to the east ; of the regions on the nearer side of the sea to the south, to the west, to the north, and to the east ; of the eastern, southern, western, and northern portions of the great deserts ; and of the islands of the sea.

"The authors of the cosmography hold that there are five principal groups of mountains upon the earth, being the groups of the south, west, north, east, and centre, respectively. From each of these groups, as a common point, great ranges of mountains proceed toward the south, the west, the north, and the east. All the rivers of the earth have their sources in these mountain ranges, which, for the greater part, are covered with the products of an extraordinary vegetation. Quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and fabulous monsters with a tiger's claws and a leopard's tail, appertaining to the three hundred and sixty varieties of the *Ki-lin*, to the three hundred and sixty varieties of the *Fong-hoang*, of the dragon, or of the turtle, have their abode upon these gigantic mountains.

"The probable origin of this systematic division is as follows : In the fourth century of our era, the writers of the modern sect of the Taoists, wishing to strike the imagination of the multitude, or to impose upon the credulity of the simple, in order to obtain credence for the cosmography which they published, borrowed the great names of Yu and Pe-y. These writers had neither any idea of the structure of the earth, nor any knowledge of foreign lands ; but, as among all the mountains of the Celestial Empire there are five which the Chinese geogra-

phers since the days of the Cheu dynasty have placed in the first rank, and have designated by distinct titles, the authors of the *Shan Hai King*, in order to find a base or point of departure, imagined five principal groups, or five great ranges of mountains, to take the place of these five mountains which had been consecrated by tradition, by religious ceremonies, and by history.

"Whether this conjecture is accepted or rejected, it is none the less true that the *Shan Hai King* does not present a positive and credible cosmography, and that it should not be imagined that it is possible to determine the situation of the places which the authors, whoever they may have been, announce as existing. The truth of this assertion can easily be seen by reading a few extracts from it.

"The last thirteen chapters of the *Shan Hai King* contain a description of foreign countries—that is to say, of the countries inhabited by spirits and by some of the three hundred and sixty varieties of the human race.

"The spirits which governed or dwelt upon the surface of the earth in the days when the great Yu and Pe-y, ministers of the emperor Shun, both laboured for the draining off of the waters of the deluge (about the year 2255 B. C., according to the chronology of the *Tseu-chi-t'ong-kien* of Ssé-ma-kuang), differed from the spirits which lived under the reigns of Fu-hi, Hoang-ti, Chao-hao, Chuen-hio, and Ti-ko. The spirits of the sun, the moon, and the five planets, which are mentioned in the twelfth book of the *Shin-yi-tien* (History of the Gods and of Prodigies), are not referred to in the *Shan Hai King*, and its authors have turned the spirits of the earth (*ling-ki*) into monsters or fantastic animals, and on this account there is some temptation to regard the description which they have transmitted to us as a malicious parody, invented by a writer of but medium capacity, to bring derision upon the beliefs of the Taoists.

"As extracts from the work will sufficiently demonstrate the fact that the *Shan Hai King* does not present a true cosmography from which modern science could derive information, but that it is instead merely a document which contributes to the history of the errors and extravagancies of the human mind, I will pass to the second part of my essay (which seems to me more worthy of interest), and show what were the opinions of

the principal Chinese writers concerning the origin of this strange book, its contestable authority, its presumed authors, and its pretended antiquity.

"It is mentioned for the first time in the *Kia-yu* (Familiar Discourses) of Confucius. This book is thought to be authentic by the Taoist authors. If the testimony of a chronicler is to be believed, it was found on the demolition of the house of Confucius, together with the *Lun-yu* (the Book of Exhortations), the *Hiao King* (the Book of Filial Piety), a part of the dictionary *'Rh-ya*, etc., and offered to the emperor Hiao-wu-ti by Kong Ngan-kue, who was a descendant of the great philosopher. The writers of the orthodox school rank the *Kia-yu* among the ancient books which were interpolated, altered, or corrected by the writers of the Han dynasty. Others, in greater number, regard the *Kia-yu* as an apocryphal book. However it may be, the work merits our attention, and, if it is admitted that it was composed during the Han dynasty, or about the commencement of the Christian era, it is still the most ancient work that mentions the *Shan Hai King*.

"Tseu-hia, a disciple of Confucius, whose family name was Po-yang, who wrote a commentary upon the *Y King*, expresses himself in these terms in the *Kia-yu:*

"'During the reign of the *Shang* dynasty (1783 to 1134 B. C.) mention was made of a Book of the Mountains (*Shan King*).'

"Tseu-hia says again:

"'In this book the east and the west are designated by the term *wei;* the south and the north by the term *king*.'

"We can not fail to recognize the *Shan Hai King* in the *Shan King* of which Tseu-hia speaks. The words *wei* (woof) and *king* (warp) are terms of nomenclature, or of classification, of which the real meaning is lost. They are found now among the astronomical terms of the Chinese, the five planets being called *wei*, and the twenty-eight constellations *king*.

"Ssé-ma-ts'ien, the most celebrated of the Chinese historians, expresses himself thus in the *Ssé-ki:*

"'The Book of the Mountains (*Shan King*) is attributed to the great Yu; but such extraordinary things are contained in this book that I do not dare to speak of them.'

"I do not approve the position taken here by Ssé-ma-ts'ien, and I believe that the renown which he acquired as the founder

of historical criticism in his country has caused his silence on this subject to be the means of exciting indecision on the part of later writers. Nevertheless, I hasten to say that his skepticism can hardly be considered as a fault, as the biographers of this great man attest that he did not exhibit it until after long and painful researches.

"In the seventh century of our era a Chinese historian called Sse-ma-ching undertook to trace the history of the primitive times, which was lacking in the *Ssé-ki* of Ssé-ma-ts'ien; and, in a general explanation of the book entitled *Kuo-yen-nien-ssé*, the following is found:

"'The great historian did not dare to speak of the *Shan Hai King*, either good or evil. It is assuredly a book composed during the Ts'in dynasty. The facts that are reported are in part credible and in part doubtful.'

"After Ssé-ma-ts'ien comes Chao-shi (Chao-hoa), who lived during the reign of the Han dynasty. In his commentary upon the Chronicle of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yué, a work of which the authority is very doubtful, he states that Yu, after consulting the spirits of the mountains and the lakes, and obtaining information from them as to the mountains and rivers which contained gold and jade; as to the birds, quadrupeds, reptiles, and living creatures which were to be found there; as to the customs of the peoples of the eight divisions of the world; and, finally, as to the extent of the foreign kingdoms and countries—ordered Y to note all these details, to add a commentary, and to compose the book entitled the *Shan Hai King*.

"The complete account of Chao-shi abounds in errors. Without speaking of its fabulous details, it contains anachronisms of a kind which are never found in the better class of Chinese works.

"Wang-chong, who lived during the reign of Hiao-ho-ti, of the Han dynasty, who ascended the throne in the year 89 A. D., in the work which contains his astronomical dissertations, makes the following statement:

"'The great Yu received the order to labour for the drainage of the waters; Y was charged to write the history of extraordinary events. These two men visited all the provinces, ascended the highest mountains, and visited the countries situated beyond the seas, and, from all that they had seen and heard, they composed the *Shan Hai King*.'

"A poet, who lived during the epoch of the *San Kué* (221–265 A. D.), and who has the reputation of being the ablest man of his times known to historians, a man named Tso-ssé, mentions the Shan Hai King in a piece of verse entitled *Wu-tu-fu* (Verse on the Five Capitals).

"Mention is made of it in the preface of a commentary on the *Shui King* (Book of the Waters), a work composed during the epoch of the *San Kué*. The author says:

"'Formerly the great Yu composed the *Shan Hai King*. He collected the material for this book in his long voyages.'

"Another commentary of the *Shui King* says:

"'The *Shan Hai King* is a mutilated history (*Choang-Chi*); but, nevertheless, the great Yu gave a description of foreign countries.'

"Chang-hoa, who lived during the reign of the Ts'in dynasty (265–420 A. D.), in the preface to the *Po-wé-chi* (Fabulous Encyclopædia), says:

"'Two of the most ancient books still exist; these are the Herbal of Chin-nong (the *Pen-ts'ao*), and the *Shan Hai King*, which several writers attribute to the great Yu.'

"In the 'Consideration (*Lan*) of the Western and Southern Kingdoms,' a book published during the dynasty of the Later Han (947–951 A. D.), the following passage occurs:

"'The Book of Mountains contains a description of the world, from the country where the sun rises to the place where it sets.'

"Finally, in the summaries of the Geography of Tu-yu we read:

"'The twenty-eight constellations of heaven have long been designated by special titles; the mountains and the streams of the earth long ago received special names. All these titles and names are found abridged in the *Yu Kong* and the *Shan Hai King*, monuments bequeathed by the men of ancient times to the following generations; but if it is desired to go deeper into the matter, and learn the names of the kingdoms and cities more in detail, the *Chun-tsieu* of Confucius should be read.'

"Without stopping to discuss a multitude of assertions, which hardly seem worthy of the trouble, I come to the opinion of Lo-pi, who in 1190 A. D. published a book called the *Lu-sse*, in which he states that Y established a classification of living beings, dis-

tinguishing those which were harmful from those which were of use to mankind, and composed the *Shan Hai King*.

"Among more modern works we read in the *Ku-yang-tsa-tsu* of Kia-ching-shi :

"'All the operations of heaven and earth are mysterious and incomprehensible, and withdraw themselves from the investigation of men. This is why the *Shan Hai King* and the dictionary '*Rh-ya* are books which can not be comprehended.'

"In the collection of poems of Cheu-pang-yen, it is said :

"'The Book of the Mountains is a book of which the origin is not known ; the kingdom of Tsi is a kingdom which no one has ever seen.'

"Finally, the book entitled *Tsu-tse-yu* mentions this work in the following terms :

"'Heaven and earth are great ; what do they not contain ? The *Shan Hai King* is full of doubtful statements, but who can affirm that the assertions which seem doubtful to us are absolutely false ?'

"That which we think the best opinion is expressed in the book entitled *Tu-yeu T'ong-tien* (the Encyclopædia of Tu-yeu), a work which was first published under the T'ang dynasty. Tu-yeu, whose opinion is universally received by the orthodox school, expresses himself as follows :

"'As to the *Yu Pen-ki* (the History of Yu), and the *Shan Hai King*, I do not know under which dynasty they were composed. They contain statements which are strange and whimsical, and directly in opposition to the facts reported in the classical authorities known as the *King*. I suspect that these two works were written, after Confucius had revised the *Shi King* and the *Shu King*, by some man who loved the marvelous. It is possible, however, that the *Yu Pen-ki* and the *Shan Hai King* existed before the days of Confucius, and that the fables which they contain were interpolated by writers of following generations, such as those who composed the *Ku-cheu-shu*, the Chronicle of the Kingdoms of Wu and Yué, the *Yue-tsiuei* and the *Chu-wei-shu*.'

"I do not think that it is necessary to go beyond the statement of the author of this encyclopædia, to come to the conclusion that the *Shan Hai King* is a fabulous book, of which the origin is not really known, and for my part I declare this to be my

opinion. When, one after another, I have questioned the Chinese writers of the sect of the Taoists, whose conjectures are so vague and whose hypotheses are so confused ; when I have added new testimony to that which I have reported—the most imposing authority can not balance that of the imperial academy of the Han-lin ; and the editors of the *Ko-chang-tiao-li* (the Code of Competitive Public Examinations), in placing the *Shan Hai King* upon the index, have proved that they are of the same opinion as Tu-yeu. In spite of this, however, scholars always read this book, but they are careful not to seriously quote the traditions which it contains. They read it rather as a romance is read, as an agreeable pastime, and because it is best to be acquainted with all that has been written. 'The *Shan Hai King* has almost always been studied,' says the author of a work entitled *Lieu-fong-tsa-tsu*, 'and even now among the best scholars there are many who read and study it, but who regard it as a book in which the marvelous dominates.'

"It serves to stimulate the imagination of the youthful Chinese, who read this fabulous cosmography with avidity, and hence phrases like the following are often found in prefaces :

"'*In my youth*, I read the *Shan Hai King*, and I remember that the monstrous animals of which it speaks nearly all had whimsical names.' (*Kuei-yeu-kuang-shi.*)

"'*When I was young*, I loved to copy books, and I twice transcribed the dictionary '*Rh-ya*, the *Shan Hai King*, and the *Pen-ts'ao.*' (Preface of the book entitled *Nan-ssé-wang-yun-chuen.*)

"After having brought together all that I could, but perhaps in too narrow a circle of Chinese erudition, as to the opinions which the writers of the Celestial Empire have expressed concerning the *Shan Hai King*, I will now briefly examine the opinions of the commentators.

"These, Kuo-p'o, Jin Chin-ngan, etc., generally reproduce the opinions of the original writers. They sometimes add notes ; but these notes, although instructive to the Chinese, have no interest for us. The famous philosopher Lié-tseu, he who lived forty years in a desert, attributes the editing of the *Shan Hai King* to Meng-kien. He says : 'The great Yu discovered (the mountains and the seas) in his voyages ; Pe-y remembered (that which the holy man had described), and gave them their names. Meng-

kien understood (the narration of the voyages from the mouth of Pe-y) and consigned it to writing.' Other commentators confine themselves to a citation of the extraordinary facts mentioned in the book. Some pass in review the foreign nations that live beyond the seas. They insist particularly upon the divisions of the book and upon the terms of nomenclature. They almost all differ from one another as to the number of chapters which it had during such or such a dynasty. Kuo-p'o states that in the days of the Ts'in dynasty each chapter was followed by a summary in which everything of interest contained in it was recapitulated. A fact worthy of notice is that there were formerly gaps or omissions at the beginning and end of the book, and that under the Lesser Tsi dynasty (479–502 A. D.) a scholar called Kiang-yen wished to add a supplement, just as Li-shi, under the Ts'in dynasty, added a supplement to the *Po-wé-chi*. The commentators have not submitted the geographical names of foreign countries to judicious criticism, but they endeavour to prove that such a mountain of the *Shan Hai King* corresponds to such another of the *Yu Kong*. Finally, two commentators place this book among the *Chu-shu*, or the 'Books written upon Bamboo Tablets,' and found in the tombs the first year Tai-shi of the reign of Wu-ti of the Ts'in dynasty (265 A. D.). The *Chu-shu* are evidently apocryphal books, and nothing could more enfeeble the authority of the *Shan Hai King* than this assertion of the two commentators.

"The book contains over thirty thousand characters in the text, and over twenty thousand are found in the commentaries, which is a great number for a book containing such extravagancies, and which does not merit deep study in a country like China, in which the amount of true geographical knowledge is far from despicable."

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks of M. Bazin that he considers the work to be unworthy of serious attention; and founds this belief largely upon its stories of the existence of fantastic monsters. There is reason to believe, however, that the accounts of these monsters are partly interpolations by the Taoists, who have attempted to bolster up their belief in the existence of innumerable spirits, which animate the works of Nature, by incorporating descriptions of these "supernatural be-

ings" with the accounts of foreign lands, and are partly crude and unscientific or poetical descriptions of existing beings.

For some reason (perhaps because of M. Bazin's belief that the work was unworthy of serious study) no translation of it into any European language has been made. M. Émile Burnouf has recently published a few short extracts from it, however, and has announced his intention of translating the entire work. The editor of the "Proceedings of the Provincial Congress of French Orientalists" makes the following comments upon this announcement:

"This book has been treated with too little attention by Orientalists; but their opinions in regard to it are now daily being changed. Bazin saw nothing in it but a tissue of absurd legends; but the opinion of this Sinologue was based merely upon the grotesque pictures which ornament the popular editions of this book. A more careful examination of the original text of the Shan Hai King demonstrates, beyond question, that this 'Sacred Book of Geography' contains not only fabulous tales, such as might be expected in a work of such great antiquity, but also precise scientific statements from which the scholarly world can obtain much knowledge of the archaic period of the Chinese monarchy."

The strange monsters of the Shan Hai King are not more absurd and grotesque than many that are mentioned in other early histories. Tacitus, for instance, concludes his "Germania" with a reference to the story that the Oxiones have the head and face of a man, and the body and limbs of a beast. Zeus has ingeniously explained that these animals with human faces could have been nothing else than men clothed in skins.[2452]

In the Japanese traditions, mention is made of a terrible serpent having eight heads and eight tails, called "the eight-headed serpent." The same monster is described in the Shan Hai King, and we should be at a loss to know what was meant if the Japanese commentators did not explain that this is the name of a rapid river having eight mouths.[1669]

It is stated that a Japanese army was guided in its march by a "crow with eight feet." The Chinese divide their compass by eight points—the four cardinal points and the intermediate points; and it is therefore probable that the "crow with eight

feet" was the name given to the compass by which Zin mu was guided in his expedition.[1670]

It does not seem impossible that the same explanation may account for the story of the T'IEN WU, the "Lord of the Water," having eight heads, eight tails, and eight legs.

The animals, which are variously described as resembling striped cattle; cattle with blue bodies, no horns, and one foot; dogs with six legs; foxes with fishes' fins, and swine with men's faces, are probably seals, sea-lions, sea-otters, and other phocaceans. The Chinese describe their voices as resembling the grunt of a hog; that of a person stretching and yawning, or rather moaning; that of an infant; the cry of a wild goose, or an expiration of the breath. Pinart says that the otter, when attacked, utters heart-rending cries, which almost resemble the groans of a human being;[2047] and the "History of Kamtchatka" says that the cry of the old sea-calves resembles that of a person endeavouring to vomit, and the young ones cry like a person in pain.[1639]

Seals may be said to look like a dog with six legs, for the fore-flippers may be counted as two legs, and the hind-flippers, held out straight behind, look as the legs of a dog would look who dragged an extra pair behind those with which his race are furnished. Other describers might fancy the sea-lions to be like cattle with one foot. In this case the fore-flippers would be considered as "fins," and the hind-flippers, fastened together and extended behind, would be regarded as one member.

In the last paragragh of our extract from the Shan Hai King mention is made of an animal found in the "Islands of the Flowing Stream," situated in the sea at a distance of seven thousand *li*. The "flowing stream" may be the gulf-stream of the Pacific, the Kuro Siwo; and the islands are probably either the Kurile or the Aleutian Islands. The animals found upon them are said to look like cattle with blue bodies, but no horns, having one foot, and coming out of and going into the water. This description should be compared with that given by Klaproth of the sea-otters:[1660] "The largest are about ten feet long, and are of a purple colour. Although the Chinese call them sea-cattle, they have no horns."

We should hardly know what to make of the description of the fish with one head and ten bodies if it were not stated that the cuttle-fish is meant; and the account of a fish that looks

like a lung, but which has eyes and six feet, is probably another attempt to describe the same creature.

The animal like a rabbit, with a crow's bill, owl eyes, and serpent's tail, is probably some species of large lizard; the bird with two heads may be the horn-bill, or some species of swan with a large tubercle at the base of the bill; and the fox with eight or nine tails may have been the beaver. The bird with rats' hair or rats' legs is mentioned by Huc as follows:

"We remarked in Tartary another species of migratory bird about the size of a quail; its legs, instead of feathers, are covered with a sort of long, rough hair, like that of the musk-deer." [1569]

The wearing of serpents in the ears, as ear-rings, has probably been a custom of more than one savage tribe. Purchas describes its existence in America in these words: "In each eare commonly they haue three great holes, whereat they hang chaines, bracelets, or copper; some weare in those holes a small snake, coloured greene and yellow, neare halfe a yard long, which, crawling about his neck, offereth to kisse his lippes." [2107]

It should be noted that the Shan Hai King seems to be a compilation of a number of distinct accounts of the countries which are described. Thus the first, second, and fourth sections of the fourth book all begin with a description of the country near the Shih River. The ninth and fourteenth books both give accounts of the Great Men's Country; of the Land of Refined Gentlemen; of the Land of People with Black Hips; of the Distressed People's Country, and the Green Hills Country; while the description in the ninth book of the Cha Hill is in the fourteenth book applied to a country called Kin-yung.

It is probable that a scholar thoroughly versed in Chinese geography could, with the aid of a native student, identify most of the eastern mountains (or islands) and countries that are described.

The statements regarding the mountain or island of the "Eastern Pass," the Land of Refined Gentlemen, and the Country of the Presiding Spirits, evidently refer to Japan. See pp. 663 and 664, and compare the statement on the last-named page with the traditions current in Japan, as to the seven successive genii who ruled the earth before men were placed upon it. Of these the first three were self-engendered, and were masculine. The fourth celestial spirit had a female companion, and since

that time there have been males and females. These two, however, were not husband and wife, in the gross, earthly sense, and they and the three following pairs of genii followed the laws of heaven and earth,[1668] and produced offspring in all purity, conception taking place only by a sort of contemplation of each other on the part of each couple, by supernatural means which the degradation of mankind prevents them from comprehending.[2158] The statement, that they have clothing, caps, sashes, and swords, shows that they had attained a state of civilization greater than that of the nations north and south of them, and approximating that of the Chinese. Even to this day the Japanese are noted among the neighbouring nations for their custom of wearing swords or sabers.[1371]

The gentle tigers that slink away at the sight of a human being may be now exterminated, but tigers' skins are among the articles which were formerly exported from Jesso,[1662] and bears are still found in the forests of the country.[1661] Tigers and leopards were also once found in Corea.[1655] The poisonous locust, mentioned in the eighth paragraph of the fourth section of the fourth book (see page 656), is probably the insect referred to in the traditions of Japan, which assert that, when the land was first settled, the province of *Fiouga*, near that of *Satsuma*, was infested by flying insects, two inches in length, named *tsu-su-ga*, of which the bite was mortal, but that as the country was cleared up and cultivated the insects disappeared.[1665]

Chao-yang (The Ravine of the Manifestation of the Dawn) is probably Corea, which is now known as Chao-sien (The Brightness of the Dawn). The "Hairy People" are unquestionably the Ainos of Jesso and Northern Japan, whose hairiness has attracted the attention of all travelers in that region.

The best clew to the location of the land of Fu-sang, or of the Fu-tree, that is mentioned in the Shan Hai King, is found in the fact that it is nearly always mentioned in connection with the Black-Teeth Country, and that it is said to adjoin that land on the north. This Black-Teeth Country must have been some region inhabited by the Malays, whose practice it is to file and blacken their teeth. The custom, as it exists in Sumatra, is thus described by Marsden:

"Both sexes have the extraordinary custom of filing and otherwise disfiguring their teeth, which are naturally very white

and beautiful. Many, particularly the women of the Lampong Country, have their teeth rubbed down quite even with the gums ; others have them formed in points ; and some file off no more than the outer coat and extremities, in order that they may the better receive and retain the jetty blackness with which they almost universally adorn them." [1820]

This fashion exists throughout the Indian Archipelago and as far to the northeast as the Philippine or Luzon Islands.[1823] It is therefore in these islands, or in their neighbourhood, that we must look for the Fu-sang of the Chinese "Classic of Mountains and Seas." These islands were probably known to the Chinese before they discovered the much nearer island of Formosa, as they lay in the direct course of the monsoons, and afforded some of those commodities of their peculiar luxury, in quest of which they made still more distant voyages to the islands farther west.[1144] The banana or plantain (*Musa paradisiaca*, L.)[1821] is known to the Malays by the name *pisang*,[2426] and, as it is the most valuable and remarkable tree or plant found in that region, it seems that this must have been the plant which first gave to the Chinese the name Fu-sang. The description of its fruit that is given in the *Shin I King* (see Chapter XV, p. 250), where it is said to be three feet and five inches long, adds to the likelihood that this is the plant that was meant, as the "hand," or bunch, is about three feet in length, and the individual fruits about five inches. The description of the leaves, as being ten feet long and six or seven broad, is also in fair accordance with this view.

There seems a possibility that the apparently absurd story of the "ten suns" may assist in determining the true location of the land ; for if we consider that the word "branches" is used by the Chinese to designate divisions of time, it will appear that the statement, that nine suns are contained in the lower branches and one sun in the upper branches, may have been an archaic or poetical way of saying that nine tenths of the time the sun, when it crossed the meridian, was south of the zenith, and one tenth of the time it crossed to the north ; a statement which would indicate that the land lay in about 20° north latitude.

I therefore believe that the Chinese had, before the Christian era, some knowledge of the Philippine Islands, and of the *pisang* or banana tree found upon them, and that this was the source of their first legends regarding Fu-sang, and the fu-sang tree.

When Hwui Shăn returned from Mexico, the name "Mĕ-shi-co" was thought to sufficiently resemble the appellation Fu-sang-kwoh (i. e., Fu-sang country) to indicate that the land was the one referred to in their old legends; and the facts that both countries lay to the east, or to the south of east, and that both derived their names from a remarkable plant or tree, were thought to make it certain that the country which he had visited was the one mentioned in their traditions. After his days the two countries were therefore assumed to be one and the same, and Hwui Shăn's description of the agave was mixed and confused with the earlier accounts of the plantain.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

RECAPITULATION.

Summary of reasons for thinking that Hwui Shăn visited Mexico—The command of Buddha—The ease of the journey—The "silk" and mirror brought back by him—The belief of his contemporaries—Fu-sang must have been in Japan or America, and was not in Japan—Hwui Shăn's story paralleled with accounts of the countries by other authors—The Country of Marked Bodies—Great Han—Fu-sang—The Country of Women—Summary of facts mentioned by Hwui Shăn—The transparent mirror could not have been obtained elsewhere than in Mexico—The Mexican tradition of Hwui Shăn's visit—Coincidences between Asiatic and American civilizations—Pyramids—Architecture—Arts—Religious structures—Religious customs and beliefs—Idols—Marriage ceremonies—Dress—Food—Books—Games—The working of metals—Suspension-bridges—The calendar—Civilized nations of America all upon the Pacific coast—Allowances to be made—Errors of first explorers—Hwui Shăn not a Chinaman—Errors of manuscripts—Changes in language—Changes in customs—Our imperfect knowledge of Mexican civilization—The argument stronger than its weakest parts—Conclusion.

HAVING, in the foregoing pages, given *in extenso* the reasons for believing that Hwui Shăn visited Mexico, this work will be concluded with a brief summary of the grounds upon which this belief is based, as their united weight, when all are brought together, will be found much more convincing than any argument founded upon only one or a few of the points that have been presented.

I.

The command of Buddha to his disciples, to preach his doctrine to all men without exception, constituted a reasonable motive for the journey. His disciples penetrated all parts of Asia, and probably reached Europe also, and in their wanderings made many journeys nearly or quite as long, difficult, and hazardous as the voyage from Asia to America. If, therefore, there was a practicable route from Asia to America, it is not improbable *per se* that some of these devotees should have found and followed it.

II.

The route *via* China, Corea, Japan, the island of Saghalien, the Kurile and the Aleutian Islands to Alaska, and thence down the American coast, is a practicable route for one man or a small party of men to take in an open row-boat or small sail-boat. There is but one place at which the voyager would be out of sight of land, and then only for a few hours. Furthermore, each step of the journey is well known to the natives, so that an ardent missionary, determined to carry his doctrines to the utmost limits of the earth, would merely have to press on from one island to another—being told in each of another island lying farther to the east—to ultimately find himself in America.

III.

Hwui Shăn had evidently visited some unknown eastern land. The so-called "silk," which differed from any that the Chinese had ever seen, and the wonderful mirror which he brought back with him, sufficiently prove this fact.

IV.

In addition to this tangible proof, the fact that he succeeded in inspiring all whom he met with confidence in his story is a reasonable ground for the belief that he was honest in his account, and told the truth in regard to his journey. No impostor who pretended that he came from an unknown foreign land has ever escaped detection, and even most explorers who are now known to have been honest in their statements were derided by those to whom their tale was first told. Moreover, the nature of his story is such that no one can read it carefully without a conviction of its truth. When properly translated, it contains nothing marvelous or unnatural, and the internal evidence of truthfulness is such that very few have ever adopted the theory that his account is but a figment of the imagination.

V.

The only eastern countries which it has ever been thought possible to identify with Hwui Shăn's land of Fu-sang are Japan and America; but that the country could not have been Japan is shown by the facts presented in Chapter XXXIV. No other

hypothesis is therefore left to us than that Fu-sang must be sought in America.

VI.

Hwui Shăn's story gives a faithful and accurate account of the Aleutian Islands, of Alaska, and of Mexico ; and it is still possible to prove that nearly every one of his statements was true. This can be shown most succinctly and convincingly by giving his account in one column, and in a parallel column presenting statements of well-known facts, and extracts from various authors who have described the lands in question. In the following columns, quotations are distinguished by being printed in *italics*, and the references will, as in other cases, be found in the Appendix :

The country of "Marked Bodies" is situated seven thousand *li* (about 2,300 miles) and more to the northeast of the country of Japan.	The Aleutian Islands are situated about two thousand miles northeasterly from Japan.
Its people have marks upon their bodies like wild beasts.	Tattooing was very customary in former times in the Aleutian Islands.[1698] *Pigments of various dye are applied* (to the skin of the people), *both painted outwardly and pricked into the skin.*[101]
In front (or upon their foreheads) they have three marks.	*The women have on their chin a vertical line about half an inch broad in the center, extending from the lip, with a parallel but narrower one on either side of it, a little apart.*[102] *On Behring's Isle, men as well as women tattoo. Many men have the face tattooed.*[102]
If the marks are large and straight, they indicate that those who have them are of the higher classes ; but if they are small	At Point Barrow some of the women *had two vertical lines protruding from either angle of the mouth, which is a*

and crooked, then their possessors are of the lower classes.

The people of the land are of a merry nature, and they rejoice when they have an abundance, even of articles that are of little value.

Traveling visitors do not prepare food for their journeys, and they have the shelter of their (the inhabitants') dwellings.

They have no fortifications or walled cities.

The residence of the king (or kings) of the country is adorned with gold and silver, and precious and beautiful objects about the dwelling.

mark of their high position in the tribe.[102]

Originally the Aleutian tribes were active and sprightly, fond of dances and festivals.[1156] *Whole villages entertained other villages, receiving the guests with songs and dances. If a whale was cast ashore, the natives assembled with joyous and remarkable ceremonies.*[1157]

They meet every stranger at the landing-place. If the stranger has a relative or intimate friend, he goes to him. If not, no one will invite him, but all are ready to receive him. He can choose his quarters himself. There he is entertained in the best manner. They never think of asking their guest for anything, but let him stay as long as he may; they even provide him with food of every kind when he departs.[1161]

It is a well-known fact that the Aleutians have no fortifications or walled cities.

In the Aleutian Islands, every island, and, in the larger islands, every village, has its toyon or chief.[110]

Among the Haidah Indians, *carved posts or pillars are raised in front of the houses of the chiefs or principal men. Some of the best ones cost several thousand dollars; consequently only the most wealthy individuals of the tribe are able*

to purchase the best specimens. The Sitka tribes have this style of carved posts.[2422]

They make a ditch of a breadth of one rod, which is filled with "water-silver." When it rains, then the rain flows upon the surface of the "water-silver."

The term "water-silver" is a good descriptive term for ice. The country is intolerably rainy, and the rain, which accumulates in ditches or hollow places, must often be frozen into thick ice, having the transparency of water and the purity and glittering hardness of silver.

In their traffic they use precious gems (or valuables, as the standard of value, instead of gold or silver).

No money was current in the country. The custom of bartering existing among the Aleuts was of great age.[1703] Amber formed an important article of commerce with the natives,[106] and extraordinary value was set upon it, a single bead representing in value a good many sea-otter skins.[1174]

"Great Han" is situated five thousand *li* (some sixteen hundred miles) or more east of the country of "Marked Bodies."

Alaska is situated some fifteen hundred miles easterly of the most westerly of the Aleutian Islands. The name Alaska is derived from a root *meaning a great country or continent.*[1166] The Chinese character Han is composed of two parts, meaning respectively "water" and "hardship." It is applied to a river noted for its "swirling waters,"[2533] and also applied to the Milky Way, thus indicating that its original meaning was "foaming or dashing water." If it was used with this meaning, it is particularly applicable to Alaska or the Aleutian Isl-

Its people have no military weapons and do not wage war.

The rudeness of their customs is the same as that of the people of the country of "Marked Bodies," but the words of their language are different.

Fu-sang is situated twice ten thousand *li* (some seven thousand miles) or more to the east of the country of Great Han. That land is also situated to the east of the Middle Kingdom (China).

That region has many fu-sang trees, and it is from these trees that the country derives its name. The leaves of the fu-sang resemble ——?

ands, the coasts of which are *rocky and surrounded by breakers.*[1692]

Alaska is inhabited by Esquimaux ; and these people are noted, wherever they are found, for their peaceful and unwarlike disposition, differing in this respect from nearly all other tribes of Asia and America.

The people are *undeniably of the same race. The language is different. The customs, manners, methods of living, means of sustenance and the clothing, however, are almost exactly the same.*[1702]

Mexico is situated some five thousand miles southeasterly from Alaska, and is also directly east of the southern portion of China. It is evident that Hwui Shăn's course from Great Han to Fu-sang was southeasterly rather than easterly, as the first part of his journey from Japan lay in a northeasterly direction, and he must therefore have worked to the south in order to come to a country east of China.

"Mexico" means "the Land of the Century-plant," and there is, therefore, the same connection between the name of the country and this plant that there was between Fu-sang and the remarkable plant or tree found in it. The Chinese would probably apply the character

which we translate "tree" to the century-plant, so that its use is no proof that this plant was not the "tree" referred to by Hwui Shăn.

The first sprouts are like those of the bamboo.

The first sprouts of the century-plant or agave are wonderfully similar to those of the bamboo.

The people of the country eat them.

They not only eat the tender root, but also the central shoot, keeping its soft and fleshy consistence.[1413]

Upon this plant alone the Indians can live.[1149]

And the (or a) fruit, which is like a pear (in form) but of a reddish colour.

The prickly-pear, the fruit of a species of cactus native to Mexico, is of the shape of a pear. There are species of many different colours,[1386] but the common variety is red. The army of Cortez lived for a long time upon it.[1204]

They spin thread from their bark,

Nequen is a species of coarse hemp, which the Mexicans draw from the bark of the aloe or maguey (i. e., the agave or century-plant), *of which they make cloth.*[659] *From the maguey they made two kinds of cloth, one of which was like hempen cloth, and a finer kind, which resembled linen.*[1846]

from which they make cloth, of which they make clothing. They also manufacture a finer fabric from it.

In constructing their houses, they use planks such as are generally used when building adobe walls.

The habitations of the greater part of the people were of clay hardened in the sun, and of earth.[2588] The walls of the so-called "Casas Grandes" *are laid with large square blocks of mud, prepared for the purpose*

by pressing the material into large boxes about two feet in height and four feet long. When the mud became sufficiently hardened, the case was moved along and again filled, and so on, until the whole edifice was completed.[545]

They have no citadels or walled cities.

The truth is that there can not be found in any quarter the least trace of an inclosure, of an adjoining defense of any kind, or even of exterior fortifications.[1235]

They have literary characters,

No nation ever reduced pictography more to a system. In these records we discern something more than a mere symbolic notation. They contain the germ of a phonetic alphabet.[801]

and make paper from the bark of the fu-sang.

Their *paper was made for the most part of maguey fiber.*[232]

They have no military weapons or armour, and they do not wage war in that kingdom.

The Toltecs were much milder and gentler than the Aztecs, who conquered them and wrested their country from them. It is reported that the *nations of Yucatan learned the art of war from these Aztecs, having been an altogether peaceful people before the Nahua influence was brought to bear on them.*[275]

According to their rules (of government or of religion) they have a southern and a northern place of confinement. An offender who has transgressed but slightly enters the south-

There is here some confusion between the criminal laws of the Mexicans and their religious belief as to punishments after death.

They had two species of

ern place of confinement, but if he has sinned heavily he enters the northern place of confinement. If there is pardon for him, then he is sent away to (or, possibly, from) the southern place of confinement, but if he can not be pardoned, then he is sent away to the northern one.

Those men and women dwelling in the northern place of confinement when they mate (or have mated) and bear (or have borne) children, the boys are made slaves at the age of eight years and the girls at the age of nine years. The criminal (or the criminal's body) is not allowed to go out up to (or at) the time of his death.

prisons—one for those who had not merited the punishment of death, and the other for the prisoners who were to be sacrificed, and those who were guilty of capital crimes.[1076]

The Aztec hero was borne (after death) *to the bright plains of the Sun-house.*[1064]

After four years of this life, the souls of the warriors pass into birds of beautiful plumage.[350] *Children balked of their life by death or sacrifice were allowed to essay it again. Mictlan, the Mexican hades, signifies "northward," or "toward the north."* It was a dark and gloomy region, *a place of punishment,*[358] from which there was no escape.

The children referred to were probably either illegitimate children or orphans, and there is reason to believe that these classes[1992] were often reduced to slavery.[1692]

At the age of seven years the father brings his son to the priest.[668]

The young girls are also brought to the temple at the age of eight years.[669]

Children whom the Spaniards would describe as seven and eight years of age respectively would be said by the Chinese to be eight and nine years old.[1681] Hence the ages above stated are the same as those

mentioned by Hwui Shăn, and it is reasonable to suppose that children who were made slaves would be obliged to commence their work at the same age that more fortunate children were first sent to school, or taken to the temples.

When a nobleman has committed a crime, the people of the country hold a great assemblage and sit in judgment on the culprit, in an excavated tumulus. They feast, and drink, and bid him farewell when parting from him, as if taking leave of a dying man.

Each pueblo contains an estufa, which is used both as a council-chamber and a place of worship. It is built partly under ground. Here they hold all their deliberations on public affairs, and transact the necessary business of the village.[397] *It is a singular fact, resulting from the structure of Indian institutions, that nearly every transaction, whether social or political, originated or terminated in a council.*[1935] *The "Council of the Kin" exercised power over life and death.*[527]

A difference was made in the punishment of criminals according to their rank, the king saying that *he who was the most elevated in rank merited the most rigourous treatment.*[2171]

In Darien, if a noble committed a crime punishable with death, notice was given to all the people, so that they should assemble and witness the execution. The chief then, in the presence of the multitude, recited the offense and the culprit acknowledged the justice of the sentence.[194]

Then they surrounded him with ashes there.

Criminals of a certain class were *bound to a stake, completely covered with ashes, and so left to die.*[221]

For a single crime (or a crime of the first magnitude) only one person (the culprit) was hidden (or sent) away. For two crimes (or a crime of the second magnitude) the children and grandchildren were included in the punishment.

For three crimes (or a crime of the third magnitude) seven generations were included in the punishment.

The robbery of sacred things, profanation of the temple, insult to the ministers of religion, or to the person of the monarch, were considered as high treason, and the culprit was punished with death, his goods were confiscated to the public treasury, and his family declared infamous.[644]

The children and relations of the traitor were enslaved till the fifth generation.[219]

The title of the king of the country is "the chief of the multitude."

Montezuma's title was *Tlaca-tecuhtli*,[524] meaning "Chief of Men,"[507] *or Tecatecle Tetuan Intlacatl*,[2138] meaning "the Nation's Lord of our People."

The noblemen of the first rank are called "*Tui-lu*,"

The rank of Tecuhtli was the highest honour that a prince or soldier could acquire.[168] This title is spelled by others, *Tecutli*,[1919] *Teuchtli*,[1940] *Teuctli*,[1072] *Tecle*,[528] *Teutley*,[504] *Teuhtli*,[55] *Teuli*,[1405] and *Teule*.[1223]

those of the second rank, "*Little Tui-lu*,"

The words *tepito*[1920] or *tontli*,[1984] meaning little or petty, are suffixed to the title *Tlatoca*, to express a lower rank of nobility than is indicated by the title without these suffixes.[1921]

and those of the third rank, "*Nah-to-sha*."

The Mexican title *Tlatoque* or *Tlatoca* is probably the one which Hwui Shăn attempts to

The king of the country, when he walks abroad, is preceded and followed with drums and horns.

transcribe with the Chinese characters pronounced *Nah-to-sha.*

The pomp and circumstance which surrounded the Aztec monarch was most impressive.[158] *The kings did not often appear among their people. Whenever they did appear abroad, however, it was with a parade that corresponded with their other observances.*[164] *The Mexicans had instruments of music, consisting of drums, horns, and large sea-shells.*[211] *Each chief of a city or village arrived at the head of his men, accompanied by the sound of instruments.*[743] Tangaxoan, king of Michoacan, *was preceded by the music of his palace, and accompanied by a brilliant court.*[745] *The king of Guatemala was surrounded by a cortége of noblemen and musicians.*[926]

The colour of his garments is changed according to the mutations of the years. The first and second years (of a ten-year cycle) they are blue (or green), the third and fourth years they are red, the fifth and sixth years yellow, the seventh and eighth years white, and the ninth and tenth years black.

The names of the five main colours are constantly recurring as signs and metaphors. They are white, black, red, green, and yellow.[814]

Montezuma was dressed every day in four different suits,[1104] and had *a different dress for every occasion.*[208] Sahagun, who mentions numerous different varieties of mantles worn by the king, says that *the said mantles are worn because of superstitious ideas.*[2204]

They have cattle-horns, of

Coronado reported that in

which the long ones are used to contain (some of their) possessions, the best of them reaching (a capacity of) twice ten times as much as the capacity of a common horn.

or near Cibola he found certain sheep as big as a horse, *with very great horns.*[2417] He adds: *I have seen their horns so big that it is a wonder to behold their greatness.*[2417]

They have long horns,[2438] and *they say that every horn of theirs weigheth fifty pounds weight.*[2478]

Buffalo-horns yield them vessels.[2111]

They have horse-carts, cattle-carts, and deer-carts.

This in its literal sense is untrue of any and every country in the world. It is probable that Hwui Shăn referred to the "*three carts*" or "*three vehicles*," a term used by the Buddhists to indicate *three modes of crossing* Sansara *to* Nirvana, *as if drawn by sheep, oxen, or deer, which shadow forth the three degrees of saintship, and this term is further used for three developments of Buddhist doctrine.*[2823]

The people of the country raise deer as cattle are raised in the Middle Kingdom (China).

The kings and nobles of the Chichimecas kept forests of deer.[196] *Certain natives of Guatemala kept deer in so tame a state that they were easily killed by the least active soldiers.*[306]

From milk they make koumiss.

Milk is, in the Aztec language, designated by the word "memeyallotl,"[1906] which means literally "agaves' sap." *Their principal and national drink is pulque, made from the Agave Americana, from the sap of the plant. The liquor obtained is*

at first of a thick white colour, and is at all times very intoxicating.[120]

They have the red pears kept unspoiled throughout the year;

They make many preserves from tunas (i. e., prickly-pears), *the juice of which is so sweet that it preserves them perfectly without adding any syrup.*[2437]

and they also have TO-PUTAOES.

This seems to be intended for a transcription of the Mexican word *tomatl*,[1924] from which our own word "tomato" was derived. The plant was raised by the Mexicans, and its fruit formed a part of many of their dishes.

The ground is destitute of iron,

The use of iron, though its ores are abundant in the country, was unknown to the natives,[223] while *copper could be obtained in abundance.*[471]

but they have copper.

Gold and silver are not valued. In their markets there are no taxes or fixed prices.

They made their purchases and sales by barter, each giving that of which he had an excess for such goods as he might need.[2352] *A very large square was set apart in all the principal cities of the kingdom for the exhibition and sale of the various articles of merchandise brought to market.*[1848]

When they marry, it is the custom for the son-in-law to go and erect a house (or cabin) outside of the door of the dwelling of the young woman (whom he desires to marry). Morning and evening he sprinkles and sweeps (the ground) for a year: and if the young

Among the Apaches the lover *stakes his horse in front of the young woman's house, and then retires and awaits the issue. Should the girl favour the suitor, his horse is taken by her, fed, and secured in front of his lodge; but should she decline the proffered honour, she*

woman is not pleased with him, she then sends him away; but if they are mutually pleased, then the marriage is completed, the marriage ceremonies being for the most part like those of the Middle Kingdom (China).

For a father, mother, wife, or son, they mourn for seven days, without eating; for a grandfather or grandmother they mourn for five days without eating; for an elder brother, younger brother, father's elder brother, or father's younger brother, or for the corresponding female relatives, or for an elder sister or younger sister, three days without eating.

They set up an image of

will pay no attention to the suffering steed.[1148] Among the Coco-Maricopas, the lover *takes his flute, and, seating himself beneath a bush near her dwelling, keeps up a plaintive noise for hours together.*[543] In Yucatan *it was the custom of newly married pairs to live in cabins built in front of the house of their father or father-in-law, during the first few years after their marriage.*[1601] The existence in Mexico of the custom of sweeping the path of one to whom it was the desire to do homage, is shown by the frequent mention made by the Spanish chroniclers of the sweeping of the path before the king.[2347]

For a full statement of the numerous and striking resemblances between the marriage ceremonies of Mexico and China, see Chapter XXVI.

When they have lost a relative, they weep for four days together.[646] *They observed abstinences and fasts for the deceased, especially in the case of a husband who mourned the loss of his wife.*[1693] *The fifth day a priest comes to say that it is time to proceed with the funeral.*[646] *In Michoacan, all remained seated for five days with bowed heads.*[2640]

In case of the death of a

the spirit (of the deceased person), and reverence it and offer libations to it morning and evening.

Mexican king, his ashes were placed in an urn or casket. *On the top of this was placed a statue of wood or stone, attired in the royal habiliments, and bearing the mask and insignia, and the casket was deposited at the feet of the patron deity in the chapel. For four days the mourners paid constant visits to the shrine, to manifest their sorrow, and to present the offerings of food, clothes, or jewels.*[259] In Yucatan, *people of condition made wooden statues of their parents. They preserved these statues, with much veneration, among their idols, and kept both statues and idols in the oratories of their houses. Upon all feast-days, and days of general rejoicing, they made offerings of food to them.*[1694]

In their mourning usages they do not wear mourning-garments or mourning-badges.

As no reference to the use of mourning-garments in Mexico is made by any of the historians, it is evident that the Mexicans did not wear them.

A king who inherits the throne does not occupy himself with the affairs of the government for the first three years after his accession.

Before the coronation of a new monarch could be celebrated with fitting solemnity, victims for sacrifice must be captured in large numbers,[425] and it was always required that the king should *obtain some victory over his enemies, or reduce some neighbouring or rebellious province to subjection, before he could be crowned or ascend the royal throne.*[2356]

The Country of Women is situated a thousand *li* east of Fu-sang.

Cihuatlan (*meaning "the Place or Land of Women"*) is the name from which the south wind takes its designation, and is applied to an old place upon the Pacific Ocean, somewhat southerly from Zacatollan. This place was said by some to lie at a distance of ten days' journey,[1106] and by others to be only three days' journey, from the city of Mexico.[2222]

Its people's manner of appearance is straight erect (or is very correct), and their colour is (or their countenances are) a very pure white.

These "people" are the monkeys of Southern Mexico.

Where monkeys are found, the idea seems often to have occurred to men to account for the resemblance of the monkey to mankind by making of the first a fallen or changed form of the latter.[305] This error of considering monkeys as belonging to the human race gave rise to the numerous tales of a land of pygmies. *In the Hapale Œdipus*, one of the monkeys of Southern Mexico, *the breast, the arms, the abdomen, the forepart of the legs, and the four extremities are white.*[72] The capuchin monkey *varies as to colour. The white-throated species has a flesh-coloured face, and hair of a beautiful white colour over the cheeks, the forearms, and the breast.*[71] *The largest, when they stand erect, as they sometimes do, upon two feet, almost equal a man in stature.*[1056] Possibly the name

Their bodies are hairy, and they have long locks, the ends of which reach to the ground.

At the second or third month, bickering, they enter the water (come down to the low-lands, or to the streams, or perhaps "enter upon a migration," the character SHUI meaning not only "water," but also "a trip from one place to another").

They then become pregnant.

They bear their young at the sixth or seventh month (probably of gestation, but possibly of the year).

The female-people are described as having long locks, the ends of which reach to the ground.

titute of breasts in front of their chests, but behind, at the nape of the neck (or back of the head), they have hair-roots (short hair, or a bunch of hair, or a hairy organ), and in the midst of the white hair it is pleasing to the taste (or there is juice).

They nurse their young for one hundred days, and they can then walk. When three or four years old, they become fully grown.

there is no protrusion of the breast, as in the human being,[1320] and Hwui Shăn may have been led to make this curious statement by seeing the females leaping among the trees with their young clinging to their backs and holding fast about their necks. *They skip from bough to bough with the young ones hanging at the old ones' back.*[2463]

The young ones are carried about on the backs of their mothers, round whose necks they put their arms like infants.[1210]

As to the head, long hair is found thereon in Hapale Œdipus, and long hair is developed from the shoulders in Hapale Humeralifer.[1295] *The top of the head of the Hapale Œdipus is ornamented with long white hair, which forms a species of plume* (falling down upon the nape of the neck and back of the head), *which is all the more remarkable from the fact that the rest of the head is bare.*[72]

The accounts of the pygmies say of them :

Their females bear young when five years old, and they become aged at the age of eight years.[1756]

They are married when they are only half a year old, and get children ; and they live only six years, or seven at the

most, and he that liveth eight years, men think him right passing old.[1832]

When they see a human being, they are afraid and flee to one side.

A characteristic description of monkeys that "flee to one side" and then peep out to see the passer-by, when they think that they have attained a place of safety.

They venerate (or are devoted to) their husbands (or mates).

Monkeys are noted for their faithfulness and devotion to their mates.

They eat the "salt-plant." Its leaves resemble (those of the plant called by the Chinese) the SIE-HAO (a species of absinthe or wormwood), but its odour is more fragrant and its taste is saltish.

The Mexican dictionaries define "Iztauhyatl" as absinthe,[1904] or wormwood.[861] This word is a compound, of "Iztatl," salt[1905] (the *tl* being dropped in the compound, as is the rule in such cases), with a form of the verbal root "hueya," to grow,[619] with the termination "tl." It is *a sweet-smelling herb.*[188] Bisons,[1613] horses, and cattle feed upon species of artemisia, and in winter they form the principal food of the herds of the Kalmucks and the Kirguis of Asia.[2009]

In the nineteenth chapter, fifteen facts were enumerated which were mentioned by Hwui Shăn, and which were of such a nature that it seemed impossible that he could have known anything about them unless he had actually made the journey which he said that he had taken. To those statements we may now add the following:

16. The country found some six or seven thousand miles southeasterly from the land of Great Han (Alaska) received its name from a remarkable plant or tree growing there.

17. The first sprouts of this plant resembled those of the bamboo.

18. They were edible.

19. Thread was spun from its fiber.

20. Two kinds of cloth, one coarse and one finer, were made from this thread.

21. And paper was also made from the fiber.

22. An edible fruit was also found in this land which was of the shape of a pear, but which was red in colour.

23. It was of such a nature that it could be preserved and kept throughout the year.

24. In constructing their houses, they used boards for holding the mud or adobe in shape until it was dry, similar to the boards used for the same purpose in China.

25. They had no citadels or walled cities.

26. They had a species of writing.

27. Either in their laws or in their religious beliefs, or in both, they had two places of confinement.

28. The place reserved for the worst criminals was in the north.

29. Children commenced the active duties of life, the boys at the age of eight (as the Chinese reckon age) and the girls at nine years.

30. The people had the custom of holding great assemblages at which serious crimes were judged.

31. These were held in an "excavated tumulus."

32. The custom existed of inflicting capital punishment by suffocating the criminals in ashes.

33. The relatives were punished, as well as the criminal, in cases of heinous crimes.

34. The highest rank of noblemen were known by the title of "Tui-lu" (Teuli or Teule, as it is spelled by some Spanish authors).

35. The king was accompanied by musicians when he walked abroad.

36. Whose instruments were horns and drums.

37. He had the custom of wearing garments of different colours at different times "because of superstitious ideas."

38. Very large and long horns were found in the country.

39. The people raised deer.

40. They made a drink resembling koumiss.

41. Either from milk or from something that was given that name.

42. They had no iron.

43. But had copper.

44. They did not value gold or silver.

45. The marriage ceremonies resembled those of China.

46. They kept statues of deceased relatives, to which they offered food, etc.

47. They did not wear mourning-garments.

48. The king did not fully succeed to the throne until some length of time after the death of his predecessor.

49. Some three hundred miles southeasterly from this land there was a place known as "the Country of Women."

50. Which was inhabited by peculiar beings, whose bodies were hairy, and who had long locks, queues, or tails hanging to the ground.

51. They had a rutting-season in the spring.

52. The period of gestation was six or seven months (or possibly only three or four months).

53. They carried their young upon their backs.

54. They had long hair at the back of the head, which was whitish at the roots.

55. They were able to walk when one hundred days old.

56. They became fully grown when three or four years old.

57. They were faithful and affectionate to their mates.

58. A plant called the "salt-plant" grew in the country, deriving its name from its taste.

59. This plant resembled a species of absinthe,

60. But its odour was more fragrant.

It passes the bounds of belief that Hwui Shăn could have invented all these statements, many of them true of no other country in the world than the one lying at the distance and in the direction from China that he said that the land visited by him was to be found; and his story can not be explained upon any other theory than that he had actually made the journey which he so truthfully and soberly described.

VII.

The fiber and the transparent mirror, which he brought back with him, were just such articles as a traveler would be likely

to take from Mexico, and the latter, at least, could not have been obtained from any other country in the world.

VIII.

There exists in Mexico a tradition of Hwui Shăn's visit. This gives his name and title of Hwui Shin, bhikshu, as Wi-Shi-peco-cha; tells the district of the Pacific coast upon which he landed; describes his complexion, his beard, and his dress; relates the doctrines that he preached; mentions the success that he met in his mission, and states the reason for his return to Asia. Traditions also exist of the visit of the party of Buddhist priests mentioned by Hwui Shăn, from whom he seems in some way to have become separated.

IX.

The religious customs and beliefs of the nations of Mexico, Yucatan, and Central America, their pyramids, their architecture, their arts, their calendar, and almost innumerable little practices of their daily life, as they existed at the time of the Spanish conquest, show such surprising coincidences with the details of Asiatic beliefs and Asiatic civilization that many independent observers, who have either known nothing of the story of Hwui Shăn, or who have paid no attention to it, have become convinced, from these coincidences alone, that there must have been communication of some nature between the two regions of the world, and that this communication had probably taken place since the beginning of the Christian era.

Among these coincidences the following may be noted, i. e.:

1. The existence of monasteries and nunneries, said to have been founded by Quetzalcoatl, the "Revered Visitor."

2. The vows of continence taken by their inmates.

3. The fact that these vows were not necessarily for life.

4. The daily routine of life of these ascetics, consisting of watching, of chanting hymns to the gods, of sweeping the temples and their yards, etc.

5. These priests were the educators of the children.

6. They were divided into orders, and some portion of their number were of superior rank, and governed the others.

7. They lived upon alms.

8. They occasionally retired alone into the desert, to lead a life of prayer and penance in solitude.

9. They were known by the title Tlamacazque or Tlama, corresponding to the title of Lama given to the Buddhist priests of Asia.

10. It was thought best to eat but once a day, and then at noon.

11. They celebrated once each year a "feast of the dead," at which they supposed that the hungry spirits of their deceased friends returned to be fed.

12. They worshiped upon large truncated earthen pyramids.

13. These were covered with a layer of stone or brick, and the whole covered with plaster or stucco.

14. They used the false arch of overlapping stones, but not the true arch.

15. The inner walls of their temples were coated with stucco or plaster, which was ornamented with grotesque paintings.

16. A seated cross-legged figure was found in one of their temples, resembling in its attitude, in the lion-headed couch upon which it was seated, in the niche in which it was found, and in its position in the temple, the statues of Buddha found in Buddhist temples.

17. The tradition of the conception of Huitzilopochtli closely resembles the Asiatic stories of the conception of Buddha.

18. They represented one of their gods as holding a mirror in his hand, in which he saw all the actions of men.

19. They believed that the inhabitants of the world had been four times destroyed—by water, by winds, by earthquakes, and by fire—and re-created after each destruction.

20. They had the custom of placing the walls of their temples facing the four cardinal points, and decorating each wall with a distinctive colour.

21. They buried a small green stone with the corpses of the dead.

22. Their idols were always clothed, and were never offensive to modesty.

23. The custom of tying the corners of the garments of the bride and groom together constituted one of the most important of the marriage ceremonies.

24. Marriage was not consummated until the fourth day after the ceremony.

25. They placed in the hands of young children, a few days

after their birth, toys symbolical of the instruments of craft or of household labour which it was expected that they would use in after life.

26. The long band of cloth worn about their waist was precisely like that worn by the natives of India.

27. They wore quilted cotton armour similar to that worn in Asia.

28. Their cakes of meal were similar to those made in India.

29. Their books were folded back and forth like those of Siam.

30. They played a game called *patolli*, which seems to have been substantially the same game as the *pachisi* of the Hindoos.

31. They understood the arts of melting and casting the precious metals and of working jewels, attributing their knowledge to Quetzalcoatl.

32. But they knew nothing of the use of milk or of any food prepared from it.

33. Their anchors were like those used in Asia, with four hooks without a barb.

34. They understood the art of constructing suspension-bridges ; and

35. Their calendar showed so many resemblances to that used by many of the nations of Asia, that from this fact alone Humboldt was convinced that there was some connection between the civilizations of the two regions of the world.

Almost any one of these coincidences might be fortuitous, but it seems impossible that so many coincidences could have existed unless the civilization of one continent was, to some extent, borrowed from that of the other.

X.

The fact that the civilized, or partly civilized, nations of America were all found upon or near the Pacific coast, indicates that their civilization was derived from Asia.

XI.

For any difficulties or seeming untruths in the statements of Hwui Shăn the following allowances should be made :

1. The first explorers of any newly found land are usually deceived as to some one or more points, being misled by tales of

the natives, often but imperfectly understood, and having no possibility of rectifying their errors by comparing their experience with that of any other person.

2. Hwui Shăn was probably a native of Cophène, and understood Chinese but imperfectly at the time that he tried to describe to Yu Kie the countries that he had visited, so that the latter probably failed to correctly understand some of the statements that he attempted to make.

3. The account was written down before printing was invented, and some errors have crept in in copying it, as is evident from the variations in different texts.

4. Although the Chinese language changes more slowly than almost any other, it is probable that there have been many important changes in the last fourteen centuries, and that many of the characters do not now express precisely the meaning which they were then used to convey.

5. Many changes must have occurred in the countries visited by Hwui Shăn during the thousand years that elapsed after his visit before America was rediscovered by Columbus ; and

6. The indigenous civilization was so soon replaced by that of the Spaniards, and the only chroniclers who had an opportunity of seeing it, as it existed when the country was first explored, felt so little interest in the details of the daily life of the people, and of their knowledge, their arts, and their religious belief, that the accounts which we possess on these points are, at the best, exceedingly imperfect, and many proofs which then existed of the truth of Hwui Shăn's story may now have been long swept out of existence, leaving no evidence behind that they were ever to have been found.

Attention may be called, in conclusion, to the fact that the different points presented in support of the credibility of Hwui Shăn's account are not connected together like the links of a chain, which is no stronger than its weakest part, and the rupture of one of which severs the whole chain. They are rather like the ten thousand threads with which Gulliver was fastened to the earth, many weak in themselves, many easily broken ; but, after breaking numbers of them, thousands still remained, binding him to the earth as firmly as ever. Doubtless, errors will be found in the arguments that have been urged, and many of them,

when considered by themselves alone, will seem but weak; and yet, after breaking here one cord of connection and there another, it will be found that numerous links remain, whose united strength binds together the civilizations of Asia and America with a power that can not be overcome.

Nearly fourteen centuries have passed since Hwui Shăn—led by his religious faith to carry the feeble rush-light that shone upon his path to illuminate the lives of those who lay in darkness—pressed on from one unknown land to another, preaching the faith by which his life was guided. Of the toils and dangers that he underwent, we can catch but a glimpse, through the mists of these fourteen hundred years, but we have reason to believe that, of the company of five that started, he alone returned to Asia; that he was an old man when he reached China, and that he probably never saw his native land again. The Chinese believed his story, but knew nothing more of the land which was visited by him. European and American scholars have for many years known something in regard to his statements; but for lack of sufficient careful investigation many have been inclined to discredit them.

It is the hope of the author that the proof herein presented, that Hwui Shăn discovered America a thousand years before it was known to Europeans, will be found sufficient to induce the world to give to this faithful missionary of the Buddhist faith the honour to which he is entitled, so that he may no longer remain

AN INGLORIOUS COLUMBUS.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES AND REFERENCES.

In the following table, the numerators of the pseudo-fractions (which, as will be seen, follow one another in regular order, with the exception of some omitted numbers) indicate the number of the reference; while the denominators indicate the page of the work, below the title of which the fraction is placed, upon which the quotation may be found.

Thus, for instance, the first reference in Chapter I is given by the number 1880. Turning to the Appendix, and looking along the numerators of the fractions until that number is found, it will be seen that its denominator is 5, and that the fraction in question is found below "Le Bouddhisme: son Histoire," etc., by L. de Milloué; thus indicating that the quotation or reference may be found on the fifth page of that work.

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